

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES**



**UNITED STATES–GHANA DEFENSE COOPERATION UNDER GHANA’S FOURTH
REPUBLIC: ITS IMPLICATIONS ON NATIONAL SECURITY.**

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2nd October 2025

DECLARATION

I, David Agbee, proclaim that I am exclusively responsible for the ownership and authorship of this work, as well as any errors that may be discovered in it, with the exception of the documentary and other sources that are listed and recognized in this thesis.

I further certify that neither I nor anyone else has ever submitted this thesis to a university for the purpose of receiving a degree.

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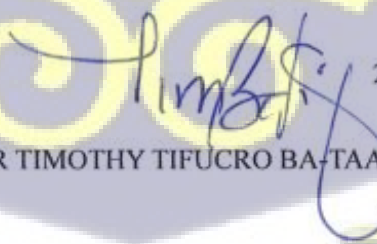
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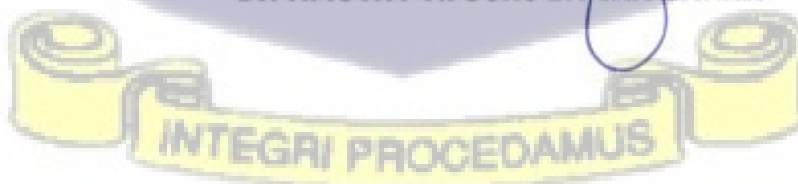
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DEDICATION

The Almighty God—the Son, the Holy Spirit, and the Father who created heaven—is honored in this work. I was able to finish this study because of His encouragement, fortitude, and supply of materials. He has my eternal gratitude. Additionally, it is dedicated to my parents' loving memory.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACSA - Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement

ADAPT - Africa Deployment Assistance Partnership Team

AFRICOM - Africa Command

APS - Africa Partnership Station

ASC - Armed Services Committee

CSS - Critical Security Studies

DCA - Defense Cooperation Agreement

DCAD - Defense Cooperation Agreement Dataset

EDCA - Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement

ESDP - European Security and Defence Policy

EU - European Union

IAP - Indo-Asia-Pacific

INL - International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement

KAIPTC - Kofi Annan International Peace Training Centre

LECIAD - Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy

MCA - Millennium Challenge Account

MCC - Millennium Challenge Corporation



MDRI - Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative

MFRI - Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration

MoD - Ministry of Defence

MOU - Memorandum of Understanding

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO - Non-Governmental Organizations

OAU - Organization of African Unity

PEPFAR - President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief

PMI - President's Malaria Initiative

U.K. - United Kingdom

US - United States of America

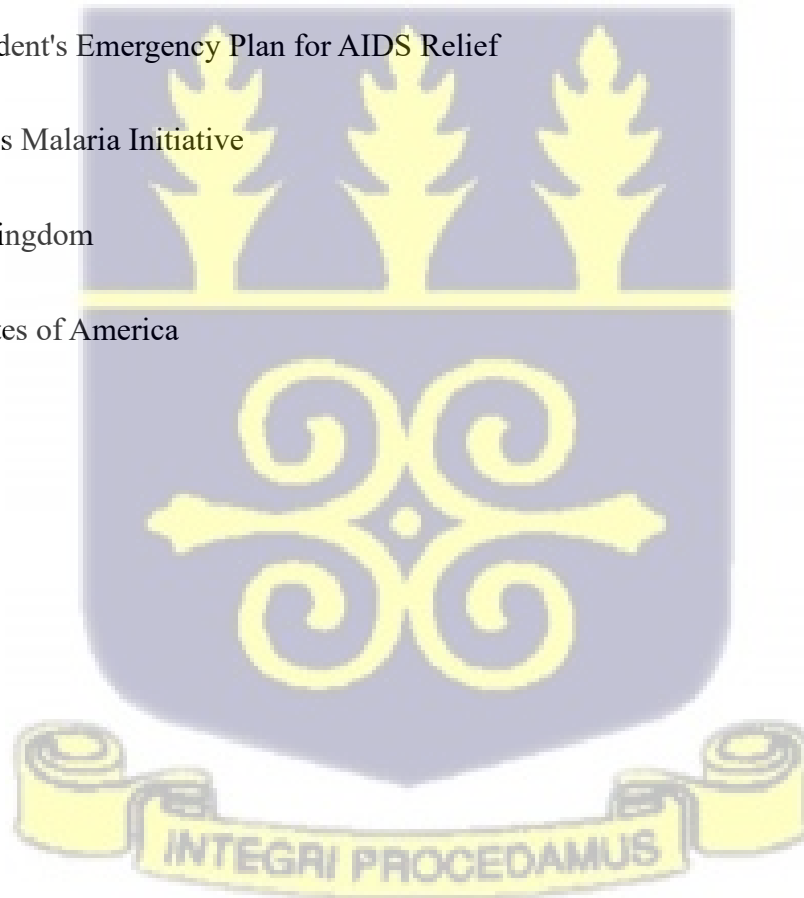


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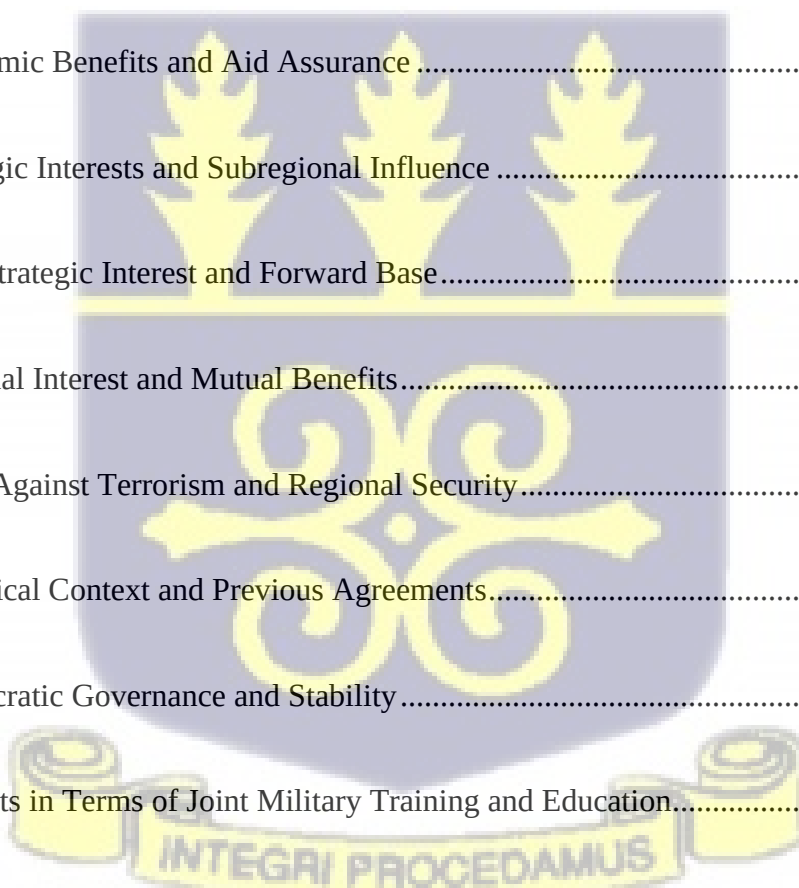
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ABSTRACT

This thesis critically examines the defense cooperation relationship between the United States and Ghana, with particular focus on the 2018 Ghana-U.S. Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) and its implications for Ghana's national security and sovereignty within the Fourth Republic. Employing Critical Security Studies complemented by realist perspectives, this research interrogates the dynamics, motivations, and consequences of this bilateral security partnership. It situates the agreement within broader debates about asymmetric power relations, state autonomy, and contemporary security governance in West Africa, addressing a significant gap in scholarship regarding how defense agreements between major powers and smaller states affect sovereignty, security autonomy, and national interests.

The U.S.-Ghana relationship has grown significantly, encompassing arms sales, intelligence sharing, joint military exercises, and training. Ghana's strategic importance in U.S. efforts to counterbalance rising powers like Russia and China, combined with regional counter-terrorism imperatives, has intensified these ties. However, the 2018 DCA has sparked considerable controversy, raising critical questions about balancing security enhancement with sovereignty preservation. The study adopts a qualitative methodology, drawing on in-depth interviews with military personnel, defense analysts, policymakers, and academics, alongside critical analysis of the DCA text and related policy documents. This approach enables comprehensive examination of the agreement's impacts on sovereignty, strategic benefits in combating terrorism, and challenges posed by information sensitivity and territorial access concerns.

The findings reveal that the DCA embodies complex power asymmetries that challenge traditional notions of state sovereignty and security autonomy. The agreement erodes Ghana's sovereignty across multiple interconnected dimensions. The judicial incapacitation renders Ghanaian courts powerless to address violations by U.S. military personnel, establishing a parallel legal system that undermines Westphalian sovereignty. Diplomatic immunity granted to U.S. personnel blurs boundaries between legitimate privileges and military operations, normalizing exceptional treatment aligned with securitization concepts.

The DCA profoundly impacts territorial sovereignty. The requirement that Ghana's President seek permission to enter U.S.-designated areas within national borders represents a striking reversal of sovereignty principles. These areas function as "sovereignty enclaves" extraterritorial zones where Ghanaian law and oversight are suspended, effectively ceding national territory to foreign control. Deliberate ambiguities in clauses regarding entry procedures, operational scope, and jurisdictional boundaries provide interpretive flexibility favoring the United States while limiting Ghana's oversight capacity.

Information asymmetry created by the DCA grants the United States access to Ghana's defense infrastructure, communications networks, radio spectrum, and strategic vulnerabilities, rendering Ghana transparent to U.S. intelligence while limiting its understanding of U.S. activities domestically. From a Critical Security Studies perspective, this constitutes epistemic violence, systematically undermining Ghana's ability to know and secure itself. U.S. ability to utilize and potentially monitor Ghana's communications infrastructure transforms the agreement into a surveillance mechanism.

Paradoxically, while designed to enhance Ghana's security through capacity building and intelligence sharing, the DCA generates significant vulnerabilities. U.S. forces' presence may transform Ghana into a target for anti-American actors, including terrorist organizations, shifting its role from neutral regional player to potential battleground for conflicts in which it has no direct stake. Ghana's inability to monitor armaments and materials brought by U.S. forces creates security blind spots, representing fundamental abdication of border control. COVID-19 pandemic exemptions allowing untested U.S. personnel entry further illustrate how permissive terms introduce unforeseen risks.

These findings highlight profound power asymmetries embedded in the DCA through provisions like legal immunities, unrestricted territorial access, and customs waivers. Such arrangements reflect structural violence—systemic frameworks privileging powerful states while constraining weaker ones. The DCA represents not merely a technical security arrangement but a reconfiguration of sovereignty, authority, and autonomy fundamentally altering Ghana's position as an independent state.

The study contributes to scholarly debates about contemporary sovereignty, demonstrating how it operates as a continuum incrementally eroded through legal, spatial, epistemological, and discursive mechanisms. Critical Security Studies provides essential tools for understanding how defense cooperation can serve hegemonic interests while constraining partner state autonomy. For Ghana and similar states, the research underscores the need to balance security benefits against risks of dependency and vulnerability, offering pathways for Global South states to pursue beneficial defense cooperation while preserving sovereignty, autonomy, and national dignity in an increasingly complex international security environment.

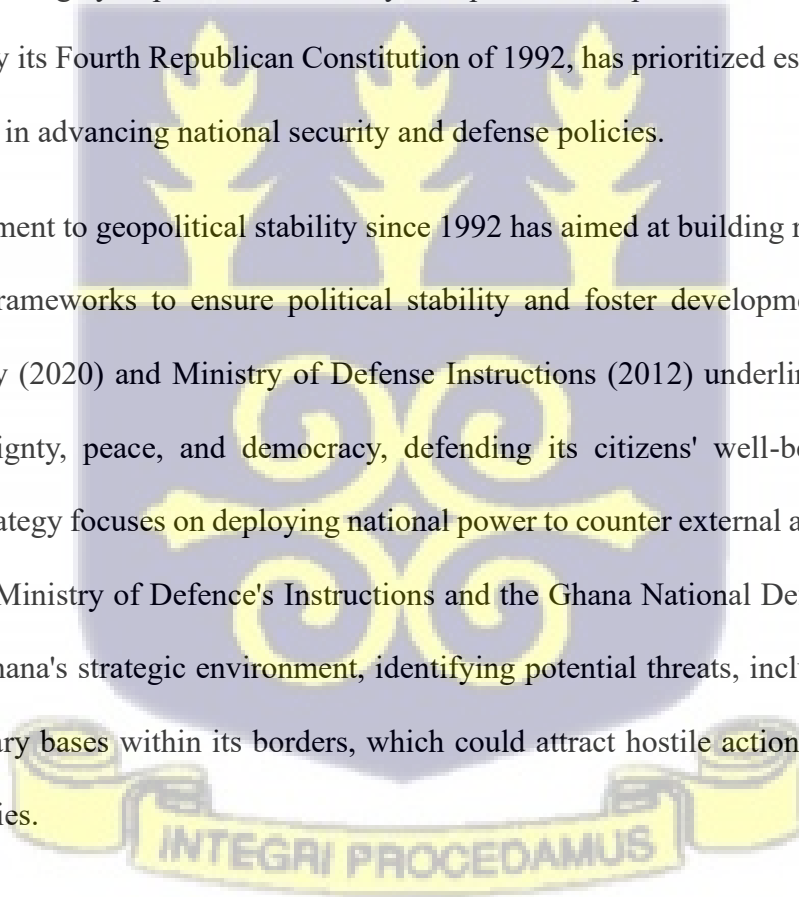
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The pursuit of enhancing national security and deepening defense cooperation has become increasingly significant in the fields of International Relations and international security studies, particularly amidst growing great power competition. In Africa, and especially within West Africa, maintaining peace and stability has been a top priority since the end of the Cold War. Achieving this objective has largely depended on military and political cooperation among African states. Ghana, guided by its Fourth Republican Constitution of 1992, has prioritized establishing itself as a regional leader in advancing national security and defense policies.

Ghana's commitment to geopolitical stability since 1992 has aimed at building robust defense and foreign policy frameworks to ensure political stability and foster development. The National Security Strategy (2020) and Ministry of Defense Instructions (2012) underline Ghana's aim to maintain sovereignty, peace, and democracy, defending its citizens' well-being and national interests. The strategy focuses on deploying national power to counter external and internal threats effectively. The Ministry of Defence's Instructions and the Ghana National Defence Policy (July 2012) outline Ghana's strategic environment, identifying potential threats, including those posed by foreign military bases within its borders, which could attract hostile actions against strategic assets and facilities.



In its international relations, Ghana, as mandated by Article 40 of its Constitution, aims to promote its interests, uphold international law, and support peaceful dispute resolution, aligning with the principles of the United Nations and the African Union (formerly Organization of African Unity). While traditionally defense is viewed as protection against external aggression, contemporary global developments highlight non-traditional threats, prompting states to bolster their defense capabilities.

In 2018, Ghana entered a defense cooperation agreement (DCA) with the United States, underscoring the evolving nature of defense partnerships under the Fourth Republic. This agreement warrants further study to understand its implications and lessons for both countries, particularly regarding sovereignty. This thesis critically examines the 2018 defense cooperation between Ghana and the United States, assessing progress, identifying motivating factors, analyzing challenges and opportunities, and projecting future trends in defense cooperation and broader security relations.

Scholars such as Kinne (2018; 2020) argue that the end of the Cold War marked a significant shift in defense cooperation, leading to the signing of numerous agreements globally. Mearsheimer (2001), Mearsheimer and Walt (2013), Tizzard (2017), Hyde-Price (2012), Walt (1987), Posen (2003), and Nye (1990) argue that in the post-Cold War era, the United States pursued offensive unipolarity to solidify its global primacy, seeking hegemony in strategically important regions. Bilateral relations have noticeably improved since the Cold War, supported by Wivel and Mouritzen (2005) on shifting security dynamics and Krause and Williams (2002) on the proliferation of security communities and cooperative arrangements.

Mattelaer (2018) highlights the rise of multinational defense agreements and strategic partnerships in contemporary international relations. The argument regarding the rise in defense cooperation

agreements after the end of the Cold War is given a wider basis by other sources. Kinne specifically draws attention to the notable rise in DCAs since the 1990s, attributing this proliferation to shifts in the global security landscape, including the decrease in interstate conflicts and the emergence of nontraditional security challenges. These agreements make it easier to work together on things like arms procurement, joint military drills, and defense policy coordination.

Earlier, Dutta (2009) postulated that an important aspect of defense diplomacy is defense cooperation. He defined defense cooperation as “any arrangement between two or more nations where their armed forces work together to achieve mutual aims and objectives.” Furthermore, Dutta mentioned broadly that defense cooperation aims at sharing operational and doctrinal expertise, training, and capability enhancement of one’s military, strengthening ties with other countries, and the sale of weapons and military technologies. In addition, Dutta (2009) described defense cooperation as an ideal tool to advance national foreign policy objectives by building bridges of friendship, preventing conflicts, and establishing mutual trust and capacities on a global basis. This includes efforts to build cooperative relationships with former adversaries and manage peacetime crises through defense diplomacy.

Cottey and Foster (2013) claim that in the 1990s, the idea of defense diplomacy emerged as a means to build trust, prevent conflicts, and promote stability through military cooperation. They noted that defense cooperation began to serve not only traditional realpolitik roles but also broader foreign and security policy goals. This period saw an increase in bilateral and multilateral defense agreements aimed at fostering peace and stability in various regions, particularly in post-conflict areas and developing countries.

As noted by Drab (2018), the U.S. has linked defense diplomacy to broader strategic goals, engaging in military cooperation to promote democratic regimes and enhance its influence

worldwide. Thus, Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs), which enable the projection of military force and the fortification of alliances, have emerged as a crucial element of U.S. foreign strategy. According to Chansoria (2020), DCAs are now the most prevalent type of formalized defense cooperation. In order to facilitate cooperation in essential areas like defense policy coordination, research and development, joint military exercises, education and training, arms procurement, and the exchange of classified information, these formal agreements create extensive defense-oriented legal frameworks between signatories. According to scholars, even though hundreds of defense cooperation agreements have been signed and are in effect, they may have a significant impact on both national and global security (Kinne, 2018; Chansoria, 2020).

This thesis argues that despite the benefits of defense cooperation agreements (DCAs), these agreements raise important questions about state sovereignty and asymmetric power dynamics. Smaller states entering into DCAs with major powers may face challenges related to autonomy and dependency. The influence of superpowers in shaping the defense policies of partner states through DCAs, imbalances in the distribution of gains and strategic priorities can occur (Milia et al., 2018; Kinne, 2018; Government Offices of Sweden Ministry of Defence, 2014; Waltz, 1979). The Westphalian concept of sovereignty established that the nation-state had absolute power and authority over its internal affairs without external interference, political and foreign autonomy, and border control (Jackson 2003). State sovereignty is a concept that attracts varied interpretations and applications within domestic and international discourses (Crawford 2010). Traditionally, sovereignty connoted "unlimited and absolute power within a jurisdiction" (Zick 2006; see also Meller & Lee, (1997)). Therefore, sovereignty encompassed the whole body of rights and attributes which a state possesses within its territory, to the exclusion of all other states, and also in its relations with other states (the Corfu Channel case, 1949 ICJ 39). This exclusive right to exercise

political authority includes executive, legislative, and judicial competencies within the state. Citing the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States (1970), Brownlie states that the following are the main corollaries of sovereignty and equality of states: these two concepts are closely related and constitute the fundamental constitutional doctrine of the law of nations, which governs a community primarily composed of states with uniform legal personality (Brownlie, 2003:287).

i. A jurisdiction, *prima facie* exclusive, over territory and the permanent population living there.

ii. A duty of non-intervention in the area of exclusive jurisdiction of other states.

iii. The dependence of obligations arising from customary law and treaties on the consent of the obligor.

Sovereignty, therefore, demands that states are equal and, irrespective of their size, have legal personality in their relationship with other states. This means that states must refrain from intervention in the internal or external affairs of other states (Brownlie, 2003:290; see also Wachira, 2007). The UN Charter prohibits intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state (Article 2, Paragraph 7).

In the African context, African heads of state and government have made a commitment to strengthening their common institutions by providing them with the authority and resources to carry out their mandates (AU institutional framework, 2002), which is reflected in the preamble to the African Union's (AU) Constitutive Act. However, meddling in a state's internal affairs was expressly forbidden by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the AU's forerunner (OAU Charter, Article 3(2)).

The defense of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of its member states is one of the goals stated in Article 3, which calls for member states to cede some of their sovereign powers to the AU in order to accomplish the goals stated in Article 3 (Article 3(b)). The OAU's emphasis on maintaining state sovereignty and refraining from interfering in domestic matters is reflected in this goal. The Constitutive Act, however, allays fears of complacency by clearly outlining the AU's authority to step in in extreme situations, including crimes against humanity, genocide, and war crimes (Article 4(h)). The AU may also intervene upon a member state's request to restore peace and security (Article 4(j)). Although this might not appear to constitute a transfer of sovereign powers to the AU, member states effectively transferred some sovereignty by ratifying the Constitutive Act, thereby empowering the AU to intervene under specified circumstances.

Several scholars have highlighted the reluctance of African countries to cede their sovereignty. For instance, Francis Deng (2008) discusses how the principle of sovereignty has been deeply entrenched in the political culture of African states, often resulting in resistance to external interference. Timothy Murithi (2009) notes that the legacy of colonialism has made African states particularly sensitive to issues of sovereignty and external control. Moreover, Adebajo and Landsberg (2003) argue that despite the AU's more interventionist stance compared to the OAU, many African leaders remain wary of fully relinquishing sovereign powers due to fears of undermining national authority and autonomy. Englebert (2009; 2019) argues that the sovereignty of postcolonial African states largely stems from their recognition by other states and the United Nations, regardless of their actual effectiveness.

This emphasizes how important sovereignty is throughout Africa, especially in Ghana. Article 1 of the Fourth Republic of Ghana's 1992 Constitution states that the people of Ghana are the

country's sovereigns and that the government's authority must be used for the benefit of the people within the bounds of the constitution. Any law that contradicts the Constitution is null and void. The President of Ghana is designated as the Head of State, the Head of Government, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces under Article 57(1). The Ghanaian Armed Forces, which include the Army, Navy, and Air Force, are defined under Article 210(1), which also forbids the creation of armed forces without parliamentary approval. The Armed Forces are tasked with national defense and other developmental functions as determined by the President.

In the context of the Ghana and United States Defense Cooperation Agreement of 2018, there have been criticisms that the agreement compromises Ghana's security. Critics argue that allowing unlimited access to Ghana's strategic assets, including airports and radio spectrum, undermines Ghana's security and sovereignty. Article 8 of the agreement states, "Any disagreements regarding the interpretation or application of this Agreement, any implementing arrangement, or transactions executed hereunder shall be resolved through consultation and negotiations as necessary between the parties and shall not be referred to any national or international tribunal or third party for settlement." Some members of Parliament expressed grave concerns that such clauses in the agreement mean that individuals aggrieved by human rights abuses have no recourse to local, national, or international courts for justice, effectively "ousting the jurisdiction of Ghanaian courts and compromising the sovereignty of Ghana" (Parliamentary Debate, 2018; GoG/USA on Defence).



Parliamentarians also expressed disapproval of the Agreement's absence of clear termination points, claiming that this gives the agreement everlasting existence and binds all subsequent Ghanaian administrations indefinitely (Parliamentary Debate Report 2018; GoG/USA on

Defense). Furthermore, Ghana will grant the US Armed Forces, US contractors, and others unhindered access to facilities and areas that have been agreed upon, including a runway that satisfies US military standards, according to Article 5 of the Defense Cooperation Agreement.

Despite public criticism of the 2018 defense cooperation agreement (DCA) from diverse groups of people and organizations, including parliamentarians, academic institutions, civil society organizations, and political parties, President Akufo-Addo of the Government of Ghana (GoG), in a recorded televised speech in 2018, justified the deal. He recounted Ghana's formidable reputation in contributing to peacekeeping around the world and was unequivocal about the security safeguards that the 2018 DCA brought to Ghana (Africanews, 2018).

This thesis argues that the theoretical foundation of Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) is deeply rooted in realist paradigms of international relations. However, the general understanding of defense cooperation, influenced by realism in the unipolar world, has seen little application in developing countries, particularly in West African nations, including Ghana. As a result, there aren't many other ways to research defense cooperation. Remarkably and ironically, some researchers of international relations (IR) seek to challenge the conceptual dominance of Western IR in the field "by placing it into a broader global context" (Acharya and Buzan, 2019: 303; Waeber and Tickner, 2009).

In contrast, critical security studies, spearheaded by influential scholars such as Waeber and Buzan (2003), Ken Booth (1991), Keith Krause (1998), Michael C. Williams (2007), Barry Buzan (1998), Lene Hansen (2000), Richard Jackson (2005), and Lee Jarvis (2009), broaden the discourse by advocating for a departure from hardcore military-centric perspectives to a more diverse and self-

reflective understanding of security. Scholars of critical security studies also critique the inherent power structures within security discourses, questioning whose security is prioritized and who is marginalized in the process.

While scholarly literature and research address the proliferation of defense cooperation and the factors influencing defense cooperation in the post-Cold War context in developed countries (Kinne, 2018; Chansoria, 2020; Acharya, 2004; Waltz, 1979), their impact on less powerful states has yet to receive adequate scholarly attention. This thesis posits that defense cooperation is an essential facet of international relations and therefore deserves closer scholarly scrutiny. Enhancing our understanding of defense cooperation within an evolving geopolitical international system, where smaller states have agency, is crucial. For a thorough grasp of the wider effects of defense cooperation agreements on national security, this gap must be filled.

This thesis posits that a comprehensive application of critical security studies theory in the context of West African countries, particularly Ghana, can be used to understand the defense cooperation agreement between the United States and Ghana. Furthermore, Ghana's role in regional security efforts and its potential to serve as a stabilizing force in West Africa add layers of complexity to this collaborative venture. Thus, a nuanced analysis of the United States-Ghana Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) is indispensable for gaining insights into the underlying motives, challenges, and outcomes of this partnership. By critically examining the key dimensions of the 2018 DCA between Ghana and the United States, this study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of its impact on both national and regional security, with a particular emphasis on implications for Ghana's sovereignty under the Fourth Republic.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In recent years, Ghana's sovereignty has attracted significant scholarly and public attention, particularly regarding the United States-Ghana Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) and its implications for Ghana's and West Africa's security landscape. Scholars like Mearsheimer (2001, 2013), Tizzard et al. (2017), and Hyde-Price (2012) argue that in the post-Cold War era, the United States has pursued a strategy of offensive unipolarity, seeking hegemony in regions essential to its strategic interests. The 2018 U.S.-Ghana DCA, a prominent example of this approach, has garnered attention due to its potential impact on regional security dynamics. Rooted in a historical framework of diplomatic relations, the U.S.-Ghana DCA represents shared values and mutual interests in promoting regional peace and security. Kinne (2018; 2019) emphasizes that the post-Cold War period saw a dramatic rise in defense cooperation agreements worldwide, a shift driven by changes in global security especially the decline of interstate wars and the rise of nontraditional security threats. Scholars like Dutta (2009) argue that defense diplomacy is central to these agreements, while Drab (2018) highlights that U.S. defense diplomacy often aligns with broader strategic goals, such as promoting democratic regimes and expanding influence globally.

However, while defense cooperation agreements (DCAs) offer benefits, they also raise critical concerns about state sovereignty and asymmetric power dynamics. Scholars argue that DCAs can impact national and international security, particularly for smaller states that may face autonomy and dependency challenges when entering agreements with major powers (Milia, 2018; Kinne, 2018; Government Offices of Sweden Ministry of Defence, 2014; Sens, 1996; Waltz, 1979).

The Westphalian concept of sovereignty asserts that a nation-state holds absolute authority over its internal affairs without external interference, maintaining political and foreign autonomy along

with border control (Jackson, 2003; Brownlie, 2003; Wachira & Ayinla, 2006). Sovereignty thus requires equal legal standing among states, regardless of their size, prohibiting intervention in each other's internal or external affairs.

In the post-Cold War era and notably after September 11—2001 the international security landscape has transformed. Security threats now emerge from diverse sources, including non-state actors, pandemics, and internal unrest, which demand collaborative responses. This thesis examines the U.S.-Ghana defense cooperation within this context, analyzing the evolving nature of security threats and highlighting the necessity of international collaboration to address them.

The shift from state-centric to multi-dimensional security threats affects the U.S.-Ghana relationship, positioning the United States—a major global power—alongside Ghana, a relatively minor player in security terms. Since the Cold War's end, the U.S. has continuously stationed troops worldwide, a strategy informed by the post-9/11 philosophy of engaging with weak states and ungoverned spaces to counter emerging threats. The presence of U.S. troops has various effects on host countries, including social, economic, environmental, and security impacts.

Research suggests that hosting U.S. troops can have economic benefits, as investors may perceive a heightened sense of security, encouraging investment and trade. However, past studies have identified adverse consequences, including a "false sense of security" that may lead to reduced local policing efforts and an increase in crime. Environmental impacts, such as pollution from U.S. bases, are also notable.

Numerous examples illustrate these dynamics. In 2002, the death of two teenage girls in South Korea due to a U.S. military vehicle accident, followed by the soldiers' acquittal, sparked protests

and anti-American sentiment (Miyoshi Jager, 2003). Similar controversies have arisen in Afghanistan, where civilian casualties from U.S. airstrikes fueled anti-U.S. sentiment (Gall & Cloud, 2007). Research also shows that military-centric approaches alone often fail to establish lasting stability, as seen in Afghanistan, where two decades of U.S. military presence ended with the Taliban's resurgence following the U.S. withdrawal in 2021 (Biddle, 2022).

Additional cases highlight diplomatic complexities involving U.S. personnel abroad. In the U.K., a fatal accident involving a U.S. diplomat's spouse in 2019 led to diplomatic tension (Ferguson & Toland, 2020). The 2011 NATO-led intervention in Libya, while ending Gaddafi's rule, created a power vacuum exploited by extremist factions (Kuperman, 2013). In Syria, U.S. military actions had unintended effects, with regional instability enabling groups like ISIS to thrive (Phillips, 2016). Similarly, the long-standing U.S. military presence in Okinawa, Japan, has strained relations, with cases of violence against locals and complex jurisdictional issues under the Status of Forces Agreement (Mizuno, 2016; McCormack, 2021).

The past involvement of the U.S. military in Latin America and the Philippines serves as additional evidence of the possible social and human rights issues related to foreign bases. In 1991, the Philippine Senate decided to close U.S. bases in the country in response to public opposition, with the goal of reducing foreign influence (McCoy, 2009). Human rights violations and backing for contentious paramilitary groups have been connected to U.S. military assistance in Guatemala and Colombia in Latin America (Grandin, 2004; Stokes, 2005). Furthermore, U.S. bases frequently raise living expenses and property taxes, which force locals to relocate due to economic pressures (Lutz, 2009).

The Ghana-U.S. Defense Cooperation Agreement has prompted considerable debate in this broader context. This thesis argues that Ghana should undertake broad consultations with key national stakeholders before engaging in military agreements of this nature. Relevant stakeholders include the Ghanaian navy, air force, army, customs, immigration, preventive services, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Such consultations would ensure alignment with Ghana's legal framework and national interests.

In Ghana, reports indicate that the 2018 Defense Cooperation Agreement was initiated directly by then-President Donald Trump through a call to Ghanaian President Nana Akufo-Addo, allegedly bypassing parliamentary and civic review processes (Aning & Salihu, 2018). Mindful of existing concerns and literature about the United States of America's (USA) overbearing influence, as well as security risks posed to states which have Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) with the U.S., Ghana's agreement reignites questions of sovereignty and autonomy, as well as implications for Ghana's security.

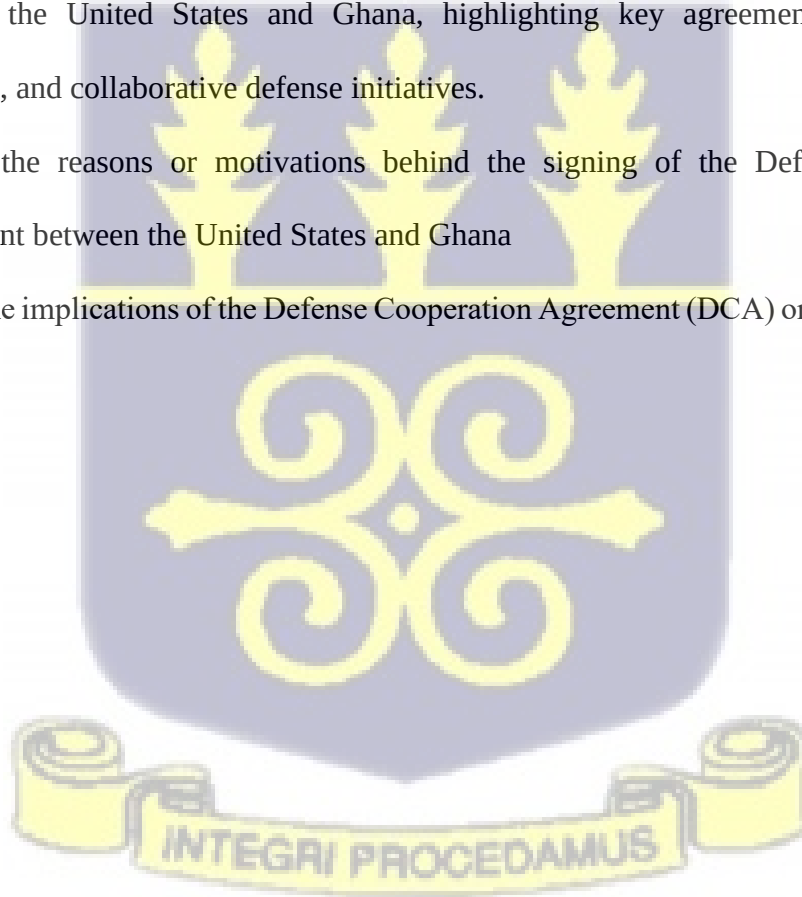
This research aims to examine the agreement's negotiation process, assess its benefits and disadvantages, and draw lessons for future agreements. The study also explores the impact of the U.S.-Ghana DCA on Ghana's national security and sovereignty, as well as its implications for U.S. foreign policy in West Africa.

Using critical security studies as a theoretical framework, this thesis explores the broader geopolitical dynamics shaping the U.S.-Ghana DCA. Ghana's increasing role in regional security could position it as a stabilizing force within West Africa, lending strategic depth to its defense partnership with the U.S. By critically analyzing the key aspects of the 2018 DCA, this study aims to provide a nuanced understanding of its effects on national and regional security.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this research is to evaluate the implications of the Defense Cooperation Agreement on Ghana's national security under Ghana's Fourth Republic. The specific objectives are:

- I. Provide a comprehensive historical overview of the diplomatic, economic, and military relations between the United States and Ghana
- II. Examine the key elements and provisions of the 2018 Defense Cooperation Agreement between the United States and Ghana, highlighting key agreements, joint military exercises, and collaborative defense initiatives.
- III. Explore the reasons or motivations behind the signing of the Defense Cooperation Agreement between the United States and Ghana
- IV. Assess the implications of the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) on Ghana's national security.



1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following are the research questions:

- I. How has the diplomatic, economic, and military relations between the United States and Ghana evolved overtime
- II. What are the key elements and provisions of the 2018 Defense Cooperation Agreement between Ghana and the United States?
- III. What are the reasons or motivations behind the signing of the Defense Cooperation Agreement between the United States and Ghana
- IV. What are the implications of the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) on Ghana's national security?

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

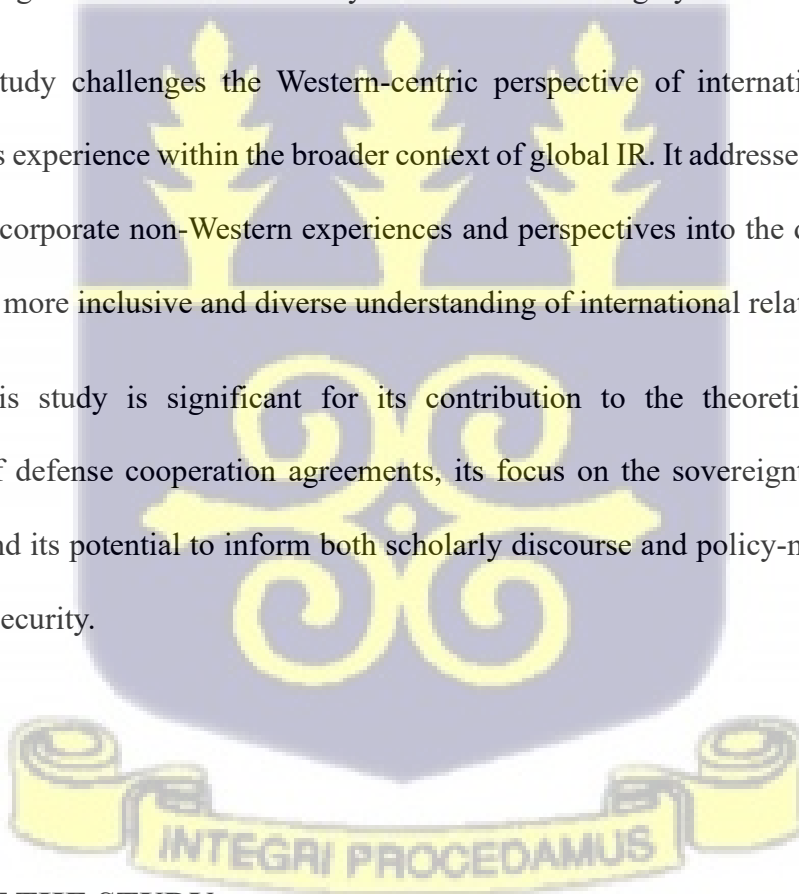
This study holds considerable significance for multiple reasons: Firstly, by focusing on the United States-Ghana Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) of 2018, it contributes to the broader field of international relations, particularly in understanding the dynamics of defense cooperation agreements. It addresses a crucial gap by examining how these agreements impact less powerful states, which have traditionally received less scholarly attention compared to their more powerful counterparts. This examination is essential for a comprehensive understanding of global defense cooperation trends in the post-Cold War era. The study employs both realism and critical security studies to analyze the DCA. Realism provides insights into the power dynamics and strategic interests underpinning such agreements, while critical security studies offer a nuanced perspective on how these agreements affect the sovereignty and security priorities of smaller states. This dual-theoretical approach enriches the discourse by highlighting the complex interplay of power, security, and state interests in international relations.

By scrutinizing the implications of the DCA for Ghana's sovereignty and regional security in West Africa, the research underscores the broader geopolitical and security ramifications of such agreements. Ghana's strategic role in regional stability and its aspirations to remain sovereign and secure make this study particularly relevant for policymakers and scholars interested in West African security dynamics.

The findings of this study have significant implications for policymakers in Ghana and other developing countries considering similar defense agreements. By providing a critical assessment of the DCA, the research can inform future negotiations and policy decisions, ensuring that such agreements are aligned with national security interests and sovereignty considerations.

Moreover, the study challenges the Western-centric perspective of international relations by situating Ghana's experience within the broader context of global IR. It addresses calls from global IR scholars to incorporate non-Western experiences and perspectives into the discipline, thereby contributing to a more inclusive and diverse understanding of international relations.

In summary, this study is significant for its contribution to the theoretical and practical understanding of defense cooperation agreements, its focus on the sovereignty and security of smaller states, and its potential to inform both scholarly discourse and policy-making in the field of international security.



1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This thesis critically examines the United States-Ghana Defense Cooperation Agreement within the timeframe of Ghana's Fourth Republican constitution, spanning from 1992 to 2023. The study

encompasses the administrations of Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the current president, and Jerry John Rawlings, the first president of the Fourth Republic. For two important reasons, however, the 2018 defense cooperation deal between Ghana and the United States is the main emphasis of the argument.

Firstly, the year 2018 marked a period of intense public debate surrounding the agreement, particularly regarding questions of sovereign equality in negotiating international security agreements. Secondly, the heightened security vulnerability in West Africa during this period, coupled with the United States' global interests in combating terrorism exemplified by the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks underscored the urgency for such defense cooperation. The agreement aimed to address security threats in the region, particularly terrorism and religious fundamentalism, ensuring that their effects would not compromise United States influence in West Africa.

In light of this, this study will mainly examine the dynamics, ramifications, and disputes surrounding the 2018 Defense Cooperation Agreement between Ghana and the United States, in the larger framework of Ghana's Fourth Republic.

1.7 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

There are seven chapters in this thesis. The context of the study, problem description, research aims, research questions, study importance, and study scope are all included in Chapter 1. Chapter Two looks at the literature review of the scholarly works on defense cooperation and national security discourse. Chapter three examines the theoretical framework upon which the study is

hinged. Furthermore, chapter four looks at the methodology, including research design, data collection, and analysis methods, and the sampling of this study. Chapter five of the thesis examines broadly the United States and Ghana relations and security relations Chapter six looks at the data analysis and the final chapter seven focuses on the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

1.8 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study delves into the intricacies of defense cooperation agreements (DCAs) between the United States and Ghana, particularly focusing on the 2018 DCA within the context of Ghana's Fourth Republic. The research objectives were to provide an overview of US-Ghana relations and defense cooperation, examine the implications of US defense cooperation on Ghana's sovereignty, and explore the effects of the 2018 DCA on Ghana's national security.

The study highlighted the historical framework of US-Ghana relations, emphasizing past collaborations and the evolution of defense cooperation efforts. It underscored the significance of defense cooperation agreements in modern international relations, particularly in addressing shared security threats and promoting regional stability.

Critically analyzing the 2018 DCA, the study uncovered debates and controversies surrounding its implications for Ghana's sovereignty and national security. While proponents argued that the agreement enhanced Ghana's security amidst regional instability, critics raised concerns about compromising Ghana's sovereignty and exposing strategic assets to potential threats.

The research also shed light on the complexities of military diplomacy and the challenges of navigating sensitive defense issues, particularly in accessing military establishments and classified

information. Notwithstanding its shortcomings, the study offered insightful information about the workings of defense cooperation agreements and how they affect both domestic and global security.

Ultimately, this research contributes to the body of knowledge in defense policymaking, offers reference points for policymakers, influences foreign relations dynamics, and enhances understanding of military diplomacy. It underscores the importance of careful consideration and balancing of national security interests and international partnerships in shaping defense cooperation agreements. Moving forward, further research and analysis are warranted to continue exploring the multifaceted nature of defense cooperation agreements and their impacts on global security dynamics.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature review stands as a pivotal component within any academic investigation. In the context of this study, a comprehensive examination of scholarly works about the aforementioned subject was undertaken. This entailed a meticulous perusal of books, journal articles, theses, and conference documents. Furthermore, reports and papers emanating from the domains of history, political sciences, international relations, defense, and security research were scrutinized, enriching the breadth and depth of the literature review for this paramount inquiry. This content of this chapter includes clarification of key concepts of the study such as defense cooperation and national security, and review of relevant literature on the defense cooperation.

2.2. CLARIFICATIONS OF KEY CONCEPTS OF THE STUDY.

This review critically assesses the notable contributions within the realm of international relations studies, focusing on defense policy, national security, and defense cooperation. Moreover, it underscores how the various frameworks, theories, models, and methodologies employed by scholars significantly enhance the existing body of knowledge in defense, national security, and defense cooperation scholarship. The examination of institutions, their processes, and structures provides a comprehensive perspective and facilitates accessibility for both scholars and practitioners engaged in these fields of study. This section thoroughly explores the conceptual underpinnings of defense cooperation and national security, along with an in-depth analysis of

defense policy. Additionally, it provides precise definitions of pivotal concepts and establishes clear distinctions from other defense agreements

2.3.1 Conceptualization of defense cooperation

This study conceptualizes defense cooperation as a covert defense arrangement between two or more states, manifested through various defense instruments. These instruments encompass recognized collaborations, such as international military education and exchange programs, and joint military exercises, all aimed at covertly influencing state behavior and sovereignty. Arms transfers further facilitate defense cooperation. While there exists ample literature on arms transfers and joint military exercises, there is a notable gap in understanding the implications of defense cooperation for national security. This study argues that defense cooperation covertly influences state behavior through military instruments, leading to a loss of sovereignty and an expansion of decision-making actors in national security. It emphasizes the covert nature of defense cooperation and its interlinkage with security issues among states.

2.3.2 Concept of national security

This study examines the increasingly prominent role of national security in international relations, focusing on how major powers utilize defense cooperation to enhance and sustain their global influence. Addressing this gap involves differentiating between national security and defense cooperation and exploring the factors major powers employ to advance their defense agendas internationally. Scholars such as T.V. Paul (2005) and Norrin Ripsman (2005) affirm that states remain the primary actors in international security, emphasizing the critical importance of understanding how nation-states navigate defense cooperation agreements.

Since the 1940s, right after World War II, the idea of national security has been up for discussion.

In his scholarly paper "National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol" (Patterson, 2013), published

in 1952, Arnold Wolfer challenged the unpredictability of the word "national security." According to Article 51 of the UN Charter, which acknowledges the inalienable right to individual or collective self-defense, national security has historically focused on defending a state's territory against military assaults by other states. However, interpretations of national security vary widely. Some define it narrowly, addressing only conventional threats, while others interpret it broadly, encompassing any potential harm to the state or its citizens. This ambiguity often leads to the use of national security rhetoric to justify various policy choices, sometimes without clearly linking perceived threats to the actual security of the state.

Apart from Wolfer, another critic of the idea of national security as vague is Barry Buzan (1991). Buzan's work expands on the notion that national security frameworks should be clearer in their definitions and objectives, particularly in the context of modern geopolitical challenges. He suggested that the term should be used with specifications to reduce the possibility of misunderstandings. Moreover, realist scholars assert that the concept of the nation-state includes the sovereign's control over domestic affairs, such as religion, and external security. This idea serves as a benchmark in international relations, founded on the principle of state sovereignty. Westphalian sovereignty, a key concept, is based on territorial integrity and non-interference, excluding external actors from domestic authority structures.

Holmes (2015) argues that the modern concept of national security emerged during the 17th century, notably during the Thirty Years' War in Europe and the English Civil War. Since then, the concept of security has become significantly associated with the state. This research contends that the study of national security can be traced back to the tragic devaluation of human life during these wars, which are among the most significant travesties in human civilization and should not be forgotten.

Nonetheless, Barry Buzan (1984) offers a thorough theoretical examination of the idea of national security, emphasizing how security-related issues are sometimes overlooked in academic writing. Whereas idealists prioritize peace, realists typically concentrate on power. Buzan claims that even in major presentations of US foreign policy, security considerations have been subordinated to morality, legality, territory expansion, and commercial empire. This is not to mean that security issues are disregarded; they are just not given priority in these interpretations. In order to maintain the balance between security and prosperity, this thesis contends that any nation-state's primary goal should be to maximize its capacity for survival and protection through national security initiatives.

National security strategy, according to Melvyn Leffler (1990), includes the choices and measures necessary to defend fundamental principles at home against outside dangers. He contends that because the national security method requires examining both home and foreign elements influencing policy, it offers a thorough interpretive framework for researching foreign policy. While revisionist and corporatist scholars believe domestic economic forces and social structures are of paramount importance, realists believe diplomatic behavior largely responds to the allocation of power in the international system.

Stephen Walt (1991) elaborates on this viewpoint by highlighting the balance of threat theory, which contends that states should form alliances based on perceived threats rather than merely the allocation of power. The neorealism of Kenneth Waltz (1979) further emphasizes the anarchic character of the international system, where state behavior is impacted by the need for security in a setting devoid of a centralized authority. Robert Jervis, on the other hand, talks about the security dilemma, which is when a state's efforts to improve its security unintentionally endanger other states, creating a vicious cycle of tension and conflict (Jervis, 1978).

A synthesis, for example, ought to examine the dynamic interplay between the two sources of foreign policy activity. The national security approach makes this assessment easier by connecting external dangers to fundamental principles at home. According to this study, the national security concept recognizes the importance of power in shaping state behavior and the operation of the international system. The national security approach's proponents contend that a country's military might—including its quantity of soldiers, tanks, aircraft, ships, missiles, and nuclear warheads—as well as its political stability, social cohesiveness, and economic output determine its level of power.

Today, the idea of the nation-state is a common language in academic security studies in international relations. This study argues that the most fundamental way to view national security is for nations to consider security as a paramount goal and an essential ingredient for state preservation, except when idealism or utopianism misleads leaders into misunderstanding the nation-state. Walter Lippmann (1943) argued that "a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war and is able, if challenged, to maintain them through victory in such a war." This notion implies that the security of a nation cannot be overemphasized, and the rise and fall of a nation are determined by its security system's capability to deter an attack or achieve victory.

The pre-Westphalian international system was based on the assumption of a universal principle governing the affairs of states, led by emperors, popes, kings, and princes, exemplified by the Holy Roman Empire. However, the new idea of the nation-state took a different approach. Scholars such as Hedley Bull (1977) argue that peace and stability could be better served if conflicts over universal principles, such as religion, were avoided. According to this study, an international

system based on the balance of nation-states and highlighting national sovereignty and self-defense to protect resources would be advantageous for the entire world.

Further expanding on this view, Howard (1983) asserts that the state's primary responsibility is to ensure its survival through adequate security measures. Similarly, Huntington (1993) discusses the clash of civilizations, emphasizing that cultural and civilizational identities are crucial in shaping state behavior and national security policies. Here is your revised text with improved academic writing and the inclusion of additional authors for a more comprehensive scholarly perspective: To begin, this study aligns with the realist paradigm, which asserts that the state is the central actor in the international system, as emphasized in the work of Mearsheimer (1984). According to scholarly literature, the state has traditionally held exclusive authority in defining what security means, rooted in sovereign control. Mearsheimer (2001) forcefully argues that the international system is anarchic, with no overarching authority to oversee the actions of states. Consequently, self-help becomes crucial in matters of international security.

In light of this, scholars are puzzled by the frequent use and varying interpretations of the term "national security" by both academics and policymakers. Some scholars posit that the definition of national security can be approached from two perspectives. The first perspective, known as the domain perspective, regards national security as encompassing external defense, internal security, public order, and disaster management. The second perspective, referred to as the national security perspective, extends the concept to include state security, communal security, and individual security.

In this approach, these characterizations are generally accurate so long as the nation-state is the referent object of security. It is also frequently believed, although, that national security entails a particular kind of security idea and procedure. National security, according to General Jacob L.

Devers, is hard to define or measure, hence it cannot be measured. His belief is that security is binary: a state can only be either secure or insecure; partial security is not an option because it equates to no security at all (Brodie, 1959).

The phrase "traditional national security paradigm" has become widely used, as if the state is either unimportant or unable to adjust with the times (Sil & Katzenstein, 2010). The area of national security is still important and developing, according to Roland Paris (2001), who argues that its purview now encompasses human rights, environmental sustainability, and economic stability. According to Edward Newman (2010), national security is also neither a traditional nor a specialized topic of study. In the modern international system, it is incorrect to disregard national security as the sole purview of *realpolitik* and an antiquated idea of national interest. In addition, scholars such as Robert Jervis (1978) and Stephen Walt (1987) emphasize the complexity and evolving nature of security dynamics. Jervis discusses the security dilemma, where measures taken by one state to increase its security can lead to increased insecurity for others. Walt's balance of threat theory further refines our understanding of how states respond to perceived threats rather than just power.

Importantly, modern academics have been discussing national security policies across countries, with a special emphasis on the transatlantic region. For instance, this topic has been thoroughly studied by Dannreuther and Peterson (2006) and Lucarelli et al. (2020). Furthermore, there is a substantial amount of research on Asian countries' national security postures, with particular attention on China (Christensen, 2011; Ji, 2015), Australia (Medcalf, 2014) and Japan (e.g., Hughes, 2004; Lind, 2016; Oros, 2008). These investigations frequently make use of particular theoretical frameworks or paradigmatic viewpoints.

Liberal scholars (Ikenberry, 2008), neoclassical realists (Saltzman, 2015), and regional security complex theorists (Wirth, 2015) have all made significant contributions to this body of work. National security, according to academics, is the intersection of the domestic and foreign domains, providing a conceptual framework for comprehending new issues in a globalized society. In the cyber arena, for example, transnational threats are posing a growing threat to sovereignty (Bensahel, 2020).

Gabriel Almond (1956) argued that national security policy encompasses the allocation of resources for the production, deployment, and employment of what might be termed the coercive facilities a nation uses in pursuing its interests. These coercive facilities include various foreign policy instrumentalities, such as diplomatic negotiation, economic means, and mass communication, in addition to military power. Almond posits that these four means—militaries, diplomatic, economic, and symbolic—are the major instruments of foreign policy.

Expanding on this framework, Michael Howard (1983) emphasizes the importance of integrating these instruments to create a cohesive national security strategy. Similarly, Joseph Nye (2004) introduces the concept of "smart power," combining hard and soft power resources to achieve strategic objectives. Robert Keohane (1984) and Lisa Martin (1992) further highlight the role of international institutions in shaping national security policies by promoting cooperation and reducing the likelihood of conflict.

In furtherance of its place in society, national security can be argued to be essential for the well-being and preservation of humanity. While Arnold Wolfers (1952) believes its mention will automatically generate some sympathy, other scholars such as Schultz (2007), Godson (2017), and Greenwood (1987) assert that everyone acknowledges the importance of security issues, which

deserve national attention and support. Indeed, national security is not only of paramount importance but also a critical pillar of nation-state survival.

It is also important to emphasize that national security is a broad concept, as noted by many scholars. However, Harold Lasswell (1950) argues that there can only be experts on specific aspects of it, rather than comprehensive national security experts. Barry Buzan (1991) supports this viewpoint by emphasizing the intricate and multidimensional character of national security, which includes societal, economic, military, and environmental aspects. By analyzing the balance of threat theory, which contends that governments build alliances based on perceived dangers rather than just power, Stephen Walt (1991) adds to this conversation. Similar to this, Joseph Nye (2004) presents the idea of "smart power," arguing that in order to accomplish strategic goals in national security, hard and soft power resources should be combined.

In his discussion of intelligence's role in national security, Betts (1997) highlights how crucial it is for decision-makers to have reliable information and analysis. This perspective is echoed by Howard (1983), who emphasizes the integration of military, diplomatic, economic, and symbolic instruments to formulate a cohesive national security strategy.

This thesis argues that while defense cooperation offers benefits, it also entails serious consequences for national security. Hosting another state's military assets on one's sovereign territory, for instance, poses significant threats that compromise national security projection and sovereignty. The national security of a state, being its foremost responsibility, cannot be outsourced to foreign entities.

Dutta (2009) defines defense cooperation as "any arrangement between two or more nations where their armed forces work together to achieve mutual aims and objectives." He posits that defense

cooperation is a crucial component of "defense diplomacy," facilitating the sharing of operational and doctrinal expertise, joint training, and the enhancement of military capabilities. Moreover, it strengthens bilateral ties, facilitates arms sales, and promotes the exchange of military technologies.

Defense cooperation, according to Kinne (2018; 2019) and other academics, entails bilateral frameworks and treaties that formalize continuing defense links between member countries. Coordination of defense policy, cooperative research and development, the manufacture of weapons, military drills, training and exchange initiatives, peacekeeping missions, and information sharing are just a few of the many activities that fall under this category.

This thesis emphasizes that while defense cooperation through DCAs has its benefits, several scholars argue that it can compromise national security. For instance, Acharya (2011) contends that hosting foreign military assets can lead to strategic vulnerabilities, as it may invite external threats and reduce a nation's autonomous decision-making capability. Similarly, Posen (2014) argues that reliance on foreign defense partnerships can weaken a state's self-reliance in defense, thereby compromising its long-term security. A specific example includes the case of U.S. military bases in Japan, which has sparked domestic opposition and concerns over Japan's national security autonomy (Calder, 2017). Furthermore, in the context of South Korea, Moon (2021) highlights that the presence of U.S. troops has led to tensions with North Korea and complicated South Korea's defense posture.

These criticisms highlight how crucial it is to strike a balance between the advantages of defense cooperation and the necessity of preserving national security sovereignty and autonomy. Scholars like Waltz (2010) and Mearsheimer (2001) contend that the extensive reach of defense cooperation might jeopardize national security by drawing governments into intricate and potentially unstable

dependencies. Extensive R&D and industrial cooperation, for example, may result in technology dependencies that the partner state could take advantage of. Additionally, as Johnson (2007) discusses, a country may be exposed to espionage and intelligence concerns through the sharing of confidential information and joint military exercises. These risks are exemplified by the relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia; considerable military cooperation and arms sales have raised concerns about the United States' reliance on Saudi oil and its potential effects on national security, especially in light of the two nations' divergent strategic interests (Bronson, 2006).

The concept of national security is defined as purposeful action, subordinated to the interests of state wellbeing and internal order. State agencies and organizations are granted the authority to carry out such activities. However, the definition of national security does not encompass the quality of life of a state's inhabitants, environmental protection interests, or the stability of political processes within the state. The idea of national security is often narrowly framed, focusing solely on military preparedness, neglecting social phenomena such as crime levels in the country (Teivāns-Treinovskis & Jefimovs, 2012).

These critiques emphasize the need for careful consideration of the scope and depth of defense cooperation to avoid compromising national security and sovereignty. According to this study, Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) can be formed between any two states and are primarily motivated by geostrategic and economic factors rather than particular shared histories or events, such as postcolonial ties or geographic proximity. The Defense Cooperation Agreement Dataset (DCAD) shows many relationships that appear unlikely. For example, despite both countries' historical adherence to neutrality and nonalignment, Sweden and Indonesia signed a DCA in late 2016 (Smith, 2017; Brown, 2018). This feature distinguishes DCAs from custom security

agreements made for particular parties, like the denuclearization treaties between the US and Ukraine (Jones, 2011), the demilitarized zone agreements between South Korea and North Korea (Lee, 2019), or the French-Spanish treaties on ETA matters (Miller, 2005).

Commissions, task forces, working groups, and joint committees are frequently examples of these procedures (Abbott & Snidal, 2000). Examine the following passage from a 2005 DCA between Saudi Arabia and Sweden: "To monitor and improve military cooperation between the two countries, a Joint Military Committee will be formed. Should any obstacles arise concerning this Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), each party will appoint representatives at a later date. The committee will convene annually in each respective country. Recommendations formulated by the committees will be submitted to the respective authorities of both countries for approval. The committee may establish specialized task forces from each party to address specific areas of military cooperation" (Sweden-Saudi Arabia DCA, 2005).

Additionally, a lot of Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) mandate that signatories create yearly plans for defense cooperation. Summits, policy objectives, exercises, exchanges, pending contracts, and other pertinent details should all be covered in these preparations (Smith, 2017; Brown, 2018). These plans, which can be dozens of pages long, offer detailed information on hundreds of distinct events. This requirement is exemplified by a 2011 DCA between the Czech Republic and Moldova, which states: "The Parties shall develop and approve annual plans for bilateral cooperation in accordance with the requirements of this Agreement. The Parties will develop the yearly cooperation plan for the following year (Czech Republic-Moldova DCA, 2011).

The wording of the treaties themselves best demonstrates the unexpected symmetry of DCAs. Instead of formal names, DCAs frequently use phrases like "the Parties" and "Signatories." Additionally, they usually use language that is resonant with equality. "Friendly relations and

cooperation," "mutually beneficial cooperative activities," "mutual access to training areas," "mutually agreed to joint projects," "mutual consent of the Parties," and other terms are all mentioned in a 2007 DCA between Indonesia and Singapore. However, some DCAs impose duties that are blatantly unequal, particularly when a significant power is one of the signatories. When an agreement seems to be asymmetric, DCAD incorporates a "asymmetry trigger," as will be covered below.

DCAs are long-term agreements. Two years is the shortest agreement in DCAD. Ten years or more are the duration of over half of the agreements. Unless and until at least one signature decides to leave, a significant portion of agreements are indefinite. Although long-term agreements are by no means rare in the field of international law, this feature sets DCAs apart from the many short-term security agreements, protocols, and contracts that are found in treaty repositories.

Strengthening defense cooperation between nations is typically associated with the development of friendships and true national freedom, both of which are essential for the preservation and transformation of society. Countries may sign multiple Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs), and defense cooperation has increased. Some nations have signed the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) in order to simply replace agreements that are about to expire. In other instances, nations have signed a general DCA to unify their diverse subject area commitments under a common framework, while they have taken a piecemeal approach to defense cooperation through sector agreements. Another option is that governments might substitute more comprehensive, legally enforceable agreements for weaker ones.

Scholars such as Mearsheimer (2001) and Waltz (2010) argue that defense cooperation can have significant implications for national security. Mearsheimer (2001) contends that extensive military cooperation can entangle states in alliances that may inadvertently draw them into conflicts not

aligned with their national interests. Waltz (2010) goes on to say that a state's security self-sufficiency may be compromised by an over-reliance on defense cooperation, leaving it open to the strategic aims and interests of its allies. For example, domestic opposition to U.S. military bases in Japan has been raised by those who question Japan's capacity to preserve its security autonomy (Calder, 2007). Comparably, given the strategic differences between the two nations, the military partnership between the United States and Saudi Arabia has sparked concerns about the long-term effects on American national security (Bronson, 2006).

In conclusion, while Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) facilitate enhanced military cooperation and strengthen international ties, they also present significant national security risks. The broad scope and long-term nature of these agreements can lead to dependencies, strategic vulnerabilities, and potential compromises in sovereignty. Therefore, it is crucial for states to carefully evaluate the implications of such agreements, balancing the benefits of cooperation with the need to safeguard their national security and sovereignty.

2.3 REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENTS (DCAS)

The literature review on Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) has been organised into six main thematic areas: (1) Historical and Theoretical Foundations, (2) Contemporary Developments and Trends, (3) Critical Security Studies and The Dynamics of Defense Cooperation (4) Defense Cooperation and Civil-Military Relations (5) The Intersection of Defense Cooperation and Defense Policy.

2.3.1 Historical evolution of defense cooperation

Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) are broad, defense-oriented legal frameworks between signatories that facilitate cooperation in fundamental areas like defense policy coordination, research and development, joint military exercises, education and training, arms procurement, and the exchange of classified information. Scholars like Dutta (2009) define defense cooperation as "any arrangement between two or more nations where their armed forces work together to achieve mutual aims and objectives,". On the other hand, Kinne (2018) and Chansoria (2020) see DCA as comprehensive, defense-focused legal frameworks that allow signatories to collaborate in core areas like research and development, defense policy coordination, joint military exercises, education and training, arms procurement, and the sharing of classified information.

Defense cooperation has, for many centuries, fascinated scholars such as Thucydides, Hobbes, and Clausewitz in the fields of international relations and security studies. These scholars have explored how defense cooperation secures state interests and maintains stability. Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War is a classic treatise on politics, providing early insights into the dynamics of power and alliance formation (Forde, 1995; Lebow, 2001). Hobbes, in his seminal work Leviathan, emphasized the necessity of a powerful sovereign to maintain order and security, which can be extrapolated to understand the importance of defense alliances in international relations (Hobbes, 1651; Malcolm, 2011). Clausewitz's On War further elaborates on the strategic dimensions of warfare and alliances, underscoring the interplay between military power and political objectives (Clausewitz, 1832; Howard & Paret, 1976).

The theoretical foundation of defense treaties can be traced back to the Westphalian nation-state system, which emphasized the sovereignty of nation-states and their focus on power, security, and state interests (Osiander, 2001; Teschke, 2003,). This system provides a robust framework for

understanding the motivations behind defense cooperation. Holsti (2004) discusses the evolution of the international state system and its impact on the formation of defense alliances. Additionally, Wendt (1999) and Keohane (1984) explore how state interests and identities shape international cooperation, including defense agreements. These foundational theories offer critical insights into the enduring nature of defense cooperation in securing national interests and maintaining international stability.

The United States signed a number of defense pacts with allies in Europe, South America, and Asia in the late 1940s and early 1950s. With a strong emphasis on the delivery of military assistance, many of these agreements were formed in accordance with the Mutual Defense Assistance Act or its successor, the Mutual Security Act (Connery & David, 1951, p. 215; Kaplan, 1980; Kolko & Kolko, 1972; Scott, 1951). The status of forces, the construction of American bases and/or personnel, or the usage of airspace by American military aircraft were the subjects of other agreements (Erickson, 1994, Stambuk, 1963). These extremely asymmetric agreements were intended to preserve or strengthen the United States' military dominance (Painter, 1986; Gaddis, 1992). Similar pacts were made between European nations and their former colonies (Martin, 1995,). These and similar accords, in spite of their asymmetry, were akin to modern Defense Cooperation accords (DCAs) in that they created comprehensive, long-term defense frameworks (Lake, 1999; Morrow, 1991).

Limited agreements that addressed the preservation of intellectual property rights for military sectors were among the earliest attempts to explore mutuality in defense commitments. These included European states such as Sweden, France, Norway, and West Germany, as well as the United States and its European allies (Gapcynski, 1972; Saragovitz & Dobkin, 1968,). Similar

accords developed between governments in Southeast Asia and South America, as well as among the Eastern Bloc states, especially East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland (Mastny, 1996,).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a fundamental model for bilateral defense framework agreements was developed. The waning of the Cold War, the decline of traditional interstate war, and the rise of nontraditional threats like terrorism, trafficking, transnational rebel groups, piracy, and nonstate weapons proliferation are some of the historical reasons for this trend that are covered in greater detail by Kinne (2018,) (Huntington, 1993; Nye, 2004). Given these emerging dangers, some governments have openly stated their intention to reshape their defense alliances (New Era Forces US, Israel, 1992).

Following the fall of the Soviet Union, the first wave of DCAs appeared in the early 1990s. Particularly, post-Soviet countries sought bilateral security connections in response to the complex dangers they faced from a waning superpower and dormant transnational movements (Cottey, 1995, p. 45; Buzan & Waever, 2003). Nevertheless, this wave involved regional powers such as Brazil, South Africa, Argentina, Turkey, and many more, and it went much beyond Europe (Hirst, 2001; Shaw, 1994).

2.3.2 A brief history of military exercises and training

The evolution of military exercises and training reflects a timeless imperative in statecraft: ensuring the capability to defend against threats and achieve strategic objectives through organized military power. From ancient philosophical treatises to modern international relations theories, the emphasis on military preparedness underscores its pivotal role in maintaining state sovereignty and security in a competitive global arena. Military exercises and training have long been recognized as essential components of military capability, crucial for defending and prevailing in warfare.

In contemporary international relations, theorists like Kenneth Waltz highlight the role of military capability as a deterrent against aggression and a tool for coercive diplomacy. The ability to demonstrate military prowess through exercises reinforces a country's credibility in global affairs, influencing both allies and adversaries. This thesis asserts that military exercises not only enhance operational readiness but also project national power, influencing perceptions of security and guiding foreign policy decisions. By examining historical precedents and theoretical frameworks, it becomes evident that military strength provides a multitude of benefits to a country's security and strategic posture on the international stage. Throughout history, political philosophers such as Plato in *The Republic* (375 BC), Clausewitz in *On War* (1780-1831,), and Machiavelli in *The Prince* (1513,) have all emphasized the critical role of military strength in statecraft and governance.

Machiavelli's counsel in *The Prince* underscores the necessity for rulers to prioritize military affairs, stating that a leader's study and resources should primarily focus on war and its organization (Machiavelli, 1513,). Similarly, Clausewitz highlights the military's central role in achieving state policy objectives through warfare, stressing its significance for the state's survival and life (Clausewitz, 1832,). Scholars such as Clausewitz, in his seminal work *On War* (1832), emphasize the importance of military readiness in achieving political goals through force. He argues that military strength not only ensures national security but also shapes foreign policy outcomes. Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* (circa 5th century BC,) similarly stresses the necessity of preparedness and strategic training in overcoming adversaries. This perspective resonates with contemporary international relations theories, such as Mearsheimer's concept of an anarchic international system where states must rely on self-help for security (Mearsheimer, 2001).

According to Morgenthau (1965), human beings are inherently political animals driven by a desire for power (*animus dominandi*). This quest for power necessitates securing a political space where states can protect their territories, maintain autonomy, and safeguard themselves from external pressures. The sovereign state thus becomes the ultimate entity for arranging and enjoying security, as security beyond and between states remains inherently challenging and subject to the dynamics of power politics. In his influential book *The Art of War* (published about the fifth century BC,), the ancient Chinese strategist Sun Tzu made the case that there are five unchanging elements in warfare, including the "Method of Discipline." He suggests, "If in training soldiers commands are habitually enforced, the army will be well-disciplined; if not, its discipline will be bad." In addition, Sun Tzu states that "Maneuvering with an army is advantageous; with an undisciplined multitude, most dangerous" (Sun Tzu, around 5th century BC,). Exercises as realistic as real battles were part of the peacetime war preparation process.

According to historical accounts, the Roman historian Josephus made a comment regarding Roman soldiers following the Roman conquest of the Jewish people (A.D. 67–73): "They do not sit with folded hands in peace-time only to put themselves in motion in the hour of need. On the contrary, as though they had been born with weapons in hand, they never have a ceasefire from training, never wait for emergencies to arise. Moreover, their peace maneuvers are no less strenuous than veritable warfare. Indeed, it would not be wrong to describe their maneuvers as bloodless combats and their combats as sanguinary maneuvers" (Josephus, *The Jewish War*, p. 128). Future generations of military leaders would rediscover their training techniques to adapt to modern conflict, and the Roman army was renowned for its discipline in combat.

In his 2007 book *Medieval Warfare: Triumph and Domination in the Wars of the Middle Ages*, Peter Reid makes the case that monarchs and lords of the Middle Ages organized armies for

particular conflicts and stocked them with hired or indentured men-at-arms as well as professional knights. Due to the ad hoc nature of medieval military mobilization, commoners were expected to ride horses and use their weapons effectively as part of their daily lives, while knights were expected to train during peacetime jousting tournaments or melees originally friendly sporting battles that evolved into mutually agreed-upon violent conflicts.

Montgomery (2020) opines that in the public domain, assessments of military power depend on variables such as the amount of money that nations spend on defense each year, the number of men and women in the armed forces, and the number of advanced weapons systems they possess. These issues highlight the concept and importance of defense policy-making for the preservation of states and for people to realize a return on their defense investment, as the Armed Forces provide an umbrella under which citizens of the world can feel the guarantee of security and protection.

In conclusion, the historical and theoretical perspectives on military exercises and training underscore their critical role in ensuring military effectiveness and strategic advantage. From Sun Tzu and the disciplined Roman legions to the medieval knights and contemporary defense policies, the consistent theme is that continuous training and preparedness are essential for maintaining a capable and credible military force. This continuous investment in military readiness not only enhances national security but also reinforces a nation's position and influence in international affairs.

2.3.3 Contemporary developments and trends in Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs)

The primary determination of this section is to review and examine factors influencing the proliferation of Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) among nation-states in contemporary international relations. According to scholars like Kinne (2018), the character of defense cooperation underwent a dramatic change with the end of the Cold War. According to Kinne

(2018,)), the role and reach of DCAs have been profoundly impacted by historical evidence of the end of the Cold War and the ensuing changes in the global security environment. The growing significance of DCAs has been attributed to a number of factors, including the decrease in interstate conflicts, the emergence of non-traditional security threats like cyber and terrorism, and the growing significance of regional stability. Defense cooperation agreements have become more common among states, according to Kinne (2018), who also claims that changes in the international security landscape during the 1980s have increased demand for DCAs. According to him, the most prevalent type of structured defense collaboration at the moment is bilateral defense cooperation agreements. According to Kinne, defense cooperation entails formal agreements that create extensive legal frameworks focused on defense, enabling collaboration in core areas like research and development, joint military exercises, education and training, defense policy coordination, arms procurement, and the sharing of classified information.

According to scholarly literature, nation-states are increasingly confronted with internal, external, and historical contingencies, which are the basis for the desire for defense cooperation agreements (DCAs). The Cold War big power politics and the prospect of aggression are examples of these situations. These claims are supported by Kinne (2018), who claims that exogenous factors like changes in the global security landscape—such as the fall of the Soviet Union, the decrease in interstate conflict, and the rise of nontraditional security threats—have raised the demand for DCAs and the joint benefits of defense cooperation.

According to Chansoria (2020,)), the most prevalent type of institutionalized defense collaboration is bilateral defense cooperation agreements. She claims that these official defense agreements create comprehensive defense-oriented legal frameworks among signatories, promoting collaboration in core areas like research and development, joint military exercises, education and

training, arms procurement, defense policy coordination, and the sharing of classified information. Similarly, Chansoria (2020,) and Kinne (2018) contend that there are currently around a thousand defense cooperation agreements (DCAs) in effect, which may have a broad influence on the results of national and international security. Defense cooperation agreements (DCAs) are one tactic used by nation-states to modernize their militaries, strengthen their defense capabilities, improve coordinated responses to shared security threats, and align themselves with communities of like-minded collaborators in response to an increasingly complex security environment, according to Kinne (2018,) and other scholars. Exogenous shifts in the global security landscape during the Cold War have been cited by academics as the origins of defense cooperation. The United States' military strategy has changed to accommodate a more complicated security environment, according to Shearer (2017). The necessity of a "principled security network," of which bilateral defense accords are an essential part, was recently stated by Secretary of Defense Ash Carter, as he cited.

Traditional issues like Russian assault from the east would be addressed by this network, as well as contemporary ones like cyberwarfare, terrorism, piracy, refugee flows, humanitarian aid, and natural disasters. Some contend that the need for innovative kinds of collaboration has grown as a result of the current global security environment. Governments don't just sign military cooperation agreements (DCAs) at random, according to scholars. According to this study, different states are exposed to distinct security risks, and collaborations with some states have greater potential for mitigating these risks than with others. However, using historical records, this study's chapter identifies three interconnected but crucially different forces on the bilateral desire for defense cooperation: Modernization, common security threats, and alignment within security communities. After that, these variables are combined to create a set of control variables for analysis. According

to scholarly research, nations are increasingly using defense cooperation agreements (DCAs) to strengthen their armed forces. This section's main goal is to explore and analyze the variables affecting nation-states' proliferation of Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) in modern international relations. According to scholars like Kinne (2018), the character of defense cooperation underwent a dramatic change with the end of the Cold War. According to Kinne (2018,), the role and reach of DCAs have been profoundly impacted by historical evidence of the end of the Cold War and the ensuing changes in the global security environment. The growing significance of DCAs has been attributed to a number of factors, including the decrease in interstate conflicts, the emergence of non-traditional security threats like cyber and terrorism, and the growing significance of regional stability. According to Kinne (2018), states have been signing more military cooperation agreements, and the demand for DCAs has increased as a result of changes in the global security landscape since the 1980s. According to him, the most prevalent type of structured defense collaboration at the moment is bilateral defense cooperation agreements. According to Kinne, defense cooperation entails formal agreements that create extensive legal frameworks focused on defense, enabling collaboration in core areas like research and development, joint military exercises, education and training, defense policy coordination, arms procurement, and the sharing of classified information.

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interstate conflict, and the rise of nontraditional security threats—have raised the demand for DCAs and the joint benefits of defense cooperation.

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These historical narratives convert into a set of simple empirical expectations when combined with cooperative theory. First, calls for modernization suggest that collaboration with powerful, affluent partners presents the best opportunities for mutual benefit, assuming all other factors remain constant. Additionally, because of their capacity to provide weapons and supplies, nations involved

in the international arms trade ought to be given preference as military partners. This anticipation should be tempered by the fact that, despite the fact that alliances with militarily strong nations are more likely to result in tangible benefits, these nations frequently see one another as rivals.

Therefore, military might should make defense cooperation agreements (DCAs) more likely, but only amongst reliable allies. Second, the combined benefits of military cooperation should rise in tandem with nations' shared security risks, whether they are nonstate or interstate. Defense pacts have always been prompted by the perception of shared threats. The danger level directly affects the value of defense cooperation and, thus, the demand for it in conventional public goods models of alliances. A matching association with defense cooperation agreements (DCAs) is anticipated by this study.

Third, when governments are politically similar, have comparable foreign policy preferences, or are otherwise strategically useful, joint gains are increased, according to the alignment and security communities' discussion. Accordingly, this study anticipates that the likelihood of military cooperation agreements (DCAs) will rise with shared foreign policy interests. Additionally, this study anticipates that bilateral commerce will promote defense cooperation agreements since international trade represents strategic economic objectives.

Fourth, conventional military alliances use a range of strategies to exert influence. Allied nations are more likely to face similar dangers, have similar foreign policy objectives, and are better able to meet each other's modernization needs. Therefore, in general, alliances have to raise the demand for defense cooperation agreements (DCAs). However, because NATO's typically broad mandate extends into areas like training, defense research, joint exercises, etc.—all of which are covered under defense cooperation agreements (DCAs), this study expects a special impact from the alliance. Because of its historical susceptibility to war and interstate conflicts, this paper contends

that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) states should have a greater demand for defense cooperation agreements.

Additionally, this study suggests that the sovereign position of all NATO members inside the European Union has been jeopardized and mortgaged by defense cooperation among NATO member states. According to this study, defense cooperation has an impact on national security even though it is a crucial tool for enhancing state security generally. This is because it restricts the ability of individual states to look for other opportunities in the global security market and select which nations to purchase armaments from.

The importance and necessity of defense cooperation agreements (DCAs) are further explained by academics that combine cooperation theory with insights from social network research. Additionally, Kinne and Kang's (2023) research proposes a network theory of burden sharing and looks at how states divide up the costs of collective defense. They concentrate on bilateral defense cooperation agreements (DCAs), which foster collaboration in a range of military, security, and defense-related fields. They contend that because President Donald Trump regularly attacked NATO during his presidency, pointing fingers at member nations for failing to pay their fair amount, the issues of burden sharing and defense cooperation have gained attention from the public (Reuters, 2 April, 2019). According to Kinne and Kang (2023), the network structure of defense cooperation agreements (DCAs) determines how much money the parties spend on defense. By committing states to defense activities and enabling partners to penalize free-riding in return, defense cooperation agreements (DCAs) raise defense spending on a bilateral basis. However, DCAs have the opposite effect of decreasing defense spending when a state's local network of defense alliances becomes more densely connected, with numerous transitive "friend of a friend" relationships. States spend less on defense the more fully they are integrated into bilateral defense

networks. Kinne and Kang (2023,) differentiate between two possible causes for this effect: free-riding and efficiency gains. Using multilevel inferential network models, an empirical examination suggests efficiency rather than free-riding. By enabling nations to create security more effectively, defense networks lower defense spending.

Cottey and Foster (2004,) contend that the most significant change over the past ten years has been the use of defense cooperation to further larger foreign and security policy objectives through military cooperation and assistance, in addition to its traditional realpolitik function of bolstering the armed forces and allied security. Developing cooperative ties with past or prospective enemies is part of this. They point out that defense diplomacy has been continuously justified as a strategic necessity for managing interstate relations throughout peacetime in the post-Cold War era. This entails making noteworthy progress in the areas of crisis management, conflict avoidance, and conflict resolution. Furthermore, they claim that this progress is expected to occur through changing norms and attitudes, offering reassurances about intentions, supporting confidence-building measures, and building common interests within international social and military networks.

Prior to these changes, Dutta (2009) proposed that defense cooperation is a crucial component of defense diplomacy. Defense cooperation, according to him, is "any arrangement between two or more nations where their armed forces work together to achieve mutual aims and objectives." Defense cooperation, according to Dutta (2009), attempts to sell weapons and military technologies, build ties with other nations, improve military capability, and share operational and doctrinal expertise. Furthermore, by fostering friendships, averting crises, and fostering mutual trust and capacities globally, defense cooperation is a perfect weapon for achieving both national and foreign policy goals, according to Dutta (2009).

Drab (2018,) asserts that the US administration has set the standard for the use of the military as an instrument of statecraft. He contends that the US has associated defense diplomacy with the capacity to comprehend, interact with, impact, and change important foreign audiences via words and deeds in order to promote US interests, increase awareness of US policy, and cooperatively mold the operating environment. Atkinson (2006,) made a significant contribution to the literature by asserting that US military engagement efforts have been a minor but significant factor in the US government's efforts to establish democratic governments globally. According to this paper, defense cooperation is an imperialist defense policy arrangement that uses defense programs and other political and economic tools to increase the United States' unipolar policy's supremacy.

Nevertheless, Cottey and Foster (2004,) argue that growing challenges to national security have been experienced in many European countries, leading to the adoption of defense diplomacy assignments. It's interesting to note that the challenges of burden sharing in defense cooperation have generated heated discussion and public discussion. For instance, during President Donald Trump's administration, he frequently criticized North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member states in Europe for "not paying their fair share" and insisted that "the distribution of costs has to be changed" (Reuters, 2019, p. 3).

Additional scholars have also discussed the issue of burden sharing in defense cooperation. For example, Sloan (2005, p. 143) explores the dynamics of burden sharing within NATO and argues that financial contributions and military capabilities need to be more equitably distributed among member states. Similarly, Thies (2015) examines how political and economic pressures influence the willingness of NATO countries to contribute to collective defense efforts. Moreover, Noetzel and Schreer (2009, p. 59) analyze the strategic implications of burden sharing for NATO's

operational effectiveness and cohesion, emphasizing the importance of maintaining a balanced and fair distribution of responsibilities.

Flockhart (2014) discusses how DCAs have evolved to address contemporary security challenges through multilateral frameworks and networks. Rathbun (2007) highlights the role of trust and cooperation in international defense agreements, emphasizing the importance of building reliable partnerships. Williams (2008) explores the impact of global power shifts on defense cooperation, noting that emerging powers have increasingly engaged in DCAs to enhance their strategic influence. Furthermore, Molas-Gallart (2002,) examines the role of defense technology and innovation as critical components of modern DCAs, underscoring the importance of technological collaboration in defense strategies. Cornish and Edwards (2001) provide insights into the European perspective on defense cooperation, analyzing how the European Union has developed its defense policies to complement NATO efforts and address regional security concerns.

The Government Offices of Sweden Ministry of Defence (2014) argues that in view of the complicated issues often raised by defense cooperation, there is a tendency to limit participation to a relatively small group of countries linked by geographical or cultural proximity. Furthermore, they argue that the United States is the world's leading power in terms of both military capabilities and research and development, making cooperation with the United States desirable for most countries.

The claim that unipolar regional systems encourage security and defense cooperation is made by Vaz et al. (2022). In a unipolar system, nations collaborate in defense because it benefits them in multiple ways, driven by the desire to maximize their gains: (a) To preserve, update, or even expand their military capabilities without encountering resistance from the unipolar state or starting an arms race. (b) To raise their standing in relation to the unipolar state without going over

budget. (c) To use multilateral alignments to contain possible new hegemonic aspirants from the standpoint of the unipolar state. (d) To make use of institutions to improve their own and the state's overall capacity.

States should think about five factors if they want to use regional defense and security cooperation to increase their power and survival chances: (a) how capabilities are distributed among system units; (b) what kind of cooperation is promoted; (c) how cooperation affects state capacity; (d) how the institutions created by such cooperation are designed; and (e) how successful cases are emulated (Rezende, 2015).

There is a wealth of circumstantial evidence supporting the importance of DCAs. In order to guarantee access to defense-related training, education, material, weaponry, and research, Mongolia formed a network of around three dozen DCAs following the loss of its Soviet backer in the early 1990s (Growth of Mongolia's Defense Cooperation, 2017, p. 15). Arms deliveries, counterterrorism exercises, cooperative antidrug exercises in the Arabian Sea, and even the inclusion of a Pakistani boat in Russia's Navy Day parade were all results of a historic 2014 DCA between Russia and Pakistan (Pakistan, Russia very uncommon, 2018, p. 22). In a broader sense, Kinne (2018,) demonstrates that DCAs decrease the incidence of militarized conflicts while increasing the frequency of cooperative bilateral events, multilateral uses of force, joint military exercises, contributions to peacekeeping missions, and weapons commerce.

Defense cooperation's security architecture is moving from bilateral to trilateral and even quadrilateral frameworks in the modern world (Burgess, 2019). According to his hypothesis, the Indo-Asia-Pacific (IAP) area is seeing an increase in calls for multilateral defense cooperation. In light of China's territorial expansionism, increased deterrence and power projection in the ensuing decades would be made possible by multilateral collaboration between the US, Japan, Australia,

and India. These patterns show how the US is changing its approach; it no longer only depends on cooperation with one ally, like Japan, or unilateral deterrence. To preserve the status quo in the region, the US is actively fostering trilateral and quadrilateral defense cooperation as force multipliers.

In short, Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) have become central to governments' defense strategies. Concepts of Defense Cooperation and Defense Diplomacy are often used interchangeably, reflecting a broad understanding of its role as a diplomatic tool. However, there remains a challenge in fostering multilateral defense cooperation without exacerbating the security dilemma (Burgess, 2019).

Additional scholars reinforce these findings. For instance, Posen (2003) discusses the concept of "command of the commons" and its influence on multilateral defense cooperation, particularly in securing access to global commons like seas and airspace. Acharya (2014) highlights the role of regional institutions, such as ASEAN, in promoting security cooperation in Asia. Nye (2004) underscores the importance of soft power, suggesting that defense diplomacy can enhance a nation's influence without coercion. These perspectives offer a more nuanced understanding of the evolution of defense cooperation in a multipolar world.

According to Bjola and Kornprobst (2017), diplomacy is an age-old institution that remains central to international relations despite the shifting global landscape since the Cold War. They note that historically, countries have deployed military officers abroad as liaisons, intelligence gatherers, and representatives of state interests. Kron (2015) further argues that while other foreign policy tools exist, diplomacy remains primary, supplementing these other tools.

Nissen (2017) adds that the role of defense diplomacy remained relatively unchanged until the twenty-first century. Military attachés, granted official diplomatic rights by the Vienna Convention in 1961, exemplify how defense personnel serve as liaisons to strengthen diplomatic ties (Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961, p. 18).

However, as Cottey and Foster (2013) contend, the idea of defense diplomacy in its current form emerged in the 1990s. They describe defense diplomacy as “the peacetime use of armed forces and related infrastructure, primarily defense ministries, as a tool of foreign and security policy,” which specifically includes military cooperation and assistance. According to Cottey and Foster (2013), this includes: (a) Bilateral and multilateral cooperation between senior military and civilian Ministry of Defense officers, (b) The placement of defense attachés in friendly countries, (c) Training for defense and military officers, (d) Advice in democratic control of armed forces and defense management, (e) Contact and exchange of military personnel and units, (f) Placement of personnel in partner nations’ defense ministries or armed forces, (g) Provision of military equipment and assistance, and (h) Bilateral and multilateral training exercises.

Multazam (2010,) explains that defense diplomacy has three main characteristics: it fosters confidence-building measures to improve relations and reduce tensions; it enhances defense capabilities through cooperation such as joint training and personnel exchanges; and it serves as an instrument for diplomatic engagement to address potential threats.

Drab (2018,) views defense diplomacy as integral to foreign policy and security. He argues that modern diplomacy has expanded to include military, trade, and economic relations, reflecting a broader vision of armed forces' roles in international relations beyond traditional defense (Kupiecki, 2022,).

The British reality of the late 20th century (Labour's Strategic Defence Review 1998, p. 823) was that military might ensure the accomplishment of short-term military objectives, or "winning battles." Its effectiveness as a policy instrument was lacking, nevertheless. Its function had to be expanded to ensure peace when the Cold War ended, utilizing a variety of tools pertaining to army operations, command structures, or the civilian political element that might supervise them. The possibility of enhancing diplomacy's function and expertise as a means of worldwide prevention and influencing global security was also linked to this. Defense diplomacy was acknowledged as a successful crisis avoidance tool within this paradigm.

In the meantime, research into the "military matters" category of the units reveals agreements on military cemeteries, radar stations, tobacco use by military personnel, and various other topics. Although seemingly trivial, defense agreements are numerous. However, the distinction between Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) and defense alliances from those defense agreements that have previously received scholarly attention, such as nonaggression pacts, mutual defense pacts, strategic partnerships, and status-of-forces agreements (SOFAs), is significant.

According to numerous scholarly analyses (Gibler, 2010; Mattes & Vonnahme, 2010; Walt, 1987; Leeds et al., 2002), defense and non-aggression pacts are typically categorized under the more general heading of military alliances. Official representatives of at least two sovereign states sign these alliances, which are formal agreements that specify pledges to either support a partner in times of military conflict, maintain neutrality, prevent conflict, or consult and work together in times of crisis where there is a risk of military conflict. While alliances are largely concerned with conflict—particularly of an interstate nature—Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) are focused exclusively on cooperative defense activities. This distinction underscores that, while both

involve collaboration, alliances are oriented toward conflict-related obligations, whereas DCAs aim specifically to institutionalize routine cooperative defense actions.

Notably, some alliances do incorporate cooperative measures—such as working groups, joint exercises, and personnel exchanges—that overlap with the scope of DCAs, demonstrating a shared area of operational practice even if their strategic intents differ. Alliances require cooperative actions as a means to the end of conflict minimization or deterrence, while DCAs are defined by a primary objective to institutionalize cooperation itself.

In the British context, as outlined in Labour's Strategic Defence Review (1998, p. 823), military strength at the end of the twentieth century was crucial for immediate military objectives, like "winning battles." However, it became clear that this strength alone was insufficient as a long-term policy tool for securing peace. Following the Cold War, Britain recognized a need to extend the role of its military forces beyond combat, incorporating peacekeeping and crisis management to address new security demands. This shift emphasized diplomacy's growing role in preventing international conflict and in shaping broader security frameworks. Within this evolving strategic outlook, defense diplomacy gained recognition as a key tool for crisis prevention and for reinforcing international security stability.

The term "defense diplomacy" emerged in the post-Cold War period, signifying a shift towards broader cooperative frameworks among states and international organizations. However, despite its frequent use in both political and academic settings, a universally accepted definition of defense diplomacy remains elusive, often customized to fit specific national security policies (Kupiecki, 2017, p. 24). This conceptual transition gradually replaced the narrower term "military diplomacy," which traditionally focused on military-to-military relations and strategic alliances.

Scholars have conducted extensive research on defense pacts and nonaggression agreements, broadly categorized as military alliances (Gibler, 2010; Mattes & Vonnahme, 2010; Walt, 1987; Leeds et al., 2002). Alliances, defined as formal agreements between at least two independent states, typically involve commitments to mutual aid during armed conflicts, neutrality in disputes, and consultation or cooperation during crises that may lead to military confrontation. Unlike alliances, Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) are specifically designed to foster cooperation rather than focus on conflict resolution. DCAs institutionalize routine collaborative defense activities, including joint military exercises, officer exchanges, procurement collaborations, and defense industry cooperation. While alliances may include cooperative efforts to prevent conflicts, DCAs are structured solely to streamline peacetime defense operations, explicitly excluding the mutual defense obligations characteristic of alliances. Notably, peacetime cooperation provisions are rare outside of comprehensive alliances such as NATO.

The distinctions between alliances and DCAs underscore their different strategic objectives. Alliances prioritize preparedness for armed conflicts, whereas DCAs focus on establishing frameworks for continuous cooperative defense initiatives. Empirical studies show limited correlation between states that engage in DCAs and those forming traditional military alliances, underscoring their divergent goals. Furthermore, while Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs) have been widely analyzed for their legal implications concerning deployed troops (Sari, 2008, ; Schwartz, 1953), they do not encompass the broader cooperative framework provided by DCAs. Strategic partnerships, although common, often lack substantive depth and prioritize various non-military issues, including trade, finance, and public health, rather than the structured cooperation found in DCAs (Kay, 2000).

The proliferation of Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) among states has surged since the Cold War, establishing these agreements as pivotal in regulating cooperative defense activities. Yet, despite their central role, academic research delving into the underlying causes of this proliferation remains limited. Recent studies by scholars such as Flockhart (2014) and Smith (2017,) highlight the adaptive nature of defense cooperation frameworks in meeting contemporary security challenges through multilateral networks and agreements. Their research underscores the transformation of defense diplomacy into a vital tool of statecraft in the twenty-first century, reflecting the need for flexible and responsive approaches to international security.

2.3.4 Practical implications and case studies of Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs)

In order to improve conventional defense capabilities, defense cooperation agreements, or DCAs, are essential. Scholars stress that, in contrast to the types of defense cooperation that dominated great-power politics during the Cold War, DCAs are not alliances and do not include mutual defense or nonaggression requirements. However, the disputes that DCAs cause frequently reflect their increasing significance.

The prime minister of Slovenia was impeached in 1998 as a result of a defense cooperation agreement with Israel (Agence France-Presse, 1998). The 2007 agreement between Belarus and Iran, which provoked public outrage from the US and the EU, serves as more evidence of the contentious character of some DCAs (Agence France-Presse, 2007). Following a DCA between Greece and Armenia in 1996, a Turkish government spokesperson charged Greece with "threatening peace and stability in the region" and attempting to encircle Turkey (Agence France-

Presse, 1996). The 1995 deal between Australia and Indonesia was so contentious that it was annulled four years later (Japan Economic Newswire, 1999).

According to the Government Offices of Sweden Ministry of Defense (2014, p. 76), international military cooperation can significantly enhance military capacity, especially when integration is deepened within a country's military system. This integration allows for shared resources, expertise, and information, resulting in more effective defense capabilities. Palavenis (2021) adds that defense cooperation often reflects broader relationships between countries, including levels of trust, shared interests, and areas of potential tension. However, Kinne (2018,) raises concerns about the risks of defense cooperation, particularly the potential compromise of national security interests through the sharing of sensitive information. Additionally, deep integration may lead to shifts in a country's defense policies, which could conflict with other national priorities.

Nations also face challenges in balancing sovereignty with cooperation. Maintaining national control over military operations or decision-making processes while cooperating requires careful boundary-setting (Holsti, 1995). Divergent strategic interests among states can also complicate cooperation, making consensus on shared goals difficult to achieve (Waltz, 1979,). Political shifts and leadership changes in participating countries often disrupt the continuity of defense cooperation, as new leaders may have different priorities or less commitment to existing alliances (Allison, 1988).

Ensuring interoperability between the armed forces of cooperating nations—through compatible equipment, systems, and communication protocols is another challenge that requires significant investment of time and resources (NATO, 2018). Protecting shared military information from espionage or cyber threats further complicates cooperation, necessitating secure communication and robust cybersecurity measures (Clarke & Knake, 2010). Furthermore, advanced technology

transfers are often restricted by export control regulations, posing additional challenges to cooperation (Williams, 2017).

Financial constraints frequently limit defense cooperation, as states may face challenges in allocating resources, especially during economic downturns (Sandler & Hartley, 1999). Disparities in military budgets and capabilities among nations can strain partnerships, affecting the equitable distribution of responsibilities (Buzan & Wæver, 2003). Crafting effective DCAs, treaties, and memoranda of understanding requires careful legal negotiation to bridge differences in legal frameworks (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2009).

International political tensions and diplomatic disputes can complicate defense cooperation efforts, making effective collaboration challenging in adversarial contexts (Mearsheimer, 2001). Public support is also crucial for the success of defense cooperation initiatives, yet it can be difficult to secure widespread approval, especially when citizens perceive potential threats to national sovereignty or resources (Putnam, 1988). Many countries require parliamentary consent for significant defense-related decisions, and obtaining this approval can be a lengthy process influenced by political pressures (Risse-Kappen, 1995).

The challenges of implementing defense cooperation are multifaceted, reflecting the intricate nature of international relations and security concerns. Overcoming these challenges requires diplomatic finesse, resource management, and a deep commitment to shared goals. Despite these complexities, successful defense cooperation initiatives are essential for addressing global security challenges and fostering peace and stability among nations. Recognizing these challenges is the first step toward building effective and resilient defense partnerships.

2.4 DEFENSE COOPERATION AND JOINT MILITARY EXERCISES, TRAINING, AND EDUCATION

This section has been divided into two parts, namely, the review on defense cooperation and joint military exercises and the second part gives a brief history of military exercises and training. The review examines defense cooperation and its influence on joint military exercises, training, and education in international relations (IR). Bilateral military relations have increasingly risen since the end of the Cold War in the 1990s. The defense industry and its militaries are expansive international institutions involved in a wide range of activities (Bernhardt, 2020; Wolfley, 2021). Joint military exercises have long been a hallmark of alliances, with their origins dating back to when such alliances were first established. Since the 1990s, the number of countries participating in joint military exercises has increased dramatically, with approximately 180 countries now involved. Despite the widespread prevalence of joint military exercises and their significance in understanding defense cooperation, they remain understudied in international relations.

This section of the thesis examines defense cooperation and joint military exercises in international relations, focusing on why major powers engage in joint military exercises and training. It argues that defense cooperation has gained increasing relevance in international relations due to the growing prevalence of joint military exercises conducted between the militaries of different countries.

Bilateral defense cooperation agreements (DCAs) are the most prevalent type of institutionalized defense collaboration, according to academics like Kinne (2018) and Chansoria (2020). In addition to fostering collaboration in crucial areas like defense policy coordination, research and development, joint military exercises, education and training, arms procurement, and the sharing

of classified information, these formal agreements create extensive defense-oriented legal frameworks among signatories.

To examine this set of expectations, this section sheds light on Joint Military Exercises (JME) as an important indicator of defense cooperation that provides sufficient information on the receiving state's strategic thinking and behavior. Joint military exercises are a prominent but understudied form of defense cooperation and political and military signaling partnership between two or more countries.

The closure of the great power rivalry between the US and the USSR, which had an impact on international peace and security, provided relief and renewed optimism about the possibilities for peace. The swift transformation also presented new difficulties for the way military saw and dealt with emerging non-traditional global threats. Armed forces started preparing for the "new threat" of terrorism, civil war, ethnic division, and regional instability that arose following the Cold War rivalry between the US and the USSR in the early 1990s. Major nations started participating in shaping operations to address these escalating non-state dangers and manage these emerging global challenges to the geopolitical environment.

The phrase "Defense Diplomacy," which Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster used in their academic book "Reshaping Defence Diplomacy," is based on the 1998 British Strategic Defense Review White Paper. The authors contend that since the conclusion of the Cold War, the armies of major powers have engaged in a new type of defense diplomacy, distinct from the traditional defense diplomacy of zones of influence, balance of power politics, and the pursuit of narrowly defined national interests. The joint use of armed forces and associated primary defense ministries as instruments of foreign and security policy during peacetime is a novel form of defense diplomacy (Cottey & Forster, 2004). International training, defense sector advise to newly formed

post-conflict states, and international interactions between defense officials and military officers are some of the instruments of this new defense diplomacy. These kinds of defense operations are typically referred to as military assistance/defense cooperation or military collaboration. The authors admit that prior to the 1990s, several of these activities were widespread. For instance, the United Kingdom Imperial Defense College was founded in 1922 to train and teach military officers from all over the empire, and defense attachés frequently functioned as diplomats in nineteenth-century Europe.

According to Cottey & Forster (2004), the more diverse collection of objectives and partners that major nations pursue are what set post-Cold War defense diplomacy apart. First off, aid is now being used to establish cooperative relationships with past or potential opponents rather than relying just on military might to counteract them. This helps to avert future wars. Second, military training and financial initiatives are now focused on advancing democratic transformation in transitioning governments as well as areas of influence. Thirdly, militaries are preparing transitioning governments for peacekeeping missions overseas in addition to teaching them traditional combat techniques.

Bilateral defense cooperation agreements (DCAs), according to scholars like Kinne (2018) and Chansoria (2020), are the most prevalent type of institutionalized defense cooperation. In order to facilitate cooperation in essential areas like defense policy coordination, research and development, joint military exercises, education and training, arms procurement, and the exchange of classified information, these formal agreements create extensive defense-oriented legal frameworks between signatories.

Wolfley (2018) contends that joint military exercises (JMEs) often involve face-to-face interactions between militaries, fostering trust between foreign militaries. He suggests that non-

traditional exercises focusing on humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, and peacekeeping can help build trust between countries with hostile or conflicting interests. Through these exercises, states can overcome the assumption of mistrust, recognizing that not all military behaviors from a rival are inherently hostile. By avoiding worst-case assumptions, officers and soldiers may better manage small crises and prevent escalation into conflict and war.

Similarly, Lim and Cooper (2015) posit that routine joint training exercises or combat operations fall under the category of moderate alignment. Ciorciari (2010) identifies joint military exercises as a form of limited, moderate, or soft security alignment between secondary states and great powers. He suggests that secondary states' alignment options with great powers vary from tight alliances and limited alignments to no significant security ties at all, i.e., genuine nonalignment. Ciorciari classifies joint military exercises as a form of limited alignment between states. This assertion suggests that joint military exercises and training are limited alignments that entail lower commitment and a less binding security relationship than formal military alliances. He adds that genuinely nonaligned secondary states may exchange defense delegations, share some information with great powers, but typically do not engage in serious joint exercises or training, nor do they usually grant great powers access to defense facilities, even on a commercial basis.

Participating in cooperative training programs and joint exercises is one of the key markers of the possible expenses the second-tier state is prepared to incur in order to establish a security relationship with a great power, according to Selden's work (2013). Although it can seem like a little investment, taking part in cooperative training and exercises is a crucial first step for a secondary state to show great powers how useful it could be as a security partner. The Ghanaian Armed Forces actively encourage joint military exercises because they bring about change and

renewed energy, interpersonal interactions, and psychological bonds between countries, to paraphrase a retired Major General in the Ghanaian Armed Forces.

The habit of cooperation developed when navies perform joint naval operations increases transparency between navies and acts, in effect, as a confidence-building measure. In addition, this thesis argues that joint military exercises facilitate psychological bonds and enhance trust-building between military officers during exercises, leading to long-term relationships. Joint military exercises are a long-standing phenomenon of defense cooperation compared to other security arrangements such as military alliances.

The broad generic characterization of Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs) is of them being a set of unilateral, bilateral, or multilateral procedural actions that primarily are put in place to decrease military tensions between state actors (nation-states) before, during or after actual conflict. States with security-related differences that could potentially lead to conflict should encourage channels to communicate regularly through consultative mechanisms with transparency measures that foster greater candidness of military cooperation. These could include pre-notification requirements, military exercises and related operating procedures. In today's conflict-ridden world, CBMs serve as an effective tool to make a breakthrough towards the larger goal of conflict resolution. The aim of Confidence-Building Measures (CBMs) is to help build working trust by addressing the more amenable issues through substantive negotiations, which, in turn, could potentially allow parties to address the more contentious aspects of a conflict (Chansoria, 2015). CBMs, thus, are not necessarily an end in themselves, but rather useful steps to negotiate and implement processes that could become bridges to reduce conflict situations between states.

These include joint military exercises, operational collaborations, participation in peacekeeping missions, and the exchange of weapons, technology, and even educational resources. States sign

cooperative agreements, not limited to formal alliances but extending to defense cooperation agreements of various categories. These states share information and provide each other with various types of military aid. This cooperative behavior is strategic and is expanding in scope within the field of defense studies in international relations.

In conclusion, joint military exercises, training, and education are vital components of defense cooperation in international relations. These activities not only foster trust and transparency between participating countries but also contribute to broader goals such as conflict prevention, democratic reform, and capacity building for peacekeeping. The evolving nature of defense diplomacy, particularly since the end of the Cold War, highlights the increasing importance of these cooperative measures. As major powers and secondary states continue to navigate the complexities of global security, the relevance of joint military exercises and other forms of defense cooperation will likely continue to grow. Future research should focus on further exploring these dynamics and their implications for international peace and stability.

2.4.1 Critical Security Studies and the dynamics of defense cooperation

The field of Critical Security Studies (CSS) offers a nuanced understanding of defense cooperation, challenging traditional notions of security that prioritize military capabilities and state-centric perspectives. Instead, CSS emphasizes the importance of non-traditional security threats, the role of non-state actors, and the impact of global interconnectedness on national security policies. Scholars like Ken Booth (2005) and Richard Wyn Jones (1999) argue that security should be redefined to include economic, environmental, and societal dimensions, thereby broadening the scope of what constitutes a security threat. This approach encourages a more comprehensive examination of defense cooperation, considering not only military alliances and strategic

partnerships but also the underlying political, economic, and social factors that influence these relationships.

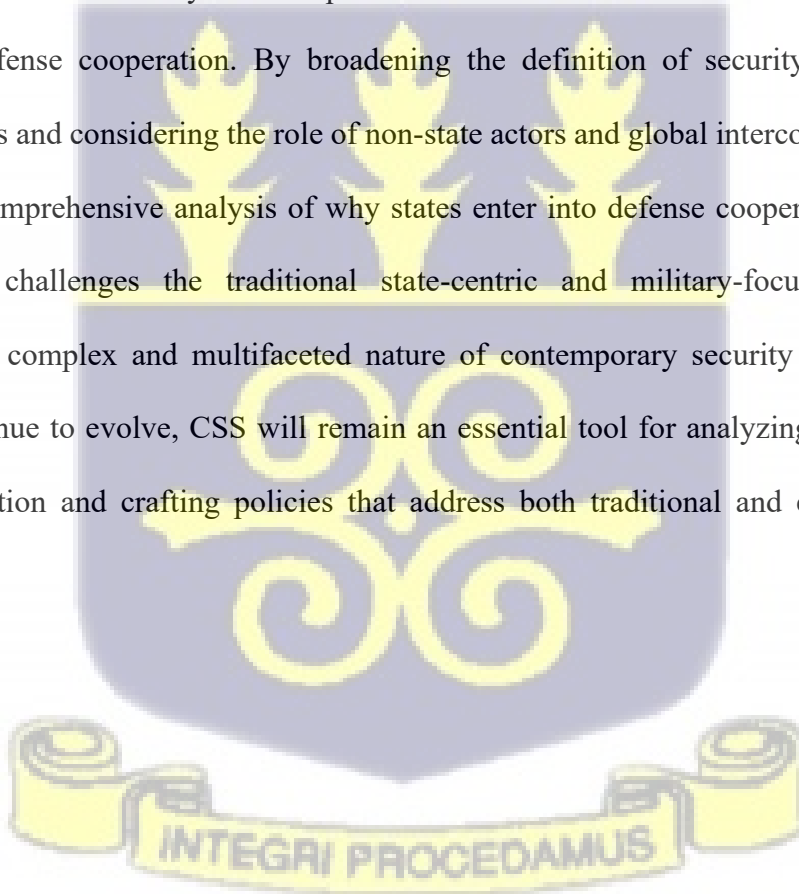
Additionally, Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen (2009) highlight the significance of securitization processes, where issues are framed as security threats to justify specific policy measures. Securitization theory posits that security is not an objective condition but a result of social processes through which issues become constructed as existential threats. This perspective allows researchers to explore how states justify defense cooperation through the framing of various threats, whether they are traditional military threats or non-traditional ones such as terrorism, cyber-attacks, or environmental disasters.

CSS also pays close attention to the role of non-state actors in defense cooperation. Traditional security studies often overlook the impact of transnational corporations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and international institutions in shaping defense policies. However, CSS scholars argue that these actors play a crucial role in the global security landscape (Krause & Williams, 2002). For instance, defense contractors and private military companies often influence defense cooperation agreements by lobbying for specific policies or providing essential services that states rely on for their military operations.

Moreover, CSS examines the impact of global interconnectedness on national security policies. The globalized nature of contemporary threats requires states to cooperate more closely with each other and with non-state actors. This interconnectedness is evident in areas such as cybersecurity, where the transnational nature of the internet necessitates international cooperation to protect national infrastructures. Similarly, environmental security issues, such as climate change, require a cooperative approach, as no single state can address these challenges alone (Dalby, 2009).

By applying CSS frameworks, researchers can better understand how defense cooperation is shaped by both traditional security concerns and broader, interconnected challenges in the contemporary international system. For example, the decision of states to enter into Defense Cooperation Agreements (DCAs) can be influenced by the need to address non-traditional security threats. Indonesia and Sweden's DCA in 2016, despite their historical adherence to neutrality, can be seen as a response to global security dynamics that require broader cooperation (Smith, 2017). Similarly, the cooperation between the Czech Republic and Moldova illustrates how non-military factors, such as economic and political stability, can drive defense agreements (Brown, 2018).

In conclusion, Critical Security Studies provide a valuable framework for understanding the dynamics of defense cooperation. By broadening the definition of security to include non-traditional threats and considering the role of non-state actors and global interconnectedness, CSS offers a more comprehensive analysis of why states enter into defense cooperation agreements. This approach challenges the traditional state-centric and military-focused perspectives, highlighting the complex and multifaceted nature of contemporary security issues. As global challenges continue to evolve, CSS will remain an essential tool for analyzing the dynamics of defense cooperation and crafting policies that address both traditional and emerging security threats.



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CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this study is to assess how the defense cooperation between the United States' and Ghana can be understood through the lens of critical security studies and to examine its implications for Ghana's national security under Ghana's Fourth Republic. This research is guided by critical security studies, which provides a framework for understanding defense cooperation dynamics. This chapter argues that theories serve as the lifeblood and engine of the academic enterprise, providing crucial frameworks for analysis. In this thesis, I define a theory as a simplification of the complex reality in the international system. This thesis asserts that realist scholars, such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who emerged during the 17th century, played pivotal roles in integrating security into political discourse and as a result their philosophical ontology and epistemology continue to influence many generations in understanding the relevance of security and defense cooperation in the life of a nation-states.

The framework of critical security studies and defense cooperation encompasses ontological and epistemological approaches to understanding international relations. Therefore, this thesis assumes that critical security studies is the most relevant theories for critically examining issues and discourse on defense cooperation, national security, and defense policy-making in general. As a result, this theory will help provide viable analyses with complementary roles in this thesis.

3.2 THE EVOLUTION OF CRITICAL SECURITY STUDIES

Some scholars contend that Critical Security Studies emerged as a formidable challenge to the neorealist tenets in international relations literature, gaining significant momentum after the end of the Cold War in the 1990s. Scholars such as Buzan and Hansen (2009), Smith (2000:), and Wyn Jones (1996) all played a significant role in mapping the field of Critical Security Studies, which has become prominent in surveys of critical approaches to security. These scholars provide an overview of the terrain of study and give a sense of certainty about the relationships between various approaches.

Three recurrent themes may be seen when considering the maps that have been used to navigate essential approaches to security as they have evolved over the past few decades. In contrast to more conventional viewpoints, the first is an intellectual narrative that is predicated on the negative description of critical approaches to security. The second is a variety of temporal narratives that are utilized to make assertions regarding the development of Critical Security Studies in connection to historical occurrences and to discuss the start and finish of various eras.

The third focuses on a collection of spatial narratives, each anchored by a geographical referent point, that aim to pinpoint the rise of several schools of thought. Following the establishment of nation-state sovereignty in 1648, security has historically been intimately associated with the state. The prevailing paradigms in military discourse, realism and neorealism, anticipated little state collaboration on security issues. But critical security studies, led by prominent academics like Ken Booth, Keith Krause, Michael C. Williams, Barry Buzan, Lene Hansen, Richard Jackson, and Lee Jarvis, started to expand the conversation and push for a shift away from strict military-centric viewpoints toward a more varied and introspective view of security. This approach challenges traditional security perspectives by emphasizing the social, political, and economic factors that

influence security dynamics. Critical security studies expand the scope of research to encompass non-conventional security issues like poverty, environmental degradation, and human rights abuses, in contrast to traditional security theories that place a higher priority on state-centric approaches and military might. In addition to comprehending security dynamics, critical security studies seek to liberate people from anarchic situations and guarantee their freedom and security (Nunes, 2020). By analyzing the fundamental presumptions, guiding principles, and incentives behind defense cooperation—with a special emphasis on the elements that prompted the United States to pursue defense cooperation with Ghana—this thesis responds to the initial research question that guided the investigation. Critical security studies serve as the lens through which this analysis is carried out.

A break from conventional methods and techniques, Critical Security Studies (CSS) has become a prominent and influential paradigm in the larger area of security studies. The origins of CSS may be found in the late 20th-century transformation of the field of international relations, which was marked by the post-positivist movement and the introduction of critical theory, especially that of the Frankfurt School.

The post-positivist turns, exemplified by scholars such as Booth, Smith, and Zalewski (1996), challenged the positivist assumptions that dominated security studies. Positivism, with its emphasis on objective, empirical analysis, was critiqued for oversimplifying complex social phenomena and neglecting subjective experiences and interpretations. This turn paved the way for the exploration of alternative perspectives, opening the door to a more nuanced understanding of security. In parallel, the influence of critical theory, as articulated by the Frankfurt School and scholars like Hoffman (1987) and Linklater (1990), played a pivotal role in shaping CSS. Critical theory questioned the taken-for-granted assumptions of mainstream approaches and delved into

the underlying power structures, ideologies, and social constructions that influence the discourse on security. This theoretical framework encouraged scholars to interrogate not only the empirical aspects of security but also the broader socio-political context in which security issues are defined and addressed.

CSS, as a multifaceted aggregate, encompasses diverse contributions and debates that collectively challenge the conceptual, theoretical, and methodological foundations of traditional security studies. At its core, CSS involves a thorough questioning of the assumptions that underpin the study of security, pushing scholars to critically engage with issues such as identity, representation, and the securitization process. One distinctive feature of CSS is its engagement in meta-theoretical questioning, reflecting on the nature of reality and knowledge in the context of security. Scholars within this paradigm explore the epistemological and ontological dimensions of security, raising fundamental questions about what constitutes security, who defines it, and how security knowledge is produced and disseminated.

Crucially, critical security studies (CSS) treat the study of security as a normative undertaking, focusing on what ought to be rather than just characterizing things as they are. The propensity to view security research as a political phenomenon leads to critical security studies. According to Busan and Hansen (2009), critical security studies (CSS) was founded with the intention of expanding and deepening the field of security studies beyond its post-war military and statist orientation. This was accomplished by reevaluating the conventionally employed concepts and procedures (Krause and Williams, 1996). An examination of the politics underlying the creation of security knowledge was added to this. Since our conception of security is inextricably linked to our presumptions about how politics functions or ought to function, ideas regarding security have been viewed as political. Understandings of security are shaped by contestation and conflict rather

than being impartial and objective. Since knowledge is linked to the legitimacy of actions, critical security studies (CSS) also aim to investigate how security thinking affects the political order.

In this context, Critical Security Studies (CSS) highlight how security conceptions and practices impact the structure of societies, particularly how the definition of threat influences policy priorities and the portrayal of particular groups as dangerous. It is possible to summarize critical security studies as an attempt to politicize security (Fierke, 2015). All things considered; the subject of security has undergone significant transformation as a result of Critical Security Studies (CSS). The underlying power dynamics in security discourses are also criticized by critical security studies, which raise issues of whose security is given priority and who is left out in the process. This concept looks at the underlying power relations to determine how security procedures could support injustice and inequality.

Moreover, critical security studies advocate for a more inclusive and participatory approach to security governance, involving civil society actors, marginalized groups, and non-state actors in decision-making processes. This emphasis on inclusivity aims to create more democratic and effective security policies that address the diverse needs and concerns of all stakeholders. With an emphasis on the theoretical underpinnings of defense cooperation, this thesis aims to familiarize readers with the developing discipline of critical security studies within the larger framework of international relations and security studies. The phrase "critical security studies" refers to a variety of viewpoints, including areas of agreement and disagreement about the purpose, approach, and consequences of critical analysis. Rather than imposing a singular definition, this thesis acknowledges the plurality of intellectual approaches within critical security studies.

Security itself is a contested concept, no longer solely defined by military threats or state protection. Arnold Wolfers, a key figure in realist security theory, acknowledged the ambiguity of

national security early on. The term "security" has multiple interpretations and has been subject to ongoing debate, leading some to view it as an essentially contested concept. This ambiguity creates space for critical approaches to security, which are characterized by their ability to make judgments, discriminate, and decide what security means and whom it applies to.

Taking the word "critical" from the Greek word "kritikos" suggests a focus on discernment and judgment. A stable or widely accepted notion of security is rejected by critical approaches to security, which see the study of change as fundamental. A broad definition of critical security studies was put forth by Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, who placed more emphasis on an orientation toward the dynamic aspect of security concerns than on a particular theoretical designation.

In conclusion, critical security studies represent a dynamic and evolving field that challenges traditional perspectives on security, emphasizing the need for continual reassessment and reevaluation. This thesis tries to study the varied spectrum of critical approaches to security concerns and practices, recognizing the heated dispute between realist researchers and critical security studies scholars after the conclusion of the Cold War. However, this study focuses on comprehending growing security concerns in the current world through evaluating United States defense cooperation with Ghana. To comprehend the defense cooperation between the United States and Ghana and its effects on Ghana's national security, the study will mostly depend on key security studies for data analysis and debate.

According to critical security studies, norms constitute a state's social purpose and are either widely held by domestic publics or incorporated in a collection of domestic institutions (Reus-Smit, 1999 ; Ruggie, 1996; 1998: 67; Katzenstein: 102). The state, according to realists, is an essential component for any human group's survival and well-being in anarchy. The presumptions that the

state had a will to power and a will to survive were the foundation of the international scenarios that influenced realists' worldview. States are enticed by possibilities to acquire additional assets and live in constant dread of losing theirs to others. All states, according to Hobbes (1787), were equally and continuously motivated by the dread that their survival—the most prized of their state assets—might be in jeopardy. Thus, power calculus was the foundation of security. International trade served as a gauge of peace, goodwill, and mutually assured security between states, while the military and diplomats were both essential to the coalition-building that ensured security.

However, the conventional statist, militarist, and zero-sum approach to security has become less popular among analysts and policymakers after the end of the Cold War and the events of September 11, 2001. Bipolarity has given way to unipolarity, interstate wars have fundamentally decreased, and interstate conflicts have grown to dangerous levels, and strategic studies have evolved into security studies. The rise of endemic diseases, rising terrorist attacks, and human-induced climate change have also influenced national policy and international dynamics (Gaan, 2010).

Additionally, the realist worldview's shortcomings in tackling today's security issues have been made clear by the rising paradigm shift, such as the security imperatives that governments must deal with (Gilbert, Uzodike, and Isike, 2009). Rahman (2005) charts the current theoretical discussion on elevated tensions throughout the 1980s Cold War era. He suggests that Europe, the geopolitical center of renewed superpower hostilities and the site of the most imminent nuclear threats at the time, is where the movement to broaden the definition and scope of security issues away from the primarily military-strategic focus of the Cold War originated.

With a renewed and growing focus on threats to the welfare of individuals and communities at the sub-state level as well as the state, the end of the Cold War accelerated the trend toward reshaping

the agenda of international security analysis. Security at the regional and even international levels was becoming more and more important. 'Security studies,' either marketed as a brand-new subfield of international relations or justified as a necessary extension of the military focus of traditional strategy, started to supplant the academic discipline of strategic studies.

The assumption that states are motivated by their 'National Interest,' which is typically characterized in terms of survival, security, power, and relative capabilities, could serve as the foundation for this assumption (Holsti, 1996). Realists therefore frequently offer diverse explanations for the lack of security, highlighting a range of underlying systems and causative elements. These include the natural human desire for power, the organizing principle of international anarchy, and conflicts of interest between states with different endowments, political orders, economic systems, and resources (Mearsheimer, 2001).

According to Mearsheimer (2001), the Great Powers, which influence the international system, fear one another and hence vie for dominance, meaning that the hope for peace is unlikely to be realized. Above all, Carr (2001) contends that states are power-hungry organizations that cannot be viewed as having moral obligations to one another. It's interesting to note that Carr finds inspiration in the ideas of Hegel and Machiavelli, as well as Hobbes' idea of the Leviathan (Carr, 2001). In order for people creating political communities to tolerate worldwide disorder in exchange for domestic peace, the Hobbesian social contract theory argument translates and transfers the anarchy of pre-Leviathan society from the individual level to the international level (Carr, 2001). Furthermore, Hobbes' description of nature as "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" (Hobbes, 2002) is reflected in political realism or classical realism, which views states functioning in anarchic kingdoms. Political realists firmly believe that the actions of the state are logical and motivated by survival.

"Direct bearing on the structure of the nation-state system and the sovereignty of its members, with particular emphasis on the use, threat, and control of force" is how the 1976 forward to the first edition of *International Security* defined security (Doty et al., 1976). According to US Secretary of State and realism scholar Henry Kissinger, "how realistically we perceive our national interests is a core security concern" (Kissinger, 1976). The state as a guarantee of security, the state system as a factor in state conduct, and security as being synonymous with interest are the main foci of security studies. "No state will sacrifice its interests to serve the larger community" (Frankel, 1996: xv) is the realism view.

According to a 1994 article by Ken Booth titled "Reflections of a Fallen Realist," "Security is what we make it" (Booth, 1994). The idealist viewpoint contends that security transcends the realist ideas of armies, firearms, and conflict, whereas the realist paradigms and strands view security as a byproduct of power. According to the idealists, security follows from peace (Walt, 1991). "The study of the threat, use, and control of military force," according to Walt, is what security is. Likewise, Wolfer (1962) views security from both subjective and objective perspectives. A subjective sense of security, according to Wolfer, evaluates the lack of concern that acquired values would be attacked, whereas an objective sense of security measures the absence of threats to those values being attacked. According to Thunberg (1982), another academic study, security is the capacity of a country to effectively pursue its national interests as it perceives them, wherever those interests may be found in the globe. Huysmans (2006) made the important claim that security is a political technology that interconnects the system of practices, representations, knowledge, and institutional forms that influence, guide, and act upon bodies, spaces, and flows in particular ways. However, post-structural scholars also contend that the biopower of governmentality, which aims to reorganize society, maintain power dynamics, and repress or exclude oppositions, is linked

to sovereignty, discipline, and government through the political technology of security (Bigo 2011, Burke, 2002).

Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde (1998) assert in their academic work that "Security is the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics." Martin & Turner (1986) define security as the guarantee of future prosperity. Furthermore, Giacomo (1989) asserts that a country's national security is its capacity to repel external assault.

In the opening remarks of a symposium held at the Institute of Security Studies, Louw (1978) defines national security as a state's ability to maintain its full capacity to exist as a political entity, exercise influence, and accomplish its domestic and global goals through a combination of traditional defense policy and non-military measures. National security, according to Trager & Kronenberg (1973), is the area of government policy whose goal is to establish domestic and global political environments that are conducive to the defense or expansion of essential national values against current and potential enemies.

The aforementioned definitions all share certain basic peculiarities, with very few exceptions. They rely primarily on the military as a source and a tool for dealing with threats, yet they are overly limited and state-centric. The threat of anarchy in the global system has an impact on security strategy, according to the US National Security and Policy Strategy in 2012 (Stolberg, 2012). Therefore, the language of insecurity and the threat to the nation-state is used to understand security. Even the liberal opponents of realism have not really contested the notion of an anarchic governmental system. International politics are "anarchic in the sense that there is no higher government," according to Joseph Nye (Nye, 2009). This is an acknowledgment of the nation-state as the primary security concern, even though liberals do not believe that state violence will result

from it because international organizations prevent it. The sources of insecurity—namely, the alleged objectives of state actors—remain unabated despite the institutions' provision of legislation to protect security.

Realism presupposes that there is a perception of threat in the international system, but it does not need governments to act aggressively. Under anarchy, a state will employ force to achieve its objectives, according to Kenneth Waltz, the creator of neo-realism (Waltz, 1959). But "security, not power, is the ultimate concern for states" (Waltz, 1993: 616). Thus, the vocabulary of force and state interests has been used to define security (Stolberg, 2012). In this way, realism has dominated the language used to describe security. "States that are motivated primarily by security should not, as a general rule, try to maximize their relative power," as Glaser points out (Glaser, 1996). States are not looking to expand if they are not vying for power. Therefore, the terror that states instill is unwarranted. "The security dilemma disappears if all states are reasonably certain that none seek expansion" (Schweller, 1996). This calls into question the realist idea that security is actually in states' best interests and isn't predicated on an interpretation of state conduct. For a threat to influence state conduct at all, it must be actual and unimagined.

However, the idea that system-based beliefs determine state action is not undermined by raising doubts about whether the security issue is caused by a genuine or imagined threat. When it comes to the 'true' intentions of states, realist theory may contain contradictions, but the general paradigm of an unstable international environment endures. As a result, realism has been able to resist this criticism and continue to rule the idea of the security issue. According to their reputations, a recent survey of International Relations (IR) faculty revealed that Hans Morgenthau's theory of classical realism and Kenneth Waltz's choice of neorealism were the most influential thinkers in their respective branches of realism (Maliniak et al., 2018).

3.2.1 Key concepts in Critical Security Studies

- I. Referent object: In security studies, an entity (such as the state, people, or ecology) is considered the focus of investigation; in other words, that which needs to be safeguarded.
- II. Conventional methods and conventional security research: The term "state-centric approach" refers to realist, liberal, peace studies, and strategic studies perspectives in the study of security that prioritize the state as the referent object of security and concentrate primarily on military threats to the state's security. It is most frequently used by authors in or sympathetic to critical security studies.
- III. Broadening: The security agenda's expansion involves shifting from a military-only focus to an examination of problems in other sectors. (e.g environmental, economic, political and societal spheres).
- IV. Deepening: The notion that there are other referent objects of security besides the state is associated with the deepening of theoretical perspectives.
- V. Normative: A position that expressly adopts a position on what should or ought to be examined, accomplished, and/or obtained is known as a normative position.
- VI. A theory of knowledge known as positivism contends that the scientific methods of objectivity, replication, verification/falsification, and generalization—which are

employed in the study of the natural world—can be applied to the study of society (and security).

- VII. Post-positivism: Describes a range of methods that deny that the natural and social worlds can be analyzed in the same way, including numerous critical approaches to security. The methods highlight the fact that assertions of truth can never be supported by evidence; there is no impartial viewpoint that emerges from nowhere, outside of politics and history, from which we could adopt an impartial stance.

Security as a derivative concept: The notion that our conception of security is derived from our conception of the wider environment is shared by critical approaches to security.

3.3.2 Critical Security Studies and Neorealist Approaches to International Security Studies

Critical Security Studies approaches fundamentally challenge the core assumptions of traditional Realism and, more importantly, neorealist international security paradigms. They question the relevance and effectiveness of neorealist ideas of rationality and their state-centric position on international security. Realism places the state at the center of analysis, considering it as the principal actor in international affairs (Waltz, 1979). Critical Security Studies scholars challenge the predominance of military power in an anarchic environment, the emphasis on order and

predictability, as well as the structural understanding of international politics that characterizes neorealist thought.

Critical security approaches essentially contest positivist and rationalist ontology and epistemology. By this, Critical Security scholars reject positivist, universal knowledge claims and value-free truth (Booth, Smith, & Zalewski, 1996). Critical security approaches argue that knowledge is always socially and intersubjectively constructed. Therefore, critical security scholars contend that security is not an object out there to be studied but a product of construction by human minds (Krause & Williams, 1997). As much as the conventional notion of security as the preserve of the state and its military is a biased construction, which should be challenged. Critical approaches also contest the material obsession of realism, arguing materialism limits analysis to physical variables while ignoring ideas and context (Fierke, 2015).

These perceived problems that critical security scholars identify with neorealists and positivist approaches lead critical security scholars to challenge prevailing characteristics of the state, such as sovereignty, national interest, security, and even knowledge itself. It therefore demands from producers of knowledge to be self-critical, to question their own motives vis-à-vis what they present as knowledge. Critical Security Studies scholars, therefore, rather than assuming value neutrality, overtly acknowledge and accept the relationship between politics and structures of power and how these structures are represented in their scholarship (Buzan & Hansen, 2009).

Critical Security Studies philosophy could be summarized in four key features. Firstly, in terms of epistemology, they question positivist approaches to knowledge and state that there cannot be neutral, empirically proven facts about the social world (Baldwin, 1997). Secondly, ontologically, they challenge rationalist understandings of human nature and action but rather emphasize social

meanings given to identities of actors or subjects of study (Hoffman, 1987; Linklater, 1990). Thirdly, methodologically, they reject a single scientific method but advocate methodological plurality, recognizing that diverse research approaches can generate valuable insights into complex security phenomena (Smith, 2006). And finally, normatively, critical theories reject value-free theorizing, acknowledging instead that all knowledge production is embedded in particular social, political, and historical contexts that shape what questions are asked, what methods are employed, and what conclusions are deemed valid (Krause & Williams, 1996; Wyn Jones, 1996).

This fundamental divergence between Critical Security Studies and neorealism reflects broader theoretical debates within international relations about the nature of knowledge, the appropriate objects of analysis, the relationship between theory and practice, and the purposes that security scholarship should serve. While neorealism seeks to explain state behavior through parsimonious theories emphasizing material capabilities and structural constraints, Critical Security Studies illuminates how security discourses construct threats, legitimize practices, and reproduce power relations (Buzan, 1991). These competing approaches offer different analytical tools and normative orientations for understanding contemporary security challenges, with significant implications for how scholars and policymakers conceptualize and respond to threats in an increasingly complex global environment.

3.3 JUSTIFICATION OF THE USED OF CRITICAL SECURITY STUDIES

The Defense Cooperation Agreement between the United States and Ghana is a complex and multifaceted arrangement that involves intricate diplomatic, political, and security considerations. By employing theories of critical security studies, this study seeks to gain a more comprehensive

understanding of the motivations, implications, and power dynamics associated with this agreement.

Critical security studies challenge traditional security analyses by exploring broader societal implications, power structures, and the impact on marginalized groups. Applying this perspective to the Defense Cooperation Agreement allows us to go beyond a narrow focus on state-centric security concerns and examine how the agreement may affect various social, economic, and cultural aspects within Ghana.

Critical security studies also prompt us to scrutinize issues related to sovereignty, civil liberties, and potential asymmetries in power dynamics. For instance, questions may arise about the extent to which the agreement respects Ghana's sovereignty, and whether there are mechanisms in place to address potential social or environmental impacts. This perspective encourages a more holistic examination of security that incorporates non-traditional threats and considers the perspectives of diverse stakeholders.

By employing the insights from critical security studies, we can develop a nuanced understanding of the Defense Cooperation Agreement between the United States and Ghana. This interdisciplinary approach allows us to analyze both the strategic calculations of states and the broader societal implications, contributing to a more comprehensive and insightful assessment of the complex dynamics at play in international defense cooperation.

Arguments of Critical Security Studies: A Theoretical Overview

Critical Security Studies (CSS) emerged as a transformative paradigm that fundamentally challenges traditional approaches to understanding security in international relations. At its core,

CSS presents a series of interconnected arguments that redefine how scholars and policymakers conceptualize, analyze, and respond to security challenges in the contemporary world.

The foundational argument of CSS posits that security is inherently political rather than neutral or objective. Krause and Williams (1996) emphasize that security understandings are shaped by contestation and power struggles, influenced by the interests and ideologies that dominate discourse. This challenges the conventional notion that security can be studied apolitically. Even traditional scholars acknowledge this complexity; Arnold Wolfers, a pioneer of realist security approaches, recognized early that national security is "at most, a vague concept that can be defined in a variety of ways" (Wolfers, 1952). This lack of consensus has led scholars to conclude that security is essentially a contested concept (Baldwin, 1997; Buzan, 1991), making critical inquiry both possible and necessary.

CSS significantly expands the security agenda beyond state-centric military concerns. From its inception, CSS has sought to broaden understanding to include human, environmental, and economic factors (Buzan & Hansen, 2009,). This expansion addresses non-conventional security issues such as poverty, environmental degradation, and human rights abuses—areas traditionally neglected by orthodox security studies. Smith (2006), Wyn Jones (1996), and Buzan and Hansen (2009,) collectively argued that more varied, self-reflective, and self-critical conceptions of security were required to replace the unduly rigid, state-centric military approach that dominated Cold War thinking.

A central concern of CSS involves examining power structures within security discourses. The framework critiques whose security is prioritized and who becomes marginalized in the process, seeking to uncover how security practices may perpetuate inequality and injustice. Fierke (2015)

notes that the definition of what constitutes a "threat" plays a central role in shaping policy priorities and framing certain groups or entities as dangerous. This critical examination reveals how security narratives often serve particular interests while marginalizing others, challenging the apolitical assumptions of traditional security studies.

CSS approaches security as a normative and emancipatory endeavor. Rather than merely describing security as it exists, CSS reflects on what security should be, aiming to emancipate individuals from anarchic conditions while ensuring freedom and security (Nunes, 2020). Krause and Williams (1997) clarify that appending "critical" to security studies implies "more an orientation toward the discipline than a precise theoretical label." They argue that whereas much traditional scholarship has rendered security apolitical and static, critical theory takes change as its foundation, in both explanatory and evaluative senses.

Finally, CSS makes crucial contributions by examining the politics behind security knowledge production. By analyzing how security concepts are constructed, CSS reveals how knowledge legitimizes political practices and state actions. This process of legitimization plays a key role in policy enforcement and the reproduction of power structures. Security is therefore not simply about understanding threats; it involves examining the forces that shape how security is perceived and acted upon within the international system, recognizing that these perceptions are never neutral but always embedded in relations of power and contestation.

The Relevance of Critical Security Studies to Contemporary Scholarship

Critical Security Studies (CSS) has established itself as an indispensable theoretical framework for analyzing contemporary security challenges, offering scholarly tools that transcend the limitations

of traditional security paradigms. Its relevance to academic inquiry spans multiple dimensions, from reconceptualizing security governance to providing nuanced analytical frameworks for understanding complex international partnerships.

The primary relevance of CSS lies in its advocacy for inclusive security governance. By promoting participatory approaches that involve civil society actors, marginalized groups, and non-state actors in decision-making processes, CSS challenges the exclusive state-centric models that have historically dominated security studies. This emphasis on inclusivity aims to create more democratic and effective security policies that address the diverse needs and concerns of all stakeholders. Such an approach is particularly vital in an era where security threats increasingly transcend national borders and require collaborative responses that engage multiple actors beyond traditional state institutions. The participatory ethos of CSS ensures that security policies reflect the lived experiences and priorities of those most affected by security decisions, rather than serving solely elite or state interests.

CSS provides essential frameworks for addressing contemporary security challenges that conventional approaches struggle to comprehend. By highlighting the social, political, and economic elements that affect security dynamics, CSS questions conventional security viewpoints that reduce security to military threats and state protection. The framework enables scholars to understand modern security issues—including pandemics, environmental degradation, migration crises, cybersecurity threats, and human rights violations—that cannot be adequately analyzed through traditional military-centric lenses. This broader conceptualization of security reflects the reality that contemporary threats emerge from diverse sources, including non-state actors,

structural inequalities, and transnational processes that demand multidimensional analytical approaches.

The theoretical foundations of CSS, rooted in critical theory as articulated by the Frankfurt School, provide sophisticated analytical tools for security scholarship. Hoffman (1987) and Linklater (1990) emphasize how critical theory questions the taken-for-granted assumptions of mainstream approaches, delving into underlying power structures, ideologies, and social constructions that influence security discourse. This intellectual heritage enables CSS to examine not merely empirical security phenomena but also the epistemological and ontological foundations upon which security knowledge is constructed. By interrogating how security concepts are produced, legitimized, and deployed, CSS reveals the political nature of security scholarship itself, challenging researchers to reflect critically on their own assumptions and methodological choices.

CSS offers particular relevance for analyzing asymmetric international partnerships, such as defense cooperation between major powers and smaller states. In examining relationships like the United States-Ghana Defense Cooperation Agreement, CSS provides a comprehensive lens through which to analyze motivations, drivers, and implications that extend beyond strategic military considerations. By exploring underlying power dynamics, societal impacts, and participatory mechanisms involved in defense cooperation, this framework provides valuable insights into the complexities of contemporary security challenges. CSS enables scholars to question whose interests such agreements serve, how they affect national sovereignty and autonomy, and what consequences they hold for local populations—questions that traditional realist or liberal approaches often overlook or minimize.

Furthermore, CSS demonstrates scholarly relevance through its critical examination of policy formation processes. The framework recognizes that defining and labeling threats determines resource allocation and policy formation across various sectors of society. CSS argues that security is not merely about military defense or border protection but is deeply intertwined with political choices and the social construction of risks. This insight is crucial for scholars analyzing how security discourses shape political priorities, justify resource distribution, and legitimize state actions. By revealing the constructed nature of threats and the political interests embedded in security narratives, CSS empowers researchers to conduct more reflexive and politically informed analyses of security policies and their societal consequences.

In conclusion, CSS offers contemporary scholarship an intellectually rigorous, ethically informed, and analytically sophisticated framework for understanding security in its multiple dimensions. Its relevance lies not only in expanding what counts as security but also in critically examining how security knowledge is produced, whose interests it serves, and how it shapes political order and social relations in an increasingly complex global environment.

Criticisms and Limitations of Critical Security Studies

Despite its significant contributions to security scholarship, Critical Security Studies (CSS) faces substantial criticisms and limitations that warrant careful consideration. These critiques range from conceptual ambiguities to methodological challenges, raising important questions about the framework's practical applicability and theoretical coherence.

A fundamental criticism of CSS concerns its lack of definitional clarity. The absence of a single, widely accepted understanding of what constitutes "security" or what it means to adopt a "critical"

posture highlights the complexity and contentious nature of this field. The term "critical" in security studies has no universally accepted definition, creating conceptual ambiguity that makes CSS difficult to operationalize in concrete policy contexts. This definitional fluidity, while perhaps reflecting the framework's intellectual openness, simultaneously undermines its utility for policymakers and practitioners who require clear analytical guidelines. When scholars cannot agree on fundamental parameters, the framework risks becoming so broad as to lose analytical precision and practical relevance.

Related to this is what might be termed the "critical" label problem. The prefix "critical" proves especially difficult to utilize meaningfully. As the framework itself acknowledges, it is challenging to conceive of any scholarly method that would be genuinely "uncritical" when it comes to studying security or any other field of intellectual investigation. All serious scholarship involves critical examination of evidence, assumptions, and arguments. Therefore, referring specifically to "critical" work functions as a rhetorical strategy that requires identification, comprehension, and challenge. This rhetorical dimension raises questions about whether CSS represents a genuinely distinctive approach or merely rebrands standard scholarly practices under a politically charged label that implies other approaches lack critical rigor.

The fragmented nature of CSS presents another significant limitation. The framework has grown to encompass a wide variety of viewpoints, with intersecting lines of agreement and disagreement regarding the purpose, approach, and ramifications of being "critical." Internal boundaries and boundary disputes between these various approaches suggest that CSS encompasses multiple, sometimes conflicting perspectives rather than presenting a unified theoretical position. This fragmentation creates intellectual challenges for scholars attempting to apply CSS systematically.

When different variants of CSS offer contradictory prescriptions or emphasize incompatible priorities, the framework's coherence as a distinct theoretical paradigm becomes questionable. The diversity that proponents celebrate as intellectual richness critics may perceive as theoretical incoherence.

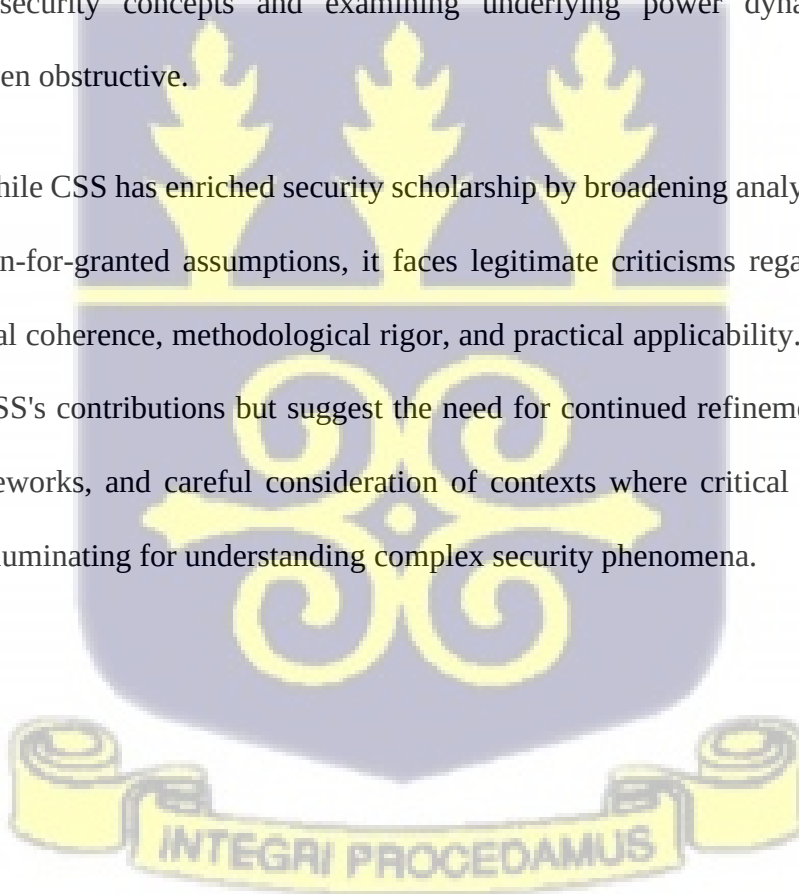
CSS's limitations become particularly apparent when scholars recognize the need for complementary theoretical frameworks. The integration of CSS with realism in analyzing defense cooperation agreements—combining CSS's attention to social, political, and economic elements with realism's insights into power dynamics, state conduct, and international system structure suggests that CSS alone proves insufficient for comprehensive analysis. This necessity for theoretical supplementation raises questions about CSS's explanatory completeness. If critical approaches require balancing with traditional frameworks to provide adequate accounts of security phenomena, this implies inherent limitations in CSS's analytical capacity, particularly regarding state behavior, strategic calculations, and material power considerations that realist approaches capture more effectively.

The post-positivist orientation of CSS, while philosophically sophisticated, creates methodological vulnerabilities. The post-positivist turns challenged positivist assumptions that dominated security studies, critiquing positivism's emphasis on objective, empirical analysis for oversimplifying complex social phenomena and neglecting subjective experiences and interpretations (Booth, Smith, & Zalewski, 1996). However, this anti-positivist stance makes CSS vulnerable to criticisms regarding empirical rigor and measurability. Critics argue that CSS's emphasis on interpretation, discourse, and social construction makes it difficult to generate falsifiable hypotheses or produce cumulative knowledge. The framework's skepticism toward empirical verification and quantitative

methods potentially limits its ability to demonstrate causal relationships or predict outcomes capabilities that remain valued in policy-relevant research and much contemporary social science.

Furthermore, CSS faces practical limitations in policy application. Its emphasis on reflexivity, meta-theoretical questioning, and normative critique, while intellectually valuable, may hinder its utility for policymakers facing immediate security challenges requiring concrete responses. The framework's tendency toward deconstruction rather than prescription can leave practitioners without clear guidance for action. When security officials need to make rapid decisions about resource allocation, threat assessment, or strategic partnerships, CSS's insistence on problematizing security concepts and examining underlying power dynamics may seem impractical or even obstructive.

In conclusion, while CSS has enriched security scholarship by broadening analytical horizons and questioning taken-for-granted assumptions, it faces legitimate criticisms regarding definitional clarity, theoretical coherence, methodological rigor, and practical applicability. These limitations do not negate CSS's contributions but suggest the need for continued refinement, dialogue with alternative frameworks, and careful consideration of contexts where critical approaches prove most and least illuminating for understanding complex security phenomena.



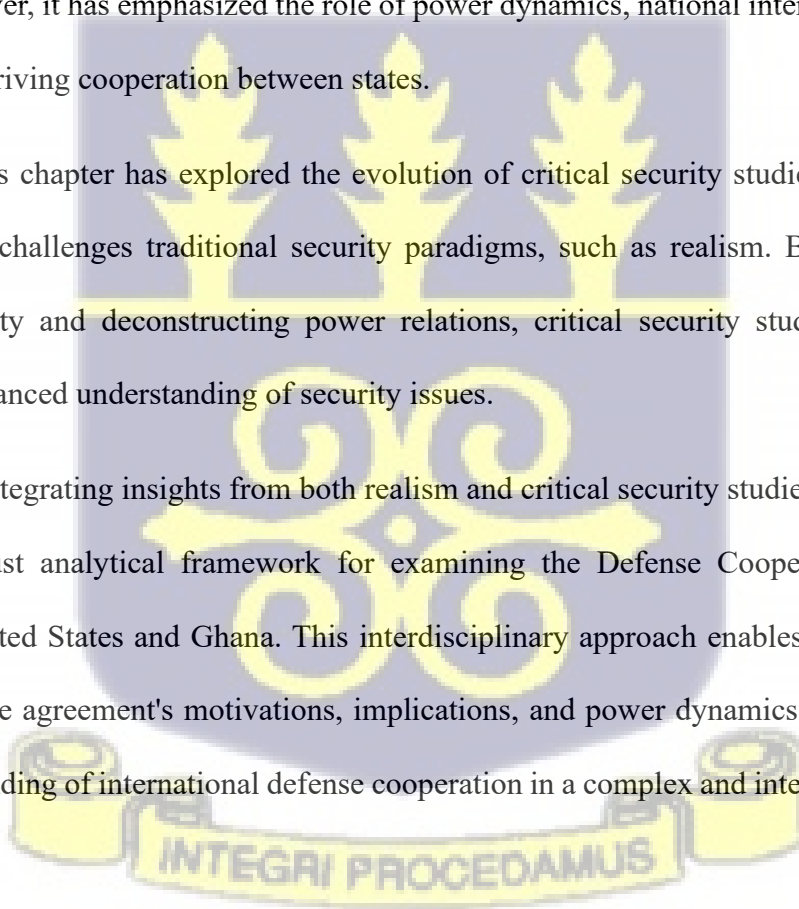
3.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this chapter has provided a comprehensive review of the factors driving defense cooperation among nation-states, drawing on scholarly literature and historical examples. It has highlighted the interplay of internal, external, and historical contingencies that shape the demand for defense cooperation agreements (DCAs), ranging from shifts in the global security environment to common security threats and alignment within security communities.

The analysis has underscored the multifaceted nature of defense cooperation, which encompasses efforts to modernize militaries, respond to common security threats, and align with like-minded partners. Moreover, it has emphasized the role of power dynamics, national interests, and strategic calculations in driving cooperation between states.

Furthermore, this chapter has explored the evolution of critical security studies as a theoretical framework that challenges traditional security paradigms, such as realism. By broadening the notion of security and deconstructing power relations, critical security studies offer a more inclusive and nuanced understanding of security issues.

Ultimately, by integrating insights from both realism and critical security studies, this chapter has provided a robust analytical framework for examining the Defense Cooperation Agreement between the United States and Ghana. This interdisciplinary approach enables a comprehensive assessment of the agreement's motivations, implications, and power dynamics, contributing to a deeper understanding of international defense cooperation in a complex and interconnected world.



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CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The main theories and supporting literature for this investigation have been described in the earlier chapters. The approach used to comprehend US defense cooperation with Ghana and its effects on Ghana's national security is examined in this chapter. The study's initial research question is addressed in this chapter. It makes use of the techniques and data sources that could be utilized to analyze the defense cooperation between Ghana and the United States through the lenses of critical security studies and realism. As was covered in the earlier chapters, the theoretical component is based on international relations realism but is further limited to the philosophy of critical security studies. Qualitative approaches are used in the research's empirical component. Qualitative scientific research principles were used in the collection and analysis of the data.

4.1 PHILOSOPHICAL UNDERPINNING OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Research paradigms in general and qualitative research in particular do not have a single method. A number of things, such as the researcher's ontological and epistemological views, may support the methodology. The link between these constructs is such that ontology defines epistemology, which defines a methodology, which in turn specifies the applied procedures, according to the philosophy of science.

Ontology, however, is a theory of being that has to do with opinions regarding the nature of the social world and what is known about it. Whether social reality exists independently of human conceptions and interpretations, whether there is a single, shared social reality or only a variety of context-specific realities, and whether social behavior is governed by laws that are either

immutable or generalizable are important ontological questions in the field of social sciences. These viewpoints are frequently divided into constructivism and objectivism. According to objectivism as an ontological stance, social phenomena and their meanings exist apart from social actors. Constructivism emphasizes that social actors are always creating social phenomena and their meanings. As a result, social phenomena and categories are constantly being revised in addition to being created through social interaction.

Fundamentally, epistemology is a theory of knowledge that addresses the nature of knowledge and how it is acquired. The foundation of the process of creating knowledge is an epistemological position. Understanding the link between the researcher and the researched is one of the main topics at the center of the epistemological discussion. To better comprehend the techniques used for data collection and analysis, it is necessary to briefly examine the ontological and epistemological stances used in this work.

Both positivist and post-positivist viewpoints include qualitative research. In the past, qualitative researchers tried to carry out rigorous positivist research using less stringent techniques and protocols, placing it within the positivist tradition. Nonetheless, the qualitative approach is mostly preferred by people who hold interpretive or non-positivist epistemological stances, like social constructivism, phenomenology, and hermeneutics, among others. Despite their similarities, these philosophies hold different views on the goal and practice of comprehending human behavior, have different ethical commitments, and adopt different positions on methodological and epistemological matters like objectivity, validity, and representation.

The majority of post-positivists question the conventional idea of absolute truth or knowledge and acknowledge that when examining human behavior and deeds, humans cannot be totally positive about their claims of knowledge. The writings of 19th-century authors like Comte (1896), Mill

(1843), Durkheim (1893), Locke (1690), and Newton (1687) are linked to this worldview. Post-positivists also believe that there are causal linkages and patterns in the social environment that may be found and tested using trustworthy methods. In this way, they depart from positivism's focus on establishing the causal links that make up the social world and instead seek to bolster current beliefs with evidence.

Interpretivism, which draws from the post-positivist school of thinking, is typically based on how people perceive interactions and the social meaning they attach to them. Interpretivists hold that reality is relative and multifaceted. Because they rely on other systems for meaning, Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that these numerous meanings are difficult to interpret. As a result, the knowledge produced by this field is interpreted subjectively and through societal constructions. Multiple realities have methodological ramifications in that research topics cannot be decided upon in front of the investigation; rather, they develop and change as it goes along, particularly when unexpected results are found.

In a similar vein, social constructivists believe that individuals actively involved in the research process socially construct knowledge. Scholars endeavor to comprehend the intricate realm of lived experience through the eyes of individuals who inhabit it. Research investigations that use phenomenology frequently employ this interpretative framework. Phenomenologists study how people interpret their surroundings, and specifically how philosophers or researchers should avoid assumptions when interpreting the environment. This paradigm is frequently linked to the writings of early academics who understood the essential distinctions between the subjects of the natural and social sciences and the necessity of an epistemology that both reflects and benefits from these distinctions, such as Max Weber (1922), Edmund Husserl (1936), and Alfred Schutz (1967).

The main distinction is that social reality has meaning for people, thus human behavior is meaningful if it has significance for them. People act according to the meaning they assign to their own and other people's actions. In conclusion, phenomenologists believe that people's actions are a result of how they see the world. In this regard, they make an effort to comprehend human behavior from the perspective of the individuals involved.

To gain a thorough grasp of the topic they are studying, qualitative researchers frequently employ a range of epistemological stances and techniques. An interpretive epistemological stance is taken by the researcher. In contrast to the natural sciences, the study of people and their institutions in the social world necessitates a different logic of research technique, one that reflects the uniqueness of humans. The researcher holds that social interaction is constantly being revised, based on a positivist ontological perspective. As a result, this study offers a particular interpretation of social reality rather than one that is infallible. This study incorporates ontology, epistemology, methodology, and methodologies in a comprehensive approach to qualitative research. In order to comprehend the worldwide changes in the perception of defense cooperation among nation-states in the modern world, this method highlights the connections between philosophical underpinnings and the research methodologies or procedures used depending on one's epistemological and ontological orientations.

4.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

Three primary academic research strands qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods are systematically mapped out in the philosophy of social sciences. The qualitative research approach serves as the foundation for this investigation. Using qualitative research techniques and phenomenological perspectives, this study examines defense cooperation between Ghana and the

United States. The metaphorical description of qualitative research by Creswell and Poth (2016) is a complicated fabric made of minute threads, many colors, diverse textures, and unique blends of material.' Grounded theory, ethnography, case studies, phenomenology, and narrative research are some of the several forms of qualitative inquiry (Creswell, 2013). According to Merriam and Tisdell (2015: 48), qualitative research does not have to be specifically classified as one of the five types; it can just be defined as a qualitative research study. Exploration is at the heart of qualitative research, which aims to provide a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the topic under study (Creswell, 2013).

Due to its inherent security implications on national security, the idea of defense cooperation agreements in international relations has recently been a topic of discussion in academic circles. Despite the fact that security studies have been thoroughly investigated using both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, little is known about the recent rise in the number of defense cooperation agreements between sovereign governments. Furthermore, when trying to comprehend defense cooperation, modern scholars agree that context is crucial (Kinne, 2018).

According to Stake (2005), when the objective of the research is to create a comprehensive and contextual understanding of a phenomenon, quantitative research methods—which seek to establish generalizations and rigorous cause-and-effect relationships—are inappropriate. The research paradigms used in qualitative investigations are based on various philosophical presumptions (Creswell, 2013). These philosophical effects are described and categorized differently by different qualitative researchers (Creswell, 2013; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

In a similar vein, social constructivists believe that individuals actively involved in the research process socially construct knowledge. Scholars endeavor to comprehend the intricate realm of lived experience through the eyes of individuals who inhabit it. Research investigations that use

phenomenology frequently employ this interpretative framework. Phenomenologists study how people interpret their surroundings, and specifically how philosophers or researchers should avoid assumptions when interpreting the environment.

This research study used a realism paradigm, as was briefly indicated in Chapter One, and the researcher took on the position of an interpreter or explainer. According to Stake (2005), the case researcher's function as an interpreter is to identify and validate novel meanings. A researcher looks into a topic or conundrum in an effort to make a stronger connection with established ideas. The researcher seeks to make them understandable to others by identifying new connections (Stake, 2005). Scholars have underlined that the most popular type of qualitative research is interpretive research (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Interpretative research uses an inductive, hypothesis-generating, or theory-generating form of inquiry and generates knowledge from an understanding of the process or experience (Merriam, 2001).

However, Creswell (2013) contended that while the researcher alternates between new and current data, deductive logic is also a part of the complicated reasoning process in qualitative studies. The objective of the liberal/constructivist interpretivism paradigm is to create a more sophisticated and lucid reality that aids in our collective comprehension of complicated events, rather than to find a universal understanding (Stake, 2005). Remarkably, Merriam (2016) and Stake (2005) contended that one of the primary features of qualitative research is its emphasis on interpretation. According to Stake (2005), the emphasis on acquiring experiential understanding is another factor that distinguishes qualitative research from quantitative investigation. Additionally, qualitative researchers have pushed for comprehending intricate interrelationships among everything that exists, as well as for explanation and control, according to Stake (2005). The literature research does, in fact, show that defense cooperation agreements between sovereign states are a complicated

and difficult-to-define phenomenon. Therefore, it makes sense for the researcher to use a type of qualitative inquiry that is more suited to developing a deeper knowledge that can support future study and practice.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

A research design is a thorough or methodical plan that outlines how a researcher plans to conduct a study in order to address his or her research questions in the field. According to Welman et al. (2005), a study design is a strategy that researchers use to gather and analyze data from participants. In order to address the "what" of participants/respondents and the "how" of how different components were integrated into the defense collaboration, the researcher in this study employs the instrumental case study technique as a research methodology. The study was organized as an instrumental single-instance case study.

Nonetheless, case studies as a research tool are still up for debate among academics (Creswell, 2013). The majority of researchers approach case studies from either a constructivist or post-positivist paradigm, despite disagreements among case study scholars about the philosophical and epistemological foundations of case study methodology (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Boblin et al., 2013; Noor, 2008; Yazan, 2015). A case study, on the other hand, is a solid research technique that examines social phenomena comprehensively within a particular context of the research problem that characterizes the case study, according to Yin (2013).

Stake (2005) and other academics have defined a case as either a bounded system or an integrated system. Accordingly, Stake (2005) distinguished between two primary categories of case studies intrinsic and instrumental that might be either individual or collective in nature (Merriam 2001).

An intrinsic case study, as the name implies, aims to comprehend the intricate details of a particular instance. Conversely, an instrumental case study explores a case's specifics in order to better comprehend the problem at hand or broaden our understanding of a phenomenon.

Additionally, one of the most crucial things to keep in mind is that, in an instrumental case study, we begin and conclude with the dominating issues, while in an intrinsic case study, the case is of the utmost importance (Stake, 2005).

Explanatory, exploratory, and descriptive case studies are the three categories into which Yin's scholarly work (2013: 12) divides case studies. example studies might concentrate on a single example with the aim of gaining a comprehensive understanding of a single, distinct case, or they can examine phenomena in several cases (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

The growing popularity of case study research has been the subject of a heated yet academic debate over the last three decades (Yin, 2014). The shortcomings of quantitative approaches, which frequently fall short in addressing the more intricate and profound issues being studied, have contributed to their appeal. The case study approach has been criticized even though it provides answers to close this gap (Yin, 2014). A lack of rigor, little chances for generalization, and the difficulty of handling the massive volumes of data generated are some of the primary objections. Yin (2014) emphasized the significance of employing methodical techniques for case study design and analysis in order to allay these worries. Scholarly dispute regarding the approach has been sparked by the growing usage of case study research (Yazan, 2015).

The case study methodologists Robert Stake, Sharan Merriam, and Robert Yin are among the most influential. On the basis of their individual epistemologies, these three academics have created protocols and suggestions for case study investigation. Since Yin emphasizes scientific design

elements like the use of propositions, a cause-and-effect orientation in research, and a greater emphasis on controlling researcher bias, some scholars link his approach to the post-positivist or even positivist tradition (Boblin et al., 2013; Yazan, 2015). Merriam and Stake both adopt the constructivist approach and exclusively qualitative techniques, which contrasts with Yin's methodology (Yazan, 2015).

According to Yin (2014), the case study approach was created as a response to provide what he called an all-encompassing method covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis. It is, in part, informed by quantitative methodology. Although Yin acknowledges that case study research might adopt relativist or interpretivist epistemological orientations, his methodology most closely resembles a realist approach (2014). Both Merriam and Stake support the constructivist methodology and provide their distinguishing features for case studies. Merriam's key characteristics are particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic, whereas Stake suggests that case studies should be holistic, empirical, interpretive, and sympathetic (Yazan, 2015). In actuality, the case study methodologists have taken somewhat different methods to the design and collection of data.

According to academics, Yin (2014) promoted a more methodical approach that consists of five primary design elements: units of analysis, study questions and propositions, if any; connecting data to the propositions; and the standards for evaluating the results (Yin, 2014,). Additionally, Stake (2005) argues that the approach offers a great deal more flexibility and permits the study to change as it progresses. Although some academics and researchers might find this freedom appealing, the absence of clear criteria may make it difficult for inexperienced researchers to embrace this strategy (Yazan, 2015). However, some academics contend that because Stake's adaptable methodology enables a more inductive analysis and a more thorough investigation of

the phenomenon, it is more appropriate for qualitative case studies (Boblin et al., 2013). According to some, Merriam's method offers a well-structured design along with a degree of flexibility influenced by the qualitative heritage, thereby striking a balance between the methods of Yin and Stake (Yazan, 2015).

All three academics stress the value of triangulation in relation to data collecting, which necessitates the utilization of several data sources. However, Stake (2005) and Merriam (2001) are both strongly based in qualitative approaches, but Yin (2014) promoted a combination of both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods. Yin (2014) asserts that mixed-method research can enable investigators to tackle more complex study inquiries and gather a more robust and diverse range of evidence (Yin, 2014). Yazan (2015) noted that in addition to this basic distinction, Stake takes the opposite extreme of excessive flexibility, highlighting the importance of researcher interpretations, whereas Yin's method to data collection and selection adheres to his overall structured strategy. Stake went on to say that Merriam offers a more structured approach than Stake, emphasizing the significance of efficient data collection methodologies, even if Merriam only uses a qualitative approach to data collection. According to Stake (2005), the following statement reflects the claim that Stake's method permits flexibility:

Stake (2005) states that "good research is not just about good methods; it is about good thinking". Despite being more adaptable, Stake's (2005) method does not downplay the significance of meticulous preparation and a thorough research procedure. Because several essential components of planning and carrying out a study were suggested rather than stated directly in his presentation of case study research, it can seem disorganized. For instance, Stake (2005) did not specifically highlight the importance of the theoretical framework and the literature review, whereas Merriam (2001) did. This does not imply, however, that he does not think these factors are significant. He

said: "I do not want an examination of the phenomenon expressed in the issue to become more important than an examination of the case as a whole, but I want my examination to draw upon the best discipline-based scholarship I can provide" (Stake, 2005).

As the foregoing discussion makes clear, various case study research methodologies are heavily impacted by the epistemologies of individual researchers, which in turn determines their position on the validity of the evidence. Merriam's and Stake's constructivist epistemologies support their views of validity as something that can be improved but not entirely attained, even if Yin's whole strategy is entwined with attempts to obtain maximal validity and dependability of data (Yazan, 2015).

Importantly, case study research was a suitable methodology for our investigation for a number of reasons. For example, Yin (2014) noted that the case study approach is most suited for research questions that aim to explain how and why a particular event occurs. Fascinatingly, this study focused on two main questions: figuring out the "what" and "how" of the motivations or elements influencing defense cooperation between Ghana and the United States of America. Furthermore, the study aimed to investigate these phenomena by looking at how defense cooperation affected Ghana's sovereignty, which gave the case study a particular setting. Because programs are bounded systems by nature, Yin, Stake, and Merriam all support the use of case study research in program analysis. Case study research's primary feature is its examination of a system that is constrained by certain constraints.

These limitations affect the scope and kinds of data collecting techniques, as well as the case's boundaries (Merriam, 2001; Stake, 2005). "Thus, people and programs are prospective cases" (Stake, 2005) has been said. The goal of this thesis was to have a better understanding of a certain phenomenon. The objective was to obtain a better understanding of the rationale behind defense

cooperation among states and the apparent proliferation of defense cooperation agreements between sovereign states in the modern international system, even though the case's specifics and context are significant. The concept of the instrumental case study provided by Stake (2005) best captures this thesis. This entailed investigating the phenomenon being studied, and the study also provided insights into the usefulness and applicability of realist and neoliberal theories. As a result, there were theoretical and practical implications for comprehending the concerns more thoroughly. Additionally, a thorough examination of the occurrence was made possible using the case study methodology.

Justification for Qualitative Research Design

The qualitative research design, specifically the instrumental case study approach, is particularly suitable for this study due to the nature of the research objectives and the complexity of the phenomena under investigation. The study's four primary objectives necessitate an in-depth, contextual examination that quantitative methods alone cannot adequately address.

First, the objective of providing a comprehensive historical overview of diplomatic, economic, and military relations between the United States and Ghana requires a nuanced understanding of historical developments, political contexts, and evolving bilateral dynamics. Qualitative research excels at capturing the richness and complexity of historical narratives, allowing the researcher to explore the interconnected political, economic, and social factors that have shaped this relationship over time. Through document analysis, archival research, and examination of policy documents, the qualitative approach enables a holistic reconstruction of this bilateral relationship that extends beyond mere statistical correlations.

Second, examining the key elements and provisions of the 2018 Defense Cooperation Agreement demands interpretive analysis of legal texts, policy frameworks, and institutional arrangements. The qualitative design allows for systematic content analysis of the agreement's provisions, enabling the researcher to uncover underlying meanings, identify patterns in collaborative initiatives, and understand the operational implications of joint military exercises. This objective requires not just identification of what the agreement contains, but an understanding of how these provisions function within the broader context of international defense cooperation, which qualitative inquiry facilitates through its emphasis on meaning-making and contextual understanding.

Third, exploring the motivations behind the signing of the Defense Cooperation Agreement addresses the fundamental "why" question that lies at the heart of qualitative inquiry. Understanding state motivations requires delving into the complex interplay of national interests, security concerns, geopolitical calculations, and domestic political considerations. Qualitative methods, through interviews with key stakeholders, analysis of official statements, and examination of policy debates, can uncover the multiple layers of reasoning that influenced this strategic decision. This objective aligns perfectly with the strengths of case study research, which excels at explaining how and why particular phenomena occur within their real-world contexts.

Fourth, assessing the implications of the Defense Cooperation Agreement on Ghana's national security requires evaluating multifaceted impacts that cannot be reduced to quantitative metrics alone. National security implications encompass issues of sovereignty, military capability enhancement, regional stability, threat perception, and political autonomy. The qualitative approach allows for exploration of these complex dimensions through multiple data sources and

perspectives, enabling a comprehensive assessment that captures both tangible and intangible security outcomes.

Furthermore, the instrumental case study methodology is appropriate because this research uses the Ghana-U.S. defense cooperation as a vehicle to understand broader theoretical and practical questions about defense cooperation between states in the contemporary international system. The study seeks not merely to describe this particular case, but to generate insights applicable to understanding defense cooperation more generally, which aligns with the instrumental case study's purpose of illuminating larger issues through focused examination of a specific instance.

The qualitative design also permits the triangulation of multiple data sources, including official documents, policy statements, expert interviews, and scholarly literature, thereby enhancing the credibility and depth of findings. This methodological flexibility is essential given that the research questions span historical analysis, legal interpretation, motivational inquiry, and security assessment. Each of these dimensions requires different types of evidence and analytical approaches, which the qualitative framework accommodates effectively.

Moreover, the sensitive nature of defense and security matters often means that crucial insights emerge not from statistical data but from careful interpretation of official discourse, policy decisions, and stakeholder perspectives. Qualitative research's emphasis on understanding context, meaning, and process makes it ideally suited for navigating the political and diplomatic complexities inherent in bilateral defense relations.

In conclusion, the qualitative instrumental case study design is not merely suitable but essential for achieving the study's objectives. It provides the methodological framework necessary to

capture the historical depth, contextual complexity, motivational nuances, and multidimensional implications of the Ghana-U.S. Defense Cooperation Agreement, while simultaneously contributing to broader theoretical understanding of defense cooperation in international relations.

4.4 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

The study's population was chosen to suit the background, research objectives, and research questions considering also the limitations of the study and resource limitations. In this sense, sampling becomes a crucial factor to take into account while planning and designing a study. According to sampling theory, conclusions or inferences about the population the sample is taken from can be made. Purposive sampling is best suited for choosing the population or unit of analysis because this research is a case study. In qualitative research, purposeful sampling is a popular strategy for finding and choosing instances with a wealth of information while making the best use of scarce resources (Patton, 2002). This entails finding and choosing people, or groups of people, who have a great deal of expertise or knowledge of a phenomenon of interest (Cresswell & Clark, 2008). Bernard (2017) and Spradley (1979) contend that availability and willingness to participate are just as important as knowledge and experience, as is the capacity to present ideas and experiences in a clear, expressive, and thoughtful way.

Defense cooperation research is a delicate and specialized area of study in international relations and security studies. Therefore, hiring the most qualified people to contribute their professional opinions to such research is always necessary. Purposive sampling approaches, which are seen to

be the best way to choose respondents with particular traits to improve the studies, have been used as a result of this.

Purposive sampling is a technique for gathering data in which participants are chosen according to particular traits or levels of experience needed to answer the study questions. This approach was used to find people who had the requisite knowledge of military studies, international relations, security studies, and, to a significant degree, political science. This knowledge was essential for giving the study relevant viewpoints.

Experts were chosen for interviews using the purposive method. However, these experts were asked to suggest more people with particular expertise and knowledge after purposeful sampling was used to find the first experts. As a result, a second respondent selection technique known as snowballing was introduced. Due to the delicate nature of defense cooperation and security studies in international relations—topics that have generated debate among nation-states—these two approaches were judged important.

Additionally, it was noted that respondents felt more at ease sharing their opinions and ideas throughout the interviews when these strategies were used. This occurred as a result of their trusted colleagues introducing them to the researcher.

4.5 SAMPLE SIZE (STUDY PARTICIPANTS)

As was already indicated, the case study contains particular parameters that were adhered to by the carefully selected participants. Participants in the study came from a variety of backgrounds, including academics, members of parliament, the Ghanaian military, security analysts, international relations experts, and political scientists. Among other organizations, these people

were connected to members of parliament, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, the University of Ghana, Legon, the University of Education, Winneba, Wisconsin University College, Ghana Armed Forces, Command College, and the Kofi Annan International Peace Training Center (KAIPTC). For the study, thirty-one in-depth interviews were performed. The table below provides a summary of these numbers' precise distribution.

Table 4.1 Distribution of Interview Respondents

Field	Number of participants
Academics	12
Members of Parliament	8
Military Officers	8
Security Experts	3
Total	31

The distribution of respondents across various categories was informed by their unique perspectives and levels of expertise relevant to the study's focus on defense cooperation between the United States and Ghana. Academics and security experts were included to gain deep insights into the historical and theoretical aspects of defense cooperation. Academics from the University of Ghana and other key universities were prioritized due to their expertise in international relations and security studies. This accounts for the larger representation of academics (12 respondents). Members of Parliament (8 respondents) and military officers (8 respondents) were selected to understand both the legislative framework governing defense cooperation and the practical perspectives of those implementing policies on the ground. The number for each group was kept

equal to ensure a balanced view of policy creation and implementation. Security experts (3 respondents) were chosen based on their specialized knowledge and unique perspectives on Ghana's security landscape and international defense partnerships. Although fewer in number, these respondents provided in-depth, niche insights that contributed significantly to the study. The total of 31 respondents reflects an intentional selection to balance breadth and depth, allowing for comprehensive coverage of perspectives while managing the practical constraints of time and access.

4.6 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

4.6.1 Sources of Data

A number of possible data sources for case study research paradigms have been discovered by scholars. The following six possible data sources were supplied by Yin (2014) and are mentioned below: tangible artifacts, (1) documentation, (2) archival records, (3) interviews, (4) direct observations, and (5) participant observation. But according to Merriam (2001) and Stake (2005), in a qualitative case study, the three primary data sources should be observation, interviews, and document reviews. The significance of context observation was also emphasized by Stake (2005: 34), which is similar to Yin's (2014) physical artifact observation. Additionally, Yin (2014) asserts that each of these data sources has advantages and disadvantages that should be taken into account. According to Merriam & Tisdell (2016), triangulation, which raises the validity and credibility of the research, requires the use of numerous data sources. This study's data sources include primary and secondary sources.

Primary Data

According to Hox and Boeije (2005), primary data is original information gathered for a particular research subject using methods that are most appropriate for the problem. Purposive sampling will be used to get primary data. The Defense Cooperation Agreement was explained in this thesis using the theories of realism and critical security studies. In order to gain a perspective on the United States' defense cooperation with Ghana and how Ghanaians see the two countries' defense cooperation agreement, the primary data for this thesis was collected in Ghana. The primary data collected from the participants was collected through in-depth interviews which were conducted at the participants locations. The average interview took about one hour with some exceeding up to one hour thirty minutes. Defense cooperation often involves sensitive, strategic and classified dimensions hence purposive sampling was used to determine the sample population. The data gathered from the in-depth interviews are very crucial to this study because the experts (International relation experts, military officer, security analysts) provide nuanced insights into the motivations, constraints that policy documents may not capture.

Secondary Data

According to Hox and Boeije (2005), secondary data are those that were first gathered for a different reason and then used again to answer a different research topic. The use of secondary data in qualitative research provides historical context, theoretical grounding, and triangulation opportunities that strengthen the overall validity of the study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The researcher used qualitative data for this study, which was gathered through extensive investigation from a number of sources, including: (a) interviews, which comprised one-on-one conversations with participants, document reviews, and direct observations; (b) a review of agreement-related

documentation; and (c) direct observation, which involved the analysis of journal notes derived from direct observations.

The study's secondary data included previously published works that are pertinent to the topic of defense cooperation and were obtained from multiple specialized sources. Secondary sources serve critical functions in research by providing background information, establishing theoretical frameworks, and enabling comparative analysis across time and contexts (Bernard, 2017; Bhattacharjee, 2012).

The Kinne Brandon Defense Cooperation Agreement Dataset (DCAD) served as a primary secondary source for this research, providing comprehensive quantitative and qualitative data on bilateral defense cooperation agreements worldwide from 1980 to 2010 (Kinne, 2018). This dataset was selected because it offers systematic documentation of defense cooperation patterns, including information on agreement types, institutional provisions, and cooperative activities between states. The DCAD is particularly valuable for contextualizing U.S.-Ghana defense cooperation within broader global security networks and comparing bilateral arrangements across different regions and time periods (Kinne, 2018). The dataset's rigorous coding methodology and comprehensive coverage make it an essential resource for understanding the structural dimensions of defense partnerships and their evolution over time.

Official government documentation from both the United States and Ghana provided essential primary-source material for understanding policy frameworks and institutional arrangements. Documents from the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ghana were accessed through official websites and included policy statements, white papers, strategic documents, and official correspondence related to defense cooperation (Merriam, 2002). These

sources were critical for understanding the official rationale, legal frameworks, and institutional mechanisms governing the defense partnership. Government documents offer authoritative accounts of policy intentions and provide insight into how states officially frame and justify their defense cooperation initiatives (Yin, 2018). Additionally, legal documents such as the actual defense cooperation agreement text, parliamentary records, and legislative debates were analyzed to understand the formal structures and obligations established through the partnership.

Data were gathered from several specialized academic institutions to ensure comprehensive coverage of scholarly perspectives on defense cooperation. The Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) provided access to specialized research on African security issues, international relations theory, and regional defense dynamics (Baxter & Jack, 2008). LECIAD's research focus on contemporary diplomacy and security issues in West Africa made it particularly relevant for understanding the regional context of U.S.-Ghana defense cooperation. The University of Ghana's Department of Political Science Library offered theoretical and empirical literature on international security cooperation, state behavior, and foreign policy analysis. These sources were essential for grounding the research in established theoretical frameworks such as neorealism and neoliberalism (Waltz, 1979; Keohane & Nye, 2012).

The Balme Library at the University of Ghana served as a comprehensive repository for historical records, academic journals, books, and archival materials related to Ghana's foreign and defense policy (Stake, 2005). This library's extensive collection of historical documents enabled longitudinal analysis of Ghana's defense partnerships and provided context for understanding how contemporary cooperation arrangements evolved from earlier bilateral relationships. Historical records are essential for qualitative case study research as they provide temporal depth and enable

researchers to trace policy evolution and identify critical junctures in bilateral relations (Yin, 2018; Yazan, 2015).

The Ghana Armed Forces Library provided access to military doctrine documents, defense publications, strategic assessments, and internal military journals that offer practitioner perspectives on defense cooperation (Noor, 2008). This source was particularly valuable because it provided insight into how military professionals understand and implement defense cooperation at the operational level. Military publications often contain technical analyses of cooperative activities such as joint training exercises, equipment transfers, and capacity-building programs that are not readily available in civilian academic sources (Bernard, 2017). Access to military-specific documentation enhanced the research's ability to understand the practical implementation of defense cooperation beyond formal policy statements.

A wide range of peer-reviewed academic literature was consulted to establish theoretical frameworks, review existing scholarship on defense cooperation, and situate the U.S.-Ghana case within broader academic debates about security partnerships, alliance formation, and international cooperation (Patton, 2015). Journal articles provided contemporary empirical research on defense cooperation trends, while books offered comprehensive theoretical treatments of international security cooperation. This literature was essential for developing the analytical framework based on neorealist and neoliberal theories and for identifying gaps in existing scholarship that the current study addresses (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Academic sources also provided comparative cases that enabled cross-national analysis and helped identify patterns and anomalies in the U.S.-Ghana defense relationship.

Both historical and contemporary records were analyzed to provide temporal depth and enable examination of how the defense cooperation relationship has evolved over time (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Historical records included declassified diplomatic cables, archived newspaper articles, and historical policy documents that traced the origins and development of U.S.-Ghana defense relations. Contemporary records encompassed recent policy statements, current news coverage, think tank reports, and ongoing parliamentary debates about defense cooperation. This temporal breadth was essential for understanding path dependencies, identifying critical turning points, and assessing how changing regional and global security environments have influenced the bilateral defense relationship (Boblin et al., 2013). The combination of historical and contemporary sources enabled the researcher to contextualize current defense cooperation arrangements within longer-term patterns of bilateral engagement and shifting strategic priorities.

The integration of these diverse secondary sources with primary data from interviews and direct observations enabled comprehensive triangulation and enhanced the study's validity and reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin, 2017). Each secondary source was selected based on its specific contribution to understanding different dimensions of U.S.-Ghana defense cooperation, from formal institutional arrangements to practical implementation to theoretical interpretation (Stake, 2006).

The study's findings and conclusions were derived from an analysis of government documents and literature, as well as interpretations of the data that was available from the interviews. The purpose of the study was to guarantee validity, reliability, and objectivity. In addition to the fact that the evaluations and conclusions were derived from both the primary data collected and the secondary data that was accessible, objectivity was guaranteed by an objective analysis and interview notes.

The study used data and procedure triangulation to ensure validity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To confirm the accuracy of the data collected, for example, some participants were asked to explain some of their earlier comments during the second phase of interviews (member checking; Birt et al., 2016).

4.6.2 Data collection Technique

The primary method of gathering data for this case study was interviewing. Regarding interviews, it appears that Merriam (2001: 87), Stake (2005: 64), and Yin (2014: 106) all concur that the most significant sources of evidence in case study research are interviews. According to Stake (2005: 64), an interview is the primary means of accessing different realities, implying that it is the most effective technique for gathering evidence on the issue under study. According to Merriam (2001: 88) and Yin (2014: 107), in order to facilitate a smooth information flow in case study research, interviews should be in-depth, open-ended, and less organized.

Participant in-depth interviews: Throughout the investigation of the phenomena, thirty-one (31) people were interviewed using in-depth semi-structured open-ended interviews. In order to gather diverse viewpoints, the researcher interviewed people from various Ghanaian regions. The participants were carefully chosen from a variety of universities and institutions, with varying cohorts, in addition to the varied geographic locations. Five of the participants spent an hour and thirty-seven minutes with the researcher, whereas three participants spent fifty-seven minutes with the researcher. Due to time constraints, the interviews with the remaining participants lasted less than 45 minutes. Individual learning experiences in the topic areas were the main emphasis of the interview questions. Individual interviews were scheduled according to individual time preferences in order to conduct face-to-face interviews with all thirty participants due to the intentional nature of the study, geographical diversity, and participant dispositions in different

places. The researcher was able to precisely observe both verbal and nonverbal communication through the in-person interviews. A more thorough explanation of the participants' experiences was provided by this interviewing method, which also made it easier to ask follow-up and probing questions when necessary to obtain a thorough comprehension of them (Stake, 2005: 75).

Every participant interview was videotaped and verbatim transcribed. Following the interviews, they were carefully examined to record the respondents' tone and vocal emphasis in addition to the substance. Appendix B contains the protocol for the interview.

Crucially, Baugh and Guion (2006: 8) have discovered that qualitative research techniques and case studies are effective for usage in a variety of areas, including international politics. Case studies, according to Baugh & Guion (2006: 8), "allow researchers to access those factors that describe the everyday experiences of diverse cultures." A case study, according to Robert K. Yin (2014: 17), is an empirical investigation that looks at a current occurrence in its actual setting.

4.6.3 Data Collection Instruments for Qualitative Research

Data collection instruments are fundamental tools that researchers employ to systematically gather information necessary for addressing research questions and objectives. According to Bhattacharjee (2012, p. 3), research instruments are the tools or devices that a researcher uses to measure the variables of interest in order to answer research questions. For an investigation to be considered scientifically rigorous, the instruments employed must be sufficiently precise and rationally sound to eliminate doubts about the validity and reliability of the data collected. In qualitative research, the selection and application of appropriate data collection instruments are particularly crucial, as they shape the depth, richness, and authenticity of the information gathered.

Qualitative research employs a diverse array of data collection instruments designed to capture the complexities, nuances, and contextual meanings inherent in social phenomena. Unlike quantitative approaches that prioritize standardization and measurement, qualitative instruments emphasize flexibility, depth, and the researcher's interpretive engagement with participants and data. The primary instruments in qualitative studies include interview guides, observation protocols, field notes, audio-visual recording devices, and document analysis frameworks, each serving distinct yet complementary purposes in the research process.

Interview Guides

Interview guides constitute one of the most widely used instruments in qualitative research. These structured or semi-structured frameworks outline topics, themes, and questions that guide conversations between researchers and participants. Interview guides facilitate in-depth exploration of participants' experiences, perspectives, and meanings while allowing flexibility to pursue emerging themes and unexpected insights (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The semi-structured nature of interview guides enables researchers to maintain focus on research objectives while remaining responsive to participants' narratives and contexts. In-depth interviews conducted using such guides allow researchers to probe beyond surface-level responses, encouraging participants to elaborate, clarify, and reflect on their experiences in ways that generate rich, detailed data.

Audio-Visual Recording Devices

Recording devices, including audio recorders and video cameras, serve as essential instruments for capturing interview data with precision and completeness. Tape recorders and digital audio

devices enable researchers to document conversations verbatim, preserving the exact wording, tone, inflection, and pauses that convey meaning beyond literal content (Creswell, 2014). This complete capture of spoken data allows researchers to focus fully on the interview interaction rather than dividing attention between conversation and note-taking. Subsequently, recordings can be transcribed for systematic analysis, ensuring that interpretation remains grounded in participants' actual words rather than researcher memory or selective note-taking. Video recording adds visual dimensions, capturing non-verbal communication, gestures, facial expressions, and contextual elements that enrich understanding of participant meanings and interactions.

Field Notes and Observation Protocols

Notepads and structured observation protocols function as instruments for documenting observations, reflections, and contextual details during fieldwork. Field notes serve multiple purposes: recording observed behaviors, interactions, and environmental contexts; capturing researcher reflections, hunches, and emerging interpretations; and documenting methodological decisions and challenges encountered during data collection (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Systematic field note-taking transforms ephemeral observations into permanent records available for subsequent analysis. Observation protocols may include structured categories or dimensions to guide systematic observation while allowing space for unexpected phenomena. The combination of descriptive notes (what happened) and reflective notes (researcher interpretations and questions) creates layered documentation that supports rigorous qualitative analysis.

Questionnaires in Qualitative Research

While typically associated with quantitative approaches, questionnaires can serve as qualitative instruments when designed with open-ended questions that elicit narrative responses rather than numerical ratings. Qualitative questionnaires may be used to gather preliminary information, demographic contexts, or supplementary perspectives that complement primary data sources like interviews. They prove particularly useful when researchers need to collect data from larger numbers of participants than in-depth interviews would permit, or when participants prefer written reflection to oral conversation. However, questionnaires in qualitative research must be carefully designed to encourage detailed, thoughtful responses rather than brief, superficial answers.

Document Analysis Frameworks

Document analysis protocols guide systematic examination of textual materials, including policy documents, organizational reports, media coverage, archival records, and other written artifacts relevant to research questions. These frameworks specify criteria for document selection, categories for content analysis, and procedures for extracting and coding relevant information. Document analysis complements other qualitative methods by providing contextual background, triangulating findings from interviews and observations, and revealing official narratives or institutional perspectives that may differ from individual participant accounts.

Ensuring Instrument Quality

The effectiveness of qualitative data collection instruments depends on careful design, pilot testing, and reflexive application. Researchers must ensure that instruments align with research questions, suit the study population and context, and facilitate rather than constrain rich data generation. Pilot testing instruments with similar populations allows refinement before full

implementation. Throughout data collection, researchers must remain reflexive about how their presence and instruments shape the data generated, documenting these influences as part of the research record (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

In conclusion, qualitative research employs diverse instruments—interview guides, recording devices, field notes, questionnaires, and document protocols—that collectively enable systematic yet flexible data collection. The selection and application of appropriate instruments fundamentally shape the quality, depth, and credibility of qualitative findings, requiring careful consideration of research purposes, contexts, and participant needs.

4.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Content and thematic analysis was used to analyze the data for the case study research design (Yin, 2018). One helpful technique for determining the relative relevance of the messages contained in published papers was content analysis (Krippendorff, 2018). However, triangulating a variety of methodologies for interpreting data collected for each study unit or research question is a common practice in qualitative data analysis (Denzin, 2017; Patton, 2015). In order to address any unanswered issues or newly raised questions before data collection is complete, the researcher typically begins analysis during the data collection process (Miles et al., 2020).

In qualitative research, data analysis can be defined as a reflective process that includes the following steps: (a) organizing raw data; (b) entering and coding data; (c) using theme analysis to find meaning; (d) interpreting meaning; and (e) drawing conclusions (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

The larger picture of the study questions, goals, and objectives, as well as the methodological limitations and theory, guided all of these actions. Qualitative data analysis procedures differ from quantitative ones in that they employ thematic analysis instead of statistical analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2021). Additionally, qualitative analysis necessitates a more natural process where data input and coding, data analysis, and interpretation are all more intimately related than separate processes (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Nonetheless, the researcher believed that a fresh and practical degree of understanding would be added by doing a content analysis of a few important source and secondary documents. This offers a helpful method for examining comparable themes over a long time span as well. The following procedures were used to analyze the data from the qualitative content analysis: (a) defining the units of analysis, such as interviews, sample texts, or other verbal communication; (b) determining and assessing the things that are theoretically significant and have a relevant relationship to the main research issues (Schreier, 2012).

Following the theoretical stances that supported the study was one of the researcher's methods for evaluating the case study data (Stake, 2006). The main themes that emerged from the study goals and the theoretical and conceptual problems from the literature served as a guide for the data analysis. Data collected on the research topic, the defense cooperation between the United States and Ghana and its effects on national security and defense policy, as well as the reasons why both sovereign states signed the agreement, were examined using the theoretical framework of neorealism and neoliberalism paradigms in order to meet the study's stated goals (Waltz, 1979; Keohane & Nye, 2012). To make it easier to find similarities and contrasts in the participants' responses, the interview notes and transcripts from the in-depth interviews were classified under

the five major themes. The researcher classified the interviewees' answers into categories under each theme. Because it lets the facts guide the development of themes, this approach is typically seen as the most suitable (Glaser & Strauss, 2017).

Furthermore, in order to investigate how the theories and presumptions were implemented in the Ghanaian context, data collected on defense cooperation between the United States and Ghana was examined using the theoretical frameworks of neorealism and neoliberalism. The interview replies were grouped according to the themes that the theories had identified.

After a thorough transcription process, the research data will be classified into important themes and categories. The themes found under this section were derived from two main questions asked of interviewees, in accordance with Creswell's coding stages, which include data processing, general data evaluation, categorization, and interpretation (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

The study's findings and conclusions were derived from an analysis of government documents and literature, as well as interpretations of the data that was available from the interviews. The purpose of the study was to guarantee validity, reliability, and objectivity. In addition to the fact that the evaluations and conclusions were derived from both the primary data collected and the secondary data that was accessible, objectivity was guaranteed by an objective analysis and interview notes. The study used data and procedure triangulation to ensure validity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). To confirm the accuracy of the data collected, for example, some participants were asked to explain some of their earlier comments during the second phase of interviews (member checking; Birt et al., 2016).

4.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The chosen organizations and institutions demanded complete secrecy throughout the research process and in the release of the final thesis document due to the delicate nature of case selection. With the help of supervisory committee members and other academics at the Legon Centre of International Affairs and Diplomacy, the researcher found and contacted appropriate participants after the School of Graduate Studies Review Board at the University of Ghana, Legon approved the research proposal. These individuals received formal invitations to participate in the research. They received assurances of complete anonymity and were told that participation was entirely voluntary. Participants received a form requesting their informed permission.

Creswell (2013) states that consent forms should include information about the study's goals and possible advantages, specifics regarding the research procedure, a participant's right to withdraw from the study, and a commitment to complete secrecy.

4.9 LIMITATION TO THE STUDY

The study of defense cooperation agreements includes national security, which is a topic that frequently involves concerns about gatekeeper interactions, access to sensitive areas and research subjects, and classified materials, all of which require adherence to military hierarchical authority. The difficulty of accessing Ghana's military system, where such issues are usually considered sensitive and confidential, is one of the study's main limitations. It took realistic strategies to negotiate network ties with the military establishment and other monitoring organizations in order to overcome this obstacle. To gain access to important sources and documents from the Ghana Armed Forces, the researcher had to rely on professional experience and connections with

organizations connected to the Ministry of Defense, Ghana, as well as other military training facilities and oversight organizations. In this regard, official and informal relationships with active and retired Ghanaian military officials helped to collect important data. The sensitivity and secrecy surrounding Ghanaian military and defense matters constituted yet another important constraint. The researcher overcame this obstacle by outlining the goals of the study in detail and conveying to the pertinent informants the significance of the investigation. Lastly, the researcher gave important informants the assurance that all information, findings, and conclusions would be kept private.

These tactics were essential in overcoming the constraints brought about by limited access and the delicate nature of the topic, guaranteeing that the data required for the study was obtained.

4.10 CONCLUSION

The methods used in a qualitative case study examining the Defense Cooperation Agreement between Ghana and the United States were covered in detail in this chapter. It began by discussing data collection techniques, highlighting sources such as documentation, interviews, direct observations, and participant observation. It emphasized the importance of using multiple data sources for triangulation to enhance research credibility. Primary data collection methods involved interviews and document reviews, while secondary data included literature from various sources like the Kinne Brandon Defense Cooperation Agreement Dataset and government websites. The section on interviews underscored their significance as primary sources of evidence, advocating for in-depth, open-ended approaches to capture diverse perspectives effectively. Data analysis was described as a reflective process encompassing organizing, coding, thematic analysis, interpretation, and conclusion. Content analysis was employed, guided by theoretical frameworks

such as neorealism and neoliberalism. Themes derived from interviews were coded, facilitating the identification of similarities and differences among responses. The study aimed for objectivity, reliability, and validity through unbiased analysis, method triangulation, and participant follow-ups. Overall, the chapter provided a comprehensive overview of the research methodology, from data collection to analysis, ensuring a rigorous investigation into the Defense Cooperation Agreement.

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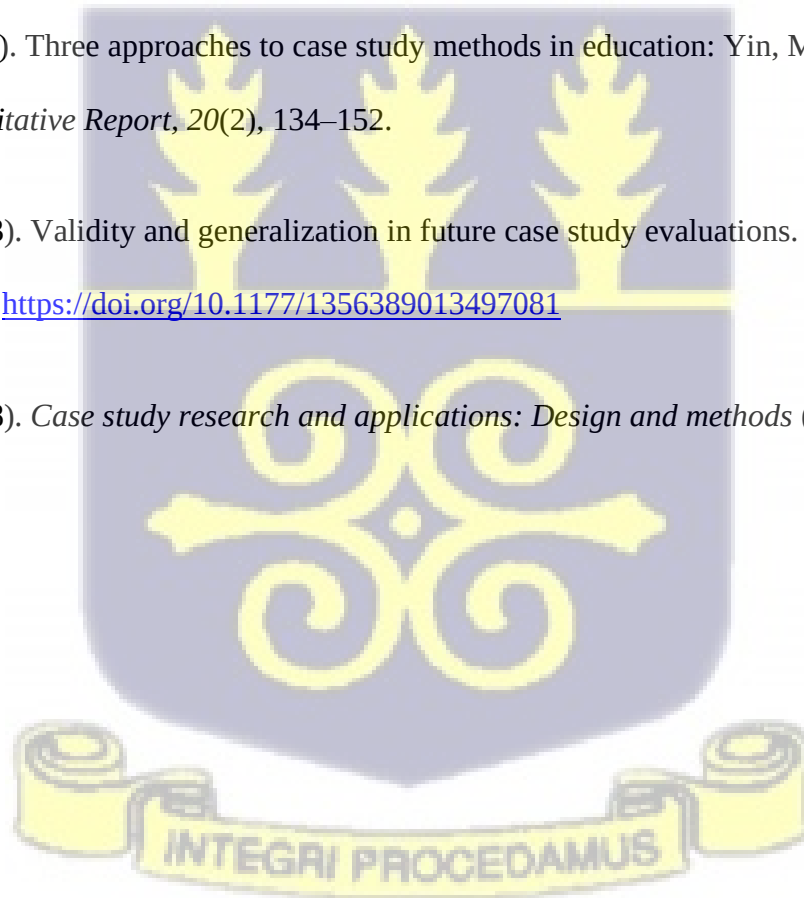
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CHAPTER FIVE

A BRIEF HISTORY OF UNITED STATES AND GHANA

DEFENSE COOPERATION

5.2 HISTORY OF UNITED STATES-GHANA RELATIONS

This section of the thesis examines the historical and contemporary significance of the growing relationship between the United States of America and Ghana. Ghana gained political independence from the United Kingdom on March 6, 1957, and was admitted to the United Nations on March 8, 1957, which played a significant role in shaping its foreign policy (Frankel, 1979; Thompson, 1969).

Thompson W. Scott, in his article titled "Ghana's Foreign Policy 1957-1966: Diplomacy, Ideology, and the New State," argued that Nkrumah's name is inseparable from any discussion of Africa's struggle for liberation (Scott, 1969). Nkrumah played a pivotal role in attaining independence for Ghana and several other African nations. Scott, a contemporary of Prime Minister Nkrumah with substantial connections to numerous stakeholders in U.S. foreign policy, analyzed Ghana's international activism. He depicted it as a case study of a small yet determined state seeking to expand its influence and power during an era when major powers competed for the favor of new, smaller states. Scott's extensively documented work quickly became a primary reference for those studying Ghanaian foreign relations during this period (Scott, 1969).

Ghana's political independence in 1957 not only marked a significant milestone for the people of the then Gold Coast but also for all of Africa and its diaspora (Gebe, 2008). Ghana's independence from Britain opened global opportunities for Ghana to interact directly with the community of

nations, including the United States (Gebe, 2008). This milestone was seen as a beacon of hope and a model for other African nations striving for independence (Davidson, 1969). Ghana's political independence marked a significant moment in world history, representing a transition from colonial rule to autonomy (Boahen, 1966). As one interviewee reflected on this foundational period, highlighting early U.S. interests in establishing a strategic foothold in the newly independent nation. This sentiment is echoed in a respondent's account underscoring the persistent geopolitical ambitions that shaped initial interactions:

since time immemorial, right from Nkrumah's time, the US has been looking for a base in Ghana to station their military" (Interview with Dr. Senior, n.d.)

The relationship between the United States and Ghana since Ghana's independence has been dynamic and evolving. Scholars like Agyeman-Duah (2008) explore the complexities and changes in this relationship over the years. Additionally, other scholars consider the historical relations between Ghana, Britain, and the United States during the colonial era, highlighting a hierarchical relationship that mirrored a master-slave dynamic (Owusu-Ansah, 2014; Ofosu-Appiah, 1967). Interviewees frequently emphasize the long-standing nature of this alliance:

"Ghana has been a long-time ally of America" – Respondent 05, Respondent 06

"Ghana and US have been partners for some time over the years now" Respondent 07,

These perspectives illustrates a consensus on the enduring partnership despite underlying tensions. This thesis posits that the scholarly work of Hans Morgenthau (1967), "Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace," which is a classic transcript on international relations, can provide a theoretical framework for analyzing U.S.-Ghana relations during the Cold War. This section will significantly focus on the nine American presidents who were in office during the Cold

War period until the end of the Cold War in 1989: Dwight David Eisenhower, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Lyndon Baines Johnson, Harry S. Truman, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter, and George H.W. Bush, and their relationships with Ghanaian presidents from Kwame Nkrumah, who led Ghana to independence in 1957, to Jerry John Rawlings in 1989. This comparative analysis can shed light on the post-independence development of Ghana in relation to other former colonies. The Cold War context is particularly salient, as one interviewee observed,

"The U.S. has a history of establishing military bases worldwide, primarily during the Cold War era, to counter the emergence of communist states and the spread of communism ...Additionally, Mahoney's book, though not directly addressing U.S. military presence, offers insights into U.S. interests in West Africa from the late 1950s onward" - Respondent 07.

This provides a bridge between scholarly analysis and historical U.S. strategic priorities in the region. It has been argued that the first Prime Minister of Ghana Kwame Nkrumah can be credited as the founding father of Ghana, emphasizing how his beliefs profoundly shaped the country's foreign policy philosophy. The study aims to elucidate the historical and contemporary significance of the growing relationship between the United States and Ghana. This thesis argues that to understand the relations between the United States and Ghana, it is essential to reference historical events that justify the significance and context of Washington, DC's actions, including its political, economic, and military presence in Accra, Ghana. This section of the thesis primarily focuses on the Cold War United States foreign and security policies towards Ghana, specifically analyzing U.S. foreign policy under different American presidencies from 1957 to the end of the

cold war in the 1989 the end of the cold war. Interview data reveals a nuanced view of these dynamics, with one participant stating,

"And they have targeted Ghana for a long time, they haven't gotten Ghana as such so such agreements allow them to be part of Ghana's whatever it is, at least Nigeria has snubbed them"

"They wanted AFRICOM to be housed in Ghana but Ghana couldn't house AFRICOM. They enticed Ghana to take some of the Guantanamo Bay business. So gradually, you could see that coming into Ghana and getting Ghana on their side, using Ghana as a lilypad has always been their thinking" - Respondent 19

Such insights suggest a pattern of U.S. persistence in seeking strategic access, often met with Ghanaian caution.

This study aims to elucidate the historical and contemporary significance of the growing relationship between the United States of America and Ghana. Fundamentally, this thesis argues that the United States and Ghana relationship can be traced back to the era of President John F. Kennedy, initiated through contributions such as the Peace Corps program and joint international military training and education for foreign military personnel in the United States. These interactions have assumed strategic and psychological significance between the United States military forces and Ghanaian military forces from 1957 to 2023. As evidenced in interviews, defense collaborations have deep roots, indicating continuity in these arrangements.

"Ghana since independence, has always had defense pacts with several countries. Significantly British were our colonial masters, but Ghana didn't limit its defense or External arrangements to only the United Kingdom" - Respondent 04

"Ghana since independence, has always had defense pacts with many countries. Significantly British was our colonial master, but Ghana didn't limit his defense External arrangements with only the United Kingdom" - Respondent 04

Ghana as far back as early Rawlings states had a defense pact, with the United States. This pact had been renewed over the years through different governments that fell for renewal at the time we were in parliament" - Respondent 20

Scholars like Gebe (2008), Addo (1993), and Gocking (2005) have extensively documented the evolution of U.S.-Ghana relations, noting the pivotal role played by Kennedy's administration in establishing a foundation of cooperation. The Peace Corps, established in 1961, was one of Kennedy's signature initiatives, aimed at promoting mutual understanding and development. Its deployment to Ghana marked one of the first significant engagements between the two countries post-independence (Zimmerman, 1995). Ghana's broader international stature is highlighted in accounts like "Firstly, we were the first black African countries to gain independence. And we will be playing silly roles that to the unknown, we are punching above our weight.

We have played critical roles in global politics all in the interests of African Unity... Ghana has a unique position and reputation in the African continent" - Respondent 13

"Ghana has been a major player in global security affairs through our participation in UN peacekeeping. Since the Congo, Ghana has been present throughout the world in every peacekeeping process. We've been everywhere. Ghana also has a high profile in global security matters" - Respondent 20

Additionally, this underscores Ghana's active role in aligning with U.S.-led international efforts.

Furthermore, military cooperation has been a cornerstone of U.S.-Ghana relations. Through programs such as the International Military Education and Training (IMET), initiated during the Cold War, Ghanaian military personnel received training in the United States, fostering a professional and strategic bond between the two nations (Owusu, 2013; Thompson-Scott, 1969). This relationship has continued to evolve, adapting to the changing geopolitical landscape and addressing contemporary security challenges in West Africa (Hentz, 2004). Interviewees describe this evolution vividly:

"We had cooperated in Mali to continue ensuring stability in the sub-region, Ghana which has some unique establishments, our jungle warfare at Achease in this particular region gave birth to a place where we could grow our relationship. I.e. the relationship between republican Ghana and the United States of America and so we just offered our facilities for them to use" - Respondent 18

"Additionally, we also periodically get the opportunity to visit the defense university in Washington to also enhance our capacity for public safety and security and so these are things that I can say led us into entering into that enhanced corporation agreement. We've had previous not the bars in other forms of how do I put it? The relationship and cooperation but to deepen that relationship, we had this enhanced cooperation agreement" – Respondent 18

On a global scale, placing U.S.-Ghana ties within a broader pattern of American foreign policy. Regional contexts are also noted:

"The United States of America has had a similar defense agreement with some nations around the world" – Respondent 12

"The United States had had similar discussions and some agreements with past governments in this country called Ghana. Historically, governments headed by Atta Mills, Mahama, and then just recently, President Akuffo Addo" – Respondent 12

"The whole agreement is in connection with the developments within the subregion but not only within the subregion but within Sub-Saharan Africa" – Respondent 11

The significance of these interactions lies not only in their immediate outcomes but also in their long-term impact on bilateral relations. The strategic and psychological bonds forged between the U.S. and Ghanaian military forces have contributed to a stable and collaborative partnership, which has persisted despite the shifting dynamics of international politics (Montgomery, 2004; Yoda, 1993). However, perceptions of imbalance persist, as one interviewee critiqued,

"Our relationship with the United States has been, let me put it this way. It's a zero-sum game. I mean this agreement you look at it critically to the benefit of the United States and not Ghana" – Respondent 01.

This is contrasted with more positive views, such as *"We respect our deep historical ties with the United States. They are our partners but we were informed by those principles I have related to in putting out the kind of resistance and so when the agreement was passed" – Respondent 03*

Public sentiment is captured in statements like *"Ghana's relationship with the U.S. has always been fraught and you know, I mean, the general public has a love-hate relationship with the United States, and when that agreement became public, of course, naturally, in a democratic setting people were suspicious" – Respondent 14*

Political hypotheticals also arise which reflect ideological sensitivities in the relationship.

"If a new government had come, based on some pseudo-socialist principles, I believe if such an agreement had existed, during the time of PNDC rule Jerry John Rawlings would have trumpeted to the whole world that this is colonial" – Respondent 16

In conclusion, the U.S.-Ghana relationship, which began earnestly during the Kennedy administration, has grown and adapted over the decades, encompassing a wide range of cooperative efforts from developmental initiatives like the Peace Corps to strategic military training programs. This multifaceted partnership has proven resilient and beneficial, contributing to both nations' strategic interests and promoting mutual understanding. The historical foundation laid in the 1960s continues to influence the contemporary dynamics of U.S.-Ghana relations, underscoring the importance of sustained engagement and collaboration.

5.3 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF U.S.-GHANA DEFENSE COOPERATION IN THE COLD WAR CONTEXT

U.S. foreign policy towards African nations, particularly Ghana, has been extensively examined by scholars such as Montgomery (2014), Gebe (2008), Addo (1967), and Thompson (1969). These works underscore the strategic importance the U.S. attributed to Ghana during the Cold War, a period when global powers vied for influence in newly independent African states. Ghana's

independence in 1957 symbolized more than national liberation; it represented a beacon of hope and an ideological battleground for both Western and communist influences across Africa.

“At that time, we had a cold war. In the east and western blocks, that is NATO vs. the former Soviet Union, the struggle for supremacy in the region was paramount. Not only them, but even NATO, through Britain wanted to establish a base in this same Sekondi” – Respondent 02

This quote highlights the intense geopolitical competition that framed U.S.-Ghana relations, with both superpowers seeking to secure strategic footholds in West Africa. The Eisenhower administration marked the beginning of formal U.S.-Ghana diplomatic ties. Recognizing Ghana's potential as a strategic partner, the U.S. aimed to counter Soviet influence in this newly independent nation.

“Even with the applause of the Soviet Union, Americans still assumed the role of an international police. They would do anything to get a stable place” – Respondent 02

However, early cooperation was limited by President Kwame Nkrumah's ideological leanings toward socialism, which complicated U.S. efforts to promote liberal democracy in Africa (Thompson, 1969).

“The U.S. has a history of establishing military bases worldwide, primarily during the Cold War era, to counter the emergence of communist states and the spread of communism. This aligns with their policy of global domination, leading to the establishment of numerous military bases worldwide” – Respondent 07

This perspective underscores the U.S. strategy of containment, which shaped its early engagement with Ghana. Under President John F. Kennedy, U.S.-Ghana relations reached a peak in both cooperation and underlying tension. Kennedy's foreign policy emphasized development and stability over mutual security, initiating a new era in U.S. foreign assistance with the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. This Act centralized and streamlined aid, positioning the global South as a primary battleground in the Cold War (Gaddis, 1992).

“In the past, there have been different forms of training between the Ghana Armed Forces and the US Forces. But these things were under specific agreements. African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) or the African command or that sort of thing” – Respondent 05

Kennedy's initiatives, such as the Peace Corps in Ghana, marked a diplomatic success, with Ghana becoming the first country to receive Peace Corps Volunteers, symbolizing mutual interest in developmental aid while fostering American ideals (Montgomery, 2014). Additionally, Kennedy expanded military cooperation by initiating training programs for Ghanaian officers in the United States, aiming to instill Western values. *“For a very long time, even before the agreement was structured”* (AG, 2025), such training programs laid the groundwork for long-term defense cooperation.

Nkrumah leveraged his negotiations with Kennedy to secure funding for the Volta River Dam, a critical development project.

“How did Nkrumah meet the US when he wanted to build Akosombo? He said if you're not ready to support me, I'll go to Russia” – Respondent 13

This strategic maneuvering by Nkrumah heightened U.S. concerns about Soviet influence, as evidenced by National Security Action Memorandum No. 89, which assessed Nkrumah's intentions regarding Soviet training for Ghanaian troops (U.S. National Security Memo No. 89, 1961, p. 3). These programs exemplified Kennedy's broader approach, using development aid and military training as tools for Cold War influence, aligning Ghana's armed forces with American interests (Burke & Miller, 2016).

President Lyndon B. Johnson continued providing military and economic aid to Ghana to counter communist influence, though relations grew strained due to Nkrumah's anti-imperialist stance and non-aligned policies (Rathbone, 2000).

"Additionally, we cannot ignore the historical role played by the U.S. military in containing communism, which is well-documented in sources such as John Stockwell, a former CIA agent, and Philip Agee" – Respondent 07

Nkrumah's commitment to Pan-Africanism further complicated U.S. objectives, as his alignment with communist states clashed with American goals (Nkrumah, 1963).

"This is a country where the CIA helped to remove a sitting president. The playbook is still there. They can always go back to it" – Respondent 11

This reference to alleged CIA involvement in Nkrumah's 1966 overthrow highlights the tensions underlying U.S.-Ghana relations. Despite these challenges, the U.S. persisted in its defense cooperation, believing military training could convey American political and social values (Miller, 2010). The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, supported by Secretaries Dean Rusk and Robert McNamara, reframed military assistance as a central Cold War strategy (Schlesinger, 2002).

Kennedy's administration also emphasized the psychological impact of U.S. training programs, aiming to influence African officers through immersion in American society (Jones, 2013). Post-Nkrumah, U.S.-Ghana defense cooperation continued to evolve.

"Ghana as far back as early Rawlings states had a defense pact, with the United States" – Respondent 20

However, under Jerry John Rawlings' PNDC rule, any overt alignment with the U.S. was politically sensitive.

"If a new government had come, based on some pseudo-socialist principles, I believe if such an agreement had existed, during the time of PNDC rule Jerry John Rawlings would have trumpeted to the whole world that this is colonial" – Respondent 16

Later governments, including those of Atta Mills, Mahama, and Akufo-Addo, maintained defense discussions with the U.S., reflecting continuity in cooperation.

"The United States had had similar discussions and some agreements with past governments in this country called Ghana. Historically, governments headed by Atta Mills, Mahama, and then just recently, President Akuffo Addo" – Respondent 12

These agreements often required parliamentary approval, which sparked public debate.

"But they wanted to bring their mode of governance by following the constitutional principles that the thing has to go to parliament and then when they sent the thing to parliament, your people were pretending as if they have done nothing more outrageous that we didn't even know. It was

when this went to parliament that people came out and eventually we got to know that they had signed it” – Respondent 16

Ghana’s broader foreign policy, shaped by leaders like John Kufuor, also navigated global influences.

“President tried moving us away from the IMF and then moving toward China. Kufuor played that independent role and was able to move Ghana ahead. Then after, we were taken back to the IMF” – Respondent 19

This reflects Ghana’s ongoing balancing act between Western and non-Western powers, a dynamic rooted in its Cold War-era non-alignment. In conclusion, the U.S.-Ghana defense relationship during the Cold War was a complex interplay of ideological influence, geopolitical strategy, and developmental assistance. Through initiatives like the Peace Corps, military training, and projects like the Volta River Dam, the U.S. sought to align Ghana with Western democratic ideals while countering Soviet influence.

“At that time, we had a cold war. In the east and western blocks, that is NATO vs. the former Soviet Union, the struggle for supremacy in the region was paramount” – Respondent 02

Despite ideological frictions with Nkrumah’s Pan-Africanism and non-alignment, the U.S. maintained its commitment to cooperation, viewing Ghana as a key ally in West Africa. This period laid the foundation for a relationship that continues to evolve, shaped by historical tensions and Ghana’s pursuit of autonomy.

5.4 U.S.-GHANA RELATIONS AND MILITARY DIPLOMACY DURING THE COLD WAR

Scholars often credit Kwame Nkrumah as the founding father of Ghana, emphasizing how his beliefs profoundly shaped the country's foreign policy philosophy. Notably, Thompson W. Scott, in his article titled "Ghana's Foreign Policy 1957-1966: Diplomacy, Ideology, and the New State," argued that Nkrumah's name is inseparable from any discussion of Africa's struggle for liberation (Scott, 1969, p. 8). Nkrumah played a pivotal role in attaining independence for Ghana and several other African nations. Scott, a contemporary of Prime Minister Nkrumah with substantial connections to numerous stakeholders in U.S. foreign policy, analyzed Ghana's international activism. He depicted it as a case study of a small yet determined state seeking to expand its influence and power during an era when major powers competed for the favor of new, smaller states.

"At that time, we had a cold war. In the east and western blocks, that is NATO vs. the former Soviet Union, the struggle for supremacy in the region was paramount." – Respondent 02

This competitive dynamic underscored Ghana's strategic importance as both superpowers vied for influence in newly independent African states. Scott's extensively documented work quickly became a primary reference for those studying Ghanaian foreign relations during this period (Scott, 1969).

Nkrumah introduced Pan-Africanism—the political movement advocating for Africa's liberation and the unification of all Africans—bringing it to African soil for the first time. During the 1957 independence ceremonies, Nkrumah emphasized that Ghana's independence held little meaning unless linked to the total liberation of Africa from imperialism and colonialism (Nkrumah, 1963). In subsequent years, Accra became a sanctuary for nationalists and freedom fighters from across the African continent, providing political, financial, and even military support. Thompson's (1969) analysis highlights how Ghanaians amassed significant political capital by establishing their state as the center of African nationalism (Armah, 1968; Mazrui, 1977). The words of Kwesi Armah, Nkrumah's high commissioner in London, underscore Ghana's foreign policy aims during the First Republic (1960-1966): (i) African independence and (ii) the maintenance of world peace through positive neutrality and non-alignment (Armah, 1968).

“We're completely encapsulated in their calculus in the sense that since they didn't allow us to tow our independent line and move according to the way we want to move.” – Respondent 19

This perspective highlights the challenges Ghana faced in maintaining its non-aligned stance amidst superpower pressures. These recollections, which unsurprisingly tend to be somewhat optimistic in their assessments of the political results of Ghana's diplomacy during that period, highlight how Ghana's foreign policy, while always keeping an African focus, developed during Nkrumah's presidency into a truly global approach to foreign affairs, participating enthusiastically in the work of various United Nations organs (Mazrui, 1977; Addo, 1967).

In scholarly literature, Gebe (2008) posits that Ghana's attainment of political independence in 1957 significantly impacted not only its own people but also inspired the broader African continent and its diaspora (Gebe, 2008). Similarly, Montgomery (2004) suggests that Ghana's independence made it a focal point for global attention as the first self-governing nation in sub-Saharan Africa, leading to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States in 1957 (Latham, 2000; Mahoney, 1983). These programs were grounded in the belief that immersion in American communities would naturally convey political, economic, and social values—qualities equated with modernity by American social scientists. This understanding underscores the enduring appeal of international military education programs (Burke, 2008; Hargrove, 2001).

The U.S. has a history of establishing military bases worldwide, primarily during the Cold War era, to counter the emergence of communist states and the spread of communism. – Respondent 07

This strategic objective shaped U.S. military diplomacy, including its engagement with Ghana. For nearly half a century, American military assistance programs implicitly endorsed the transformative power of American communities in developing countries. This faith paralleled broader American convictions about the psychological impact of military cooperation in stimulating modernization efforts in the developing world (Miller, 2010).

Additionally, we cannot ignore the historical role played by the U.S. military in containing communism, which is well-documented in sources such as John Stockwell, a former CIA agent, and Philip Agee – Respondent 07

These beliefs converged with the signing of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. President John F. Kennedy's declaration on September 4, 1961, marking the beginning of a "Decade of Development," underscored the Act's significance. By this time, Kennedy had already outlined his vision in his inaugural address, elevating development over mutual security as the primary rationale for U.S. foreign assistance. He positioned the global South as a new Cold War battleground and outlined urgent priorities for U.S. engagement. Critically, Kennedy criticized existing security assistance programs as fragmented, inefficient, and outdated, advocating for a new approach under centralized leadership (Gaddis, 1997; Rostow, 196).

The passage of the Foreign Assistance Act marked a crucial initial step. Throughout the summer, Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, alongside various officials, negotiated with Congressional committees to secure its enactment. The Act reflected Kennedy's view of military assistance as integral to Cold War strategy in the Southern Hemisphere (Smith, 2006, p. 40; Latham, 2000, p. 34).

“Not only them, but even NATO, through Britain wanted to establish a base in this same Sekondi.” _
– Respondent 02

This illustrates the broader geopolitical contest, with NATO and the Soviet bloc competing for strategic footholds in Ghana. Kennedy's executive orders following the Act's passage underscored his strategic alignment of military aid with Cold War imperatives. Amid global tensions, including a crisis in Brazil, Kennedy emphasized the strategic importance of the military in Latin America, highlighting the region's significance in U.S. geopolitical strategy (Jones, 2013).

Shortly thereafter, Kennedy issued National Security Action Memorandum No. 89, requesting updates on "whether Mr. Nkrumah is proceeding with his plan to send 400 of his troops to the Soviet Union for training" (U.S. National Security Memo No. 89, 1961, p. 3).

"It's because of the balance of power and fights for supremacy that both the eastern and western blocks were at that time." – Respondent 02

This quote underscores the Cold War's balance-of-power dynamics that shaped Nkrumah's strategic maneuvering. These issues—Latin American officers receiving training in the United States and the potential Soviet training of Ghanaian cadets—highlighted both continuities and shifts in U.S. foreign policy in 1961 (Rosen, 1985). Training foreign military personnel had been a cornerstone of U.S. military assistance in the years leading up to the "Decade of Development," but Kennedy's initiative to bring more of these trainees to the United States reflected a new belief in the country's ability to impart more than just combat skills (Mahoney, 1983).

Kennedy and his administration viewed Ghana as a pivotal nation within Africa, with President Kwame Nkrumah seen as a key Pan-African figure. They paid close attention to how the United States' relationship with Ghana was perceived globally (Nkrumah, 1963). Throughout the summer of 1961, Kennedy and Nkrumah maintained diplomatic exchanges. In March, following his meeting with Kennedy in Washington, Nkrumah proclaimed, "We are anti-colonialists and shall remain so until colonialism is eradicated," but sought to ease American concerns by adding, "I think anti-colonialism originated in the United States" (Schmidt, 1961). In April, Nkrumah provided Kennedy with a diplomatic victory by becoming the first world leader to invite Peace Corps Volunteers to his country, thereby bolstering the credibility of Kennedy's flagship program (Perlstein, 2007). By September 1961, Nkrumah urged Kennedy to reaffirm the U.S. commitment

to financially support the Volta River Dam project while simultaneously hinting at or threatening to send 400 army cadets to the Soviet Union for training (Rotberg, 1970).

How did Nkrumah meet the US when he wanted to build Akosombo? He said if you're not ready to support me, I'll go to Russia. You have to know what you want. – Respondent 13

This quote illustrates Nkrumah's strategic use of superpower rivalry to secure support for Ghana's development projects. During the Cold War, it was widely understood that sending military personnel abroad for training symbolized a nation's strategic alliances. However, Kennedy and his advisors viewed such training as more than just a demonstration of alignment; they believed it had a profound and lasting impact on the attitudes and behaviors of those trained, influencing broader societal dynamics. This perspective drove their efforts to increase the number of Latin American officers receiving training in the United States while simultaneously expressing strong concern over Nkrumah's intentions to send Ghanaian cadets to the Soviet Union for similar programs (Schlesinger, 2002; White, 2001).

This is a country where the CIA helped to remove a sitting president. The playbook is still there. They can always go back to it. – Respondent 11

This perspective suggests a lingering skepticism about U.S. intentions, referencing the alleged role of the CIA in Nkrumah's 1966 overthrow, which further complicated U.S.-Ghana relations. The United States' military training programs during the Kennedy administration were not merely about imparting combat skills but were also strategic tools designed to foster closer ties and influence among foreign military elites.

If a new government had come, based on some pseudo-socialist principles, I believe if such an agreement had existed, during the time of PNDC rule Jerry John Rawlings would have trumpeted to the whole world that this is colonial. – Respondent 16

This reflection highlights the sensitivity of post-Nkrumah Ghanaian leaders to perceived neocolonial influences, underscoring the long-term impact of Cold War-era military diplomacy. These efforts were part of a broader vision to project American values and counter communist influence during the Cold War. By focusing on key regions such as Latin America and Africa, particularly Ghana under Nkrumah's leadership, the U.S. aimed to create a network of allies who were aligned both strategically and ideologically with American interests. This approach highlights the multifaceted role of military assistance in U.S. foreign policy, blending strategic imperatives with socio-political objectives to shape the global order during the Cold War era (Burke, 2008, p. 23; Hargrove, 2001; Mahoney, 1983).

5.5 THE RAWLINGS ADMINISTRATION IN COLD WAR POLITICS

This section explores the political leadership of President Jerry John Rawlings during the Cold War era, focusing on the interactions between the United States and the Soviet Union from his rise to power in 1981 to the conclusion of the Cold War in the early 1990s. The period between the 1960s and 1980s was marked by the dominance of two major global blocs: the Eastern bloc, characterized by socialism and Marxism, and the Western bloc, defined by liberal democracy and capitalism (Brown, 2005; Aluko, 1975). As Adams (2001) notes, this ideological divide led to intense competition, pressuring developing nations to align with the bloc that reflected their political and economic beliefs to secure foreign aid.

Leaders adhering to liberal ideologies typically aligned with the Western bloc, while those leaning towards socialism or Marxism sought support from the Eastern bloc (Hentz, 2004; Mazrui, 1980). In Ghana, successive leaders leveraged their ideological positions to align with the bloc that best supported their development agendas (Foli, 2015, p. 162; Frimpong-Ansah, 1991; Aluko, 1975; Jeong, 1996). Rawlings' approach during his early years in power appeared to bridge both blocs, engaging with both Eastern and Western countries to address Ghana's economic challenges. Bofo-Arthur (1999) highlights that Rawlings sought ties with donors across the ideological spectrum. For instance, Asamoah (2014) and Bofo-Arthur (1999) note a directive issued by Rawlings to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to craft policies ensuring the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) maintained strong relationships with both progressive nations and advanced capitalist economies. This policy underscored Ghana's intent to seek assistance from both blocs to support economic recovery (Foli, 2015).

However, historical evidence suggests complexities in Rawlings' engagements with the Western bloc.

"Ghana as far back as early Rawlings states had a defense pact, with the United States." – Respondent 20

This defense pact indicates an initial pragmatic engagement with the Western bloc, despite Rawlings' later ideological shift. Rawlings believed that dual engagement would maximize foreign aid (Foli, 2015), but the intense rivalry between the blocs made this approach challenging. Historical precedents in Ghana showed that committed alignment with a single bloc often attracted substantial aid (Bofo-Arthur, 1999). Consequently, Rawlings reconsidered his strategy, favoring the Eastern bloc due to shared ideological principles (Bofo-Arthur, 1999).

A 1982 Government of Ghana report revealed that Dr. Kwesi Botchwey, the then Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, blamed the West, particularly institutions like the IMF and World Bank, for Ghana's underdevelopment due to their unfair conditions (Government of Ghana, 1982, p. 7). Rawlings shared this view, believing Western aid came with detrimental policies (Adedeji, 2001, p. 19; Boafo-Arthur, 1999; CIA Document, 2008, p. 14; Kumah-Abiwu, 2017; Rothchild, 1985; Shillington, 1992). The PNDC's anti-West propaganda, disseminated through Ghana's media, opposed Western capitalist ideas, portraying them as exploitative (Boafo-Arthur, 1999; Mubarak, 2020; Tsikata, 1999). A CIA document (2008, p. 16) noted that Rawlings identified acts of Western capitalism as exploitative, discrediting reliance on the West.

This shift is further contextualized by skepticism about Western agreements.

“If a new government had come, based on some pseudo-socialist principles, I believe if such an agreement had existed, during the time of PNDC rule Jerry John Rawlings would have trumpeted to the whole world that this is colonial.” – Respondent 16

This suggests Rawlings would have publicly criticized any Western agreements, such as the defense pact, as colonial impositions, aligning with his anti-Western rhetoric. Yet, Rawlings' administration faced challenges in fully committing to such agreements due to domestic processes.

“But they wanted to bring their mode of governance by following the constitutional principles that the thing has to go to parliament and then when they sent the thing to parliament, your people were pretending as if they have done nothing more outrageous that we didn't even know.” – Respondent 16

This highlights tensions in navigating Western engagements, as constitutional processes required parliamentary approval, which Rawlings' administration may have downplayed to maintain its socialist stance.

Rawlings' administration thus adopted a pragmatic yet ideologically driven approach, initially engaging both blocs but ultimately aligning with the Eastern bloc to secure aid and address economic challenges while avoiding Western conditions. This alignment reflected Ghana's historical positioning and Rawlings' socialist ideals, aiming for economic sovereignty and reduced Western dependency. This period illustrates the complex influences of Cold War alignments on developing nations' foreign policies and the unique challenges African leaders faced in navigating ideological rivalries.

5.6 KEY ELEMENTS AND PROVISIONS OF THE 2018 DEFENSE AGREEMENT

The 2018 Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) between the United States and Ghana is a significant document that formalizes the security and defense relationship between the two nations. It outlines the terms under which U.S. forces are permitted to operate within Ghana, and it establishes a clear framework for cooperation in areas of military training, infrastructure, logistical support, and other security activities. The agreement reflects both countries' mutual interests in regional stability and counterterrorism efforts. Below, I will discuss some key elements and provisions of the agreement, as well as their implications:

5.6.1. Strengthening Bilateral Defense Relations

The primary objective of the agreement is to strengthen defense cooperation between the United States and Ghana. This cooperation is framed within the context of shared security challenges, such as terrorism, organized crime, and regional instability. Ghana, as a key player in West Africa, serves as a critical partner in the U.S.'s efforts to maintain peace and security on the continent. The agreement ensures that both countries are better equipped to address these challenges through joint exercises, military training, and mutual defense support.

The agreement reinforces the importance of sovereignty, emphasizing that cooperation between the two countries will be based on mutual respect for each other's sovereignty. This respect for sovereignty is a significant element of the agreement, suggesting that while U.S. forces are granted considerable access and privileges, the relationship remains one of partnership rather than dominance. However, this aspect has drawn criticism from experts who question the true balance of power. As one interviewee highlighted the perceived imbalance,

For instance, if you look at Article 3. Talking about immunities. Some of these agreements you look at it critically and begin to wonder whether they are worthy of accepting or agreeing to because some of them to the best of my knowledge it is just to the benefit of the united states and begin to wonder whether we are a sovereign state. – Respondent 01

Another perspective underscores the deepening of ties while noting historical precedents,

We've had previous not the bars in other forms of how do I put it? The relationship and cooperation but to deepen that relationship, we had this enhanced cooperation agreement. – Respondent 18

Furthermore, concerns about territorial control have been raised,

Ghana might have probably been giving out its sovereignty because as a sovereign nation, you cannot just allow another country or another nation to take control of your territorial integrity. –

Respondent 12

These views illustrate the tension between cooperative benefits and potential erosion of national autonomy.

5.6.2 Status of U.S. Personnel and Facilities

A key feature of the DCA is the status of U.S. military and civilian personnel. The agreement grants U.S. forces the same privileges and immunities as diplomatic personnel under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. This is crucial because it provides legal protection for U.S. personnel while they are stationed in Ghana. It also authorizes U.S. military personnel to carry arms and wear uniforms while on duty in Ghana, which is essential for their security and operational effectiveness. Interviewees have elaborated on these privileges, noting their extension beyond traditional diplomatic norms,

We grant immunity to people who are in diplomatic circles and workers. But now we have extended it to contractors and military forces who by their standards probably have people in Ghana who are off standard but we grant them all these. – Respondent 01

Because when you begin to talk of free movement, the military can wear the uniform, and they can bear arms. – Respondent 01

The agreement states that US soldiers do not require visas to enter Ghana; their military ID cards alone suffice for entry. – Respondent 07

In the agreement also, mentioned the fact that when American Armed forces come to Ghana, they have the right to move around with their ID cards alone. – Respondent 15

Using your ID cards as a form of identification, I don't see anything wrong about it. But it shouldn't be as a way of access control. – Respondent 15

They wear uniforms when they come they wear the uniform. They can move around with their vehicles with all kinds of normal blades without any Ghanaian authorities or security agencies searching them and all that. – Respondent 08

In terms of facilities and areas, the DCA allows the United States to use agreed-upon sites for military exercises, training programs, and storage of equipment and supplies. These facilities can be either exclusively used by U.S. forces or jointly used with Ghanaian forces. This gives the U.S. significant operational flexibility in Ghana, particularly in terms of logistics, troop movement, and equipment storage, which is critical for projecting military power in the region. Joint operations are also emphasized,

They will have joint military operations and training with the Ghana Armed Forces. – Respondent 05

The ability of the U.S. forces to control entry and security at these facilities is a vital provision. While Ghana retains overall responsibility for security on and around the facilities, U.S. forces have the authority to implement additional security measures to protect their personnel, equipment,

and operations. This reflects the growing importance of military infrastructure for U.S. defense strategy in Africa. However, this has sparked sovereignty debates,

The agreement says that Ghanaians can't go there? So the fact is that where's the sovereignty? By signing the agreement, you gave some area to somebody to operate that your forces including the military cannot have access to that place. – Respondent 01

Even the President of Ghana has no right to visit US soldiers on Ghanaian soil without their prior permission. – Respondent 07

So, for instance, you have an agreement which purports to grant an unimpeded access to certain military facilities of the host nation. – Respondent 03

5.6.3 Economic Provisions

The agreement has significant economic implications for both parties. The U.S. is exempt from a range of taxes, customs duties, and import/export restrictions in Ghana. U.S. contractors operating in Ghana also benefit from this exemption. This is important for the logistical efficiency of U.S. operations, as it lowers the costs associated with moving equipment and materials into Ghana. Additionally, it provides economic benefits for the U.S., which can more easily access Ghana's markets and resources for military and defense-related purposes. Several interviewees pointed to these exemptions as contentious,

How can we have an agreement they don't pay taxes? Even when they procure goods within the country, they are not supposed to pay taxes. – Respondent 01

Any security material that they are bringing, we do not have the right to search into it, even to the extent that we've given them a right to exempt them from taxes. They are not supposed to pay any tax on those items. – Respondent 06

Military equipment, you don't pay tax on military equipment; it is international. – Respondent 06

The United States will not pay taxes, they will not pay duties, they will not pay customs duties. – Respondent 18

Let's look at part of the Ghanaian airport. As we see in the United States, they will not pay taxes for whatever they import, they will not pay tax for whatever they buy from Ghana, and they will not pay tax for whatever they export from Ghana. – Respondent 12

However, it also raises questions about the economic impact on Ghana. While the agreement provides benefits in terms of infrastructure development, security, and potential job creation through the presence of U.S. contractors, the tax exemptions might limit the potential revenue Ghana could gain from U.S. activities. Moreover, the U.S. forces' access to facilities and resources without financial compensation could be seen as a form of economic imposition on Ghana, even though it is framed as a cooperative agreement. Some noted compensatory elements,

There was some \$20 million that Ghana would benefit from if Ghana signed the defense corporation agreement. – Respondent 03

The agreement talks about the United States was going to give us \$20 million. – Respondent 10

We have already benefited 20 million US dollars. – Respondent 12

The municipal powers of the States or the country should not be traded off for \$20 million. – Respondent 11

I would have negotiated for the agreement to come under the diplomatic agreement, according to the Geneva Convention so that the municipal powers of the country will not be traded off for twenty million dollars. – Respondent 11

5.6.4 Security and Sovereignty Concerns

While the DCA emphasizes security cooperation, it also places significant responsibility on Ghana to protect U.S. personnel and facilities. Ghana must ensure the security of these facilities and assist in protecting U.S. forces and contractors. This has implications for Ghana's internal security and may place pressure on Ghanaian security forces, particularly in volatile regions. Ghana also retains primary responsibility for security outside of agreed facilities, which suggests a division of labor between the two countries. Interviewees expressed worries about unrestricted access and lack of oversight,

The agreement was signed as an agreement that allows the US to bring all kinds of things into Ghana without determining what the things were intended for. I mean in terms of guns, in terms of the armory, in terms of resources. – Respondent 05

And according to the agreement, the Ghana customs, and immigration officers do not have a right to examine any of these things. – Respondent 05

Once in Ghana, they are exempt from inspections, including customs inspections. – Respondent 07

We don't have any restrictions on any equipment or any armament. – Respondent 02

We cannot even search for them at the airport. Custom service and other things. – Respondent 09

Unimpeded, because these are defense intelligence matters, you wouldn't want a situation where we are coming with our communication equipment, and there'll be people taking photos and sharing with the Chinese. – Respondent 06

The U.S. also has considerable autonomy in implementing its security measures, including the right to control entry to agreed facilities. However, the agreement stresses that these security measures must be coordinated with Ghanaian authorities, indicating a framework for collaboration on security matters. This could foster deeper security ties but also generate concerns about the sovereignty of Ghana in allowing a foreign power such significant control over security and military activities on its soil. Broader sovereignty issues were frequently mentioned,

In terms of the agreement as it stands now I don't our sovereignty as a nation. Like another county can come and do whatever they want. Vehicles can move they won't pay taxes, and vessels can come in and go. – Respondent 01

The agreement itself has many clauses that make other nations or that make America superior to emphasize the superiority of Americans and vice and further dwindle our claim as a sovereign nation. – Respondent 17

The US certainly will gain more because the status of forces agreement means that they have the rights to go anywhere they want to go. – Respondent 14

But that is exactly what might have motivated them because the agreement does not inure to the benefit of Ghana in any way. Rather the agreement helps the United States to meet some of the requirements of its policy. – Respondent 19

Whatever facilities they need from Ghana, Ghana must provide. – Respondent 05

Additionally, provisions for communication resources were noted,

The agreement includes provisions that grant the US Army free use of Ghanaian frequencies, a privilege not extended to Ghanaian citizens. – Respondent 07

Ghana gave them radio spectrum. – Respondent 08

They will have the right to use our radio spectrum and all that. – Respondent 18

Comparisons to other international agreements provided context,

Because we have a Swiss similar corporate agreement with Switzerland, their armies have similar facilities. Germany, they get a similar facility. And I think with Austria also we have a similar agreement. – Respondent 14

5.6.5 Claims and Legal Implications

The DCA includes a waiver of claims between the parties, stipulating that neither the U.S. nor Ghana will hold each other liable for damages or losses incurred by their personnel during official duties. However, the U.S. government will resolve third-party claims arising from its personnel's actions. This provision reduces the potential for legal disputes between the U.S. and Ghana, as

both parties agree not to pursue litigation for incidents occurring during the performance of official duties. Legal experts in interviews stressed the implications for accountability,

And then you have the agreement I mean which also seeks to grant immunity to soldiers or even contractors, agents of the United States government whilst they are residents in this country. – Respondent 03

Whether rights are abused of the host nation, citizens of the host nation's rights are abused or not they are placed beyond the reach of our judicial system. – Respondent 03

The jurisdiction of our courts are completely ousted so far as the agreement is concerned. – Respondent 03

The Armed Forces or the personnel of the US will not be under the jurisdiction of Ghana's laws. – Respondent 05

There are indemnity clauses within the agreement that prevent us from prosecuting American service personnel for acts such as murder and property damage. – Respondent 07

In the agreement, it's mentioned that U.S. defense contractors cannot be prosecuted in Ghanaian courts. – Respondent 07

If there was an accident through the construction of the base, we cannot sue them, we cannot take it to any of the lower courts or the higher courts. – Respondent 02

If a crime is committed, you cannot bring them to court. Not only during construction but once they're here. – Respondent 09

Our judicial system doesn't extend to them so they can rape, murder, steal, destroy, and go away and I think that is what most Ghanaians were worried about. But that's also a fairly standard clause in some of these agreements. – Respondent 14

We've tied our hands already in the agreement that, that person cannot be subject to our internal laws, and that for me alone is a problem. – Respondent 15

The waiver of claims could be seen as a way to shield U.S. forces from local legal consequences, but it also removes some of the legal accountability for U.S. actions in Ghana. While this is common in defense agreements, it raises concerns about accountability in the event of human rights violations or other misconduct by U.S. forces.

5.6.6. Implementation and Duration

The implementation of the agreement will be overseen by a Joint Committee composed of representatives from both countries, ensuring that its provisions are carried out effectively. The agreement also includes provisions for dispute resolution, expecting any issues to be addressed at the lowest possible level, through diplomatic channels, rather than through international courts or arbitration bodies. This approach is intended to preserve strong bilateral relations and prevent legal complications. Interviewees detailed the resolution process,

The agreement also stipulates that any disputes must take 180 days to be resolved. – Respondent 07

Should anything happen, you cannot take it to court; you need to exhaust that dispute resolution mechanism, which has to take 180 days. – Respondent 06

In the agreement, they stated 180 days that if one party is not comfortable with it, it has to take the other party to write, and then within 180 days before something could be done about it. –

Respondent 05

They only said that it is within 180 days that if one party is not satisfied, it has to consult and they don't have to go to any local court, national court, or any international court for any arbitration as far as the agreement is concerned. – Respondent 05

The agreement is renewable and can be terminated with one year's notice. This flexibility allows both countries to adjust the terms as necessary, depending on shifts in the geopolitical landscape or evolving security needs. This thesis argues that, unlike most military agreements that typically specify a time limit, this agreement does not include a defined expiration date. The only indication regarding termination is that, should either Ghana or the U.S. wish to abrogate or cancel the agreement, a notice period of 180 days is required for the other party to agree. Recent insights on renewal highlight evolving contexts,

The renewal was interesting because now, circumstances have made it imperative that, the scope of the agreement be expanded slightly. – Respondent 20

Many of the provisions remain the same since Rawlings's time. – Respondent 20

Negotiation processes were also discussed,

The agreement was negotiated with the Ministry of foreign affairs defense and the attorney general's office at the level of the sector. – Respondent 18

I will negotiate for equipment supplies and spare parts. Also during the two years of training for all the equipment the military. – Respondent 11

And there should have been a component where a certain number of our soldiers are trained in their military establishment at the level of those soldiers so that they can also build their skills. – Respondent 11

Other concerns include unlimited personnel,

Do we have the number of soldiers that they can bring into the country? No. We don't have the number. – Respondent 02

US soldiers can enter Ghana as freely as they enter their own homes in the United States. – Respondent 07

In summary, the 2018 Defense Cooperation Agreement between the United States and Ghana is a comprehensive framework for enhanced security cooperation. It provides the U.S. military with significant operational freedom in Ghana, including access to key facilities and logistical support. While the agreement promises mutual benefits in terms of regional security and defense capabilities, it also raises concerns about sovereignty and the long-term economic impact on Ghana. The DCA marks a key step in deepening the U.S.-Ghana military relationship and reflects broader U.S. strategic interests in West Africa, particularly regarding counterterrorism and regional stability. However, its implications must be carefully managed to ensure that both parties maintain a balance of sovereignty, security, and economic fairness.

5.7 UNITED STATES AND GHANA DEFENSE COOPERATION UNDER VARIOUS PRESIDENTS DURING THE FOURTH REPUBLIC OF GHANA

This section of the thesis examines the relationship between the United States and Ghana since Ghana's Fourth Republic began with the 1992 constitutional dispensation, emphasizing its significance within this thesis. Specifically, it examines United States relations and defense cooperation with Ghana under different American presidencies from the 1990s to 2023. It primarily focuses on post-Cold War United States foreign and security policies toward Ghana. Hence, the post-1990 administrations of George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack H. Obama, Donald Trump, and Joseph Biden were analyzed in this research (Smith, 2000, ; Mahama, 2012; Boafo-Arthur, 2008,).

5.7.1 Presidents Bill Clinton and Jerry John Rawlings administration

This subsection delves into the relations between the United States and Ghana during the years 1993 to 2001, under the presidencies of Jerry John Rawlings in Ghana and Bill Clinton in the United States. Bill Clinton was inaugurated as the 42nd President of the United States on January 20, 1993, serving two terms until 2001. He embarked on an 11-day state visit to Africa from March 20 to March 31, 1998, visiting Ghana, Uganda, Rwanda, South Africa, Botswana, and Senegal. President Clinton's state visit aimed not only at geopolitical and economic objectives but also at fostering new hope in Africa (Kiley, 1998; Orr, 2004, Frisby, 1998).

The United States' foreign policy relations with Ghana's Fourth Republic began with President Clinton, who visited Ghanaian President Jerry John Rawlings on March 23, 1998, to discuss a Peace Corps project and broader bilateral cooperation (Adedeji, 2001, p. 27; Boafo-Arthur, 1999,). Subsequently, President George W. Bush visited President John Kufuor on February 19–21, 2008,

and President Barack Obama visited Ghana with President John Evans Atta Mills, addressing the Ghanaian parliament on July 10–11, 2009 (Kufuor, 2008,).

Notably, the following U.S. presidents, Donald Trump and Joseph Biden, did not undertake formal diplomatic visits to Ghana during their tenures. As of the conclusion of President Joe Biden's administration in 2024, no such visit to Ghana has occurred. However, this period saw continuous engagement through other diplomatic channels and defense cooperation initiatives, highlighting the enduring importance of Ghana in U.S. foreign policy (Frimpong-Ansah, 1991; Mubarak, 2020,).

Due to of the unequal power dynamics between the two nations, research shows that the relationship between the United States and Ghana is mostly seen through the prism of Washington, D.C. Given this, it's possible that different facets of this dynamic were employed by the post-1990 administrations of George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Joseph Biden. It is with great honor that the Embassy of the United States of America extends its congratulations to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Ghana. It also mentions recent discussions between representatives of our two governments on matters concerning U.S. military personnel and civilian employees of the U.S. Department of Defense who may be temporarily stationed in Ghana as part of the African Crisis Response Initiative and other activities that our two governments may decide to undertake. The note dated November 24, 1997, has been revised and is attached. Although it was not included in the copies, the final line on page 1, paragraph 3 was there in the original (U.S. Department of State, 1997, p. 1).

Many of the provisions remain the same since Rawlings's time. – Respondent 20

Following these talks, the Embassy is proud to suggest that these employees be given the same status as the U.S. Embassy's administrative and technical staff under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of April 18, 1961. They can also enter and exit Ghana using U.S. identifications and individual or collective travel orders (Vienna Convention, 1961, p. 5).

The Embassy further proposes that such personnel be authorized to wear uniforms while performing official duties and to carry arms while on duty if authorized to do so by their orders and that the Government of Ghana accord duty-free importation and exportation as well as exemption from internal taxation on products, property, material, and equipment imported into or acquired in Ghana by the United States Government in connections with their official activities (Miller, 2000; Smith, 2000). Vehicles, vessels, and aircraft owned or operated by or exclusively for the United States Armed Forces shall not be subject to the payment of landing or port fees, pilotage charges, navigation or overflight charges, or light and harbor dues, while in Ghana; however, the United States Armed Forces shall pay reasonable charges for services requested and received. Such aircraft shall observe local air traffic control regulations while in Ghana. Such vessels shall not be subject to compulsory pilotage at Ghanaian ports (Adedeji, 2001). Finally, the Embassy proposes that both governments waive any claims other than contractual claims against each other for damage, loss, or destruction of the property of the United States Department of Defense or Ghana's Ministry of Defense property resulting from official duty activities or from injuries or fatalities sustained by military personnel while performing their official duties.

The Embassy has the honor to suggest that this note and the Ministry's response constitute an agreement between the governments, which will take effect on the date of the Ministry's response if the Ghanaian government accepts the aforementioned (U.S. Department of State, 1997, p. 4).

The intricate and strategic factors that underlie international diplomacy are exemplified by the bilateral connections that existed between the United States and Ghana under the administrations of Bill Clinton and Jerry John Rawlings. The cooperation, particularly in defense and military initiatives, underscores the geopolitical interests of the United States in maintaining stable relations with Ghana, a key partner in West Africa. While unequal power dynamics influenced the relationship, the engagements, agreements, and high-level visits reflect a mutual interest in addressing regional security challenges and promoting development. Ghana's significance in U.S. foreign policy strategies was maintained during this time, setting a precedent for succeeding administrations.

Under the direction of Presidents Bill Clinton and Jerry John Rawlings, this subchapter has examined the changing relationship between the United States and Ghana, paying special attention to the Cold War era and the post-Cold War era. The examination of Ghana's diplomatic strategy reveals a nuanced approach in navigating the ideological divides of the Cold War, with Rawlings initially seeking to balance engagement with both the Eastern and Western blocs before settling on a pragmatic alignment with the Eastern bloc. This diplomatic flexibility was central to securing foreign aid and managing Ghana's economic challenges, underscoring the broader context of Cold War politics that influenced the strategic decisions of developing nations.

U.S.-Ghana relations continued to change in the years following the Cold War, especially as defense and security cooperation emerged as a crucial component of bilateral interaction. The course of U.S.-Ghana relations has been influenced by the administrations of George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, Donald Trump, and Joseph Biden. However, Clinton's presidency marked a major shift in terms of direct engagement through high-level visits and collaboration on development and peace-building projects. Defense cooperation agreements,

which were formalized through diplomatic notes and mutual promises aimed at regional security and the advancement of democratic governance in West Africa, were a particularly clear indication of Ghana's strategic relevance in U.S. foreign policy.

Even though the relationship has been characterized by unequal power dynamics, Ghana's continued significance to U.S. foreign policy has been clear throughout the course of several American administrations. U.S. military and diplomatic personnel continued to engage with Ghana through initiatives like the African Crisis Response Initiative, and Ghana's role as a regional leader in West Africa has positioned it as a key partner in U.S. security and development strategies. The lack of formal visits from Presidents Trump and Biden highlights the shifting diplomatic priorities, yet it does not diminish Ghana's importance as a strategic partner in the broader context of African and global security.

In conclusion, U.S.-Ghana relations under Rawlings and Clinton reflect a broader pattern of evolving diplomacy in the post-Cold War world, characterized by strategic engagement, defense cooperation, and mutual interest in regional stability. The continued relevance of this relationship underscores the central role of Ghana in shaping the geopolitical landscape of West Africa and the enduring partnership between the United States and African nations in addressing global challenges.

5.7.2 Presidents George Bush and John Agyekum Kufuor administration

There have been times of collaboration, engagement, and shared interest throughout the long history of the US and Ghana's diplomatic ties. George W. Bush in the United States and John Agyekum Kufuor in Ghana negotiated a complicated international environment and collaborated on a number of fronts during their respective presidencies, which primarily overlapped from 2001 to 2009. Ghana and the United States faced international issues at the start of the twenty-first

century that called for cooperation. Beginning in 2001, the Bush administration was distinguished by its emphasis on economic growth, democracy promotion, and counterterrorism (Rice, 2011,). Initiatives to fight global terrorism, HIV/AIDS, and poverty alleviation were among the foreign policy priorities of President George W. Bush (Bush, 2010, p. 56).

At the same time, Ghana was going through a major transition under the leadership of President John Agyekum Kufuor. Following his inauguration in January 2001, Kufuor implemented policies that prioritized good governance, poverty alleviation, and economic growth (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009). His government aimed to raise Ghana's profile internationally and fortify democratic institutions (Whitfield, 2010). During this period, the United States and Ghana's relationship was influenced by their mutual desire to advance security and prosperity throughout the West African continent. Among other projects, the two countries worked together to fight HIV/AIDS and advance economic growth via investment and trade (Whitfield, 2010). The Bush administration's President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) significantly contributed to Ghana's efforts to control the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Ogden et al., 2009). Furthermore, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) provided development aid to Ghana, supporting projects aimed at reducing poverty and stimulating economic growth (Millennium Challenge Corporation, 2007, p. 211).

President tried moving us away from the IMF and then moving toward China. Kufuor played that independent role and was able to move Ghana ahead. – Respondent 20

Ghana wanted to buy 10 helicopters for UN operations and the UN itself had endorsed those helicopters, Kufuor's time we bought 5. And since we have bought 5 already, we wanted to buy 10 more. And the US put an embargo on it and told Ghana you dare not. – Respondent 19

The Bush-Kufuor era is notable for the implementation of the Millennium Challenge Compact in 2006, which provided Ghana with substantial aid for agricultural development, transportation infrastructure, and rural services (Millennium Challenge Corporation, 2007, p. 215). This aid was instrumental in improving the living conditions of many Ghanaians and fostering economic growth (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009).

The U.S.-Ghana partnership during the presidencies of George W. Bush and John Agyekum Kufuor, spanning from 2001 to 2009, is notable for its comprehensive scope of cooperation, including economic, developmental, and security dimensions. Both administrations recognized the importance of regional stability and the role of mutual collaboration in addressing global challenges. The emphasis on economic growth and health initiatives characterized U.S. foreign policy toward Africa, notably Ghana, under President George W. Bush. The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), which gave Ghana substantial assistance, was a prime example of the Bush administration's focus on HIV/AIDS prevention (Ogden et al., 2011). This program was designed to help Ghana and other sub-Saharan African nations improve their healthcare systems and lessen the effects of the epidemic (Morris, 2009).

Additionally, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) played a crucial role in fostering economic development in Ghana. The MCC compact signed with Ghana in 2006 allocated funds for infrastructure projects, agricultural development, and poverty reduction, reflecting a significant commitment to Ghana's economic progress (Millennium Challenge Corporation, 2007, p. 218; Füllberg-Stolberg, 2008).

Under President George W. Bush, the U.S. foreign policy towards Ghana was characterized by substantial investment in economic and developmental programs. The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), established in 2004, played a pivotal role in this engagement. The MCC

aimed to reduce global poverty through grant-based aid contingent on recipient countries demonstrating a commitment to reforms. Ghana, alongside other countries, was selected for MCC support, receiving funding for critical projects in infrastructure, health, and education (MCC, 2007, p. 220; Füllberg-Stolberg, 2008,). Schaefer and Kim (2008) argue that Bush's trip to Ghana in 2008 symbolized a strategic effort to solidify U.S.-Africa partnerships. They highlight that the increased attention and resources dedicated to Ghana under Bush's administration represented a departure from previous policies, emphasizing a more collaborative approach to development and trade.

The security dimension of U.S.-Ghana relations was also notable during this period. Ghana's role in regional peacekeeping was acknowledged and valued by the Bush administration. As noted by Schraeder (2006), Ghana's contributions to international peacekeeping missions underscored its commitment to regional stability, aligning with U.S. interests in promoting security in West Africa. President Bush's 2008 visit addressed rumors of establishing a U.S. military base in Ghana, clarifying that while there might be some development of facilities, a military base was not part of the agenda (Füllberg-Stolberg, 2008). This clarification was crucial in managing local perceptions and maintaining the diplomatic balance between the two nations.

The decision by Ghana to name a highway after President George W. Bush in February 2012 highlights the symbolic value of the bilateral relationship (Dilemma X, 2012, p. 14). This gesture was a recognition of Bush's role in establishing the MCC and his broader contributions to Ghanaian development. The MCC's creation was a significant shift in U.S. foreign aid philosophy, aiming for increased accountability and effectiveness (Jalloh & Falola, 2008,). President Bush's call for a new compact for development at the Inter-American Development Bank in 2002,

followed by a pledge to double development assistance, reflected a commitment to enhance support for African nations, including Ghana (Essien, 2008).

Sherelle Jacobs (2014) examined the impact of U.S. Secretary of Commerce Penny Pritzker's trade delegation to Ghana and Nigeria. Jacobs noted that the visit, which involved heads of U.S. energy companies, marked a significant step towards enhancing economic relations. Despite the substantial trade concessions made by the U.S., Jacobs observed that American companies had yet to fully capitalize on the opportunities in Ghana and other African markets.

The George W. Bush and John Agyekum Kufuor administrations witnessed a period of strengthened U.S.-Ghana relations, characterized by robust economic and security cooperation. The engagement included significant developmental aid through the MCC, strategic security partnerships, and symbolic gestures reflecting the growing bilateral ties. The foundations laid during this period have had a lasting impact on U.S.-Ghana relations, continuing to influence diplomatic and economic interactions between the two countries. Despite these positive developments, the Bush administration faced some skepticism regarding American military policy and its aid initiatives. Füllberg-Stolberg (2008,) notes that while Bush was warmly received in Ghana, his visit was not without controversy. Concerns about American military interventions and the efficacy of aid programs prompted a press conference where Bush addressed these issues directly.

In conclusion, the diplomatic relations between the United States and Ghana during the presidencies of George W. Bush and John Agyekum Kufuor (2001-2009) were marked by significant cooperation across various domains, including economic development, health initiatives, and regional security. The shared goals of promoting stability, fostering economic growth, and addressing global challenges such as HIV/AIDS and poverty were central to the

partnership. The implementation of the Millennium Challenge Compact and the success of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) stand as key achievements in this bilateral relationship, which not only supported Ghana's development but also aligned with U.S. foreign policy objectives in Africa.

The security dimension of the relationship, with Ghana's contributions to regional peacekeeping and the U.S. focus on promoting stability in West Africa, further strengthened the diplomatic ties between the two countries. Symbolic gestures, such as the naming of a highway after President George W. Bush, reflect the deep respect and appreciation for the U.S.'s role in Ghana's development during this period.

However, the relationship was not without challenges, particularly regarding concerns over military interventions and the effectiveness of U.S. aid initiatives. These issues sparked some local skepticism but were addressed diplomatically, ensuring that the partnership remained robust and productive. The foundations laid during this period of U.S.-Ghana cooperation have had a lasting impact, continuing to influence diplomatic, economic, and security interactions between the two nations. As global dynamics evolve, the U.S.-Ghana relationship offers valuable lessons in collaborative engagement, balancing strategic interests with developmental priorities for mutual benefit.

5.7.3 Presidents Barack Obama and John E. Atta Mills administration

This section of the thesis examines the relations between the United States and Ghana during the administrations of Presidents Barack Obama and John E. Atta Mills. Presidents Mills and Obama assumed office on January 7 and January 20, 2009, respectively. Scholars in international relations have consistently identified Ghana as a pivotal ally and partner of the United States within Africa (Brown, 2013, Smith, 2015,). Since adopting the Fourth Republican constitution in 1992, Ghana

has hosted visits from three American presidents—Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama—as well as Vice President Kamala Harris and, more recently, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi (Jones, 2016). These visits underscore the robust bilateral relations between the two nations.

The United States had had similar discussions and some agreements with past governments in this country called Ghana. Historically, governments headed by Atta Mills, Mahama, and then just recently, President Akufo Addo. – Respondent 12

United States-Ghana relations during the Obama and Mills administrations were characterized by a commitment to strengthening diplomatic ties, promoting economic development, and addressing shared global challenges. The relationship between the two nations was built on a foundation of mutual respect, cooperation, and a shared commitment to democratic values (Adams, 2018,; Lee, 2020,). President Barack Obama, upon assuming office in January 2009, initiated a robust engagement with African nations, recognizing the continent's strategic importance and its potential for economic growth. His administration's policies emphasized fostering partnerships that promoted sustainable development and democratic governance across Africa (White et al., 2001; Kofi, 2021,).

This thesis argues that Obama's approach towards Africa sought to transition from a model of aid dependency to one of partnerships grounded in mutual benefit and respect (Thompson, 2017, Carter, 2021,). This approach resonated particularly well in Ghana, which, under President Mills, continued to uphold democratic institutions and pursue economic reforms aimed at attracting foreign investment.

Ghana, with its stable political environment and commitment to democratic governance, became a focal point for the Obama administration's Africa policy. In July 2009, President Obama made his first official visit to sub-Saharan Africa, choosing Ghana as his destination. During his visit, he praised Ghana's democratic achievements and emphasized the importance of good governance, economic development, and regional stability (Williams, 2010,). The visit was seen as a symbolic gesture of support for Ghana and an acknowledgment of its positive example on the continent.

The administration of President John E. Atta Mills in Ghana, which began in January 2009, also prioritized strengthening ties with the United States. President Mills, known for his commitment to democratic principles, sought to bolster Ghana's economic development and enhance its global standing (Brown, 2016; Mensah, 2021,). The alignment of democratic values between the two nations provided a solid foundation for diplomatic collaboration.

One significant aspect of the U.S.-Ghana relationship during this period was economic cooperation. Both administrations recognized the importance of trade and investment in fostering sustainable development. Efforts were made to promote private sector engagement, increase foreign direct investment, and enhance economic ties between the two countries.

Additionally, the U.S. and Ghana collaborated on various initiatives to address regional and global challenges. Shared interests in areas such as counterterrorism, peacekeeping, and public health facilitated cooperation on the international stage. Both nations recognized the importance of working together to tackle common threats and promote stability in the West African region.

Overall, the diplomatic relations between the United States and Ghana under Presidents Barack Obama and John E. Atta Mills were marked by a positive and collaborative spirit. The shared commitment to democratic values, economic development, and addressing global challenges laid

the groundwork for a strong partnership between the two nations during this period. The foundation of these warm relations was notably emphasized by President Barack Obama's visit to Ghana in July 2009. During his first trip to Sub-Saharan Africa, Obama acknowledged that "Ghana's prosperity can expand America's prosperity" (Carter et al., 2021). The warm ties between the U.S. and Ghana were further highlighted by President Obama's travel to Ghana from July 10 to 11, 2009. This visit followed a prior trip by former President George W. Bush to Ghana in early 2008, during which a \$547 million U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) Compact was signed (Smith, 2015,).

5.7.3.1 Presidential visits and development initiatives under Obama and Mills administration

President Barack Obama's visit to Ghana in July 2009 was a historic moment that marked a significant chapter in the diplomatic relations between the United States and sub-Saharan Africa. Ghana was chosen as Obama's first destination in sub-Saharan Africa, largely due to its democratic stability and economic development (Brown, 2017). Obama's visit also highlighted Ghana's role as a model for development in the region, a theme he emphasized during his address to the Ghanaian parliament. His remarks focused on the importance of strong democratic institutions rather than strong individual leaders in driving sustainable development (Thompson, 2017). This address was notable not only for its content but also because it was the first time a sitting U.S. president had spoken to the Ghanaian parliament directly, marking a milestone in U.S.-Ghana relations (Adams, 2018).

The visit came at a time when Ghana was emerging as a beacon of democracy in Africa, having made significant strides in governance and economic reforms. In 2008, the country had been the recipient of the largest Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) compact in Africa, a testament to the strong ties between Ghana and the United States (Cook, 2010). As Cook (2008,) notes,

President George W. Bush had also visited Ghana a year earlier to review the MCC program and reinforce the U.S.-Ghana partnership. Obama's visit, however, was seen as a new phase in the bilateral relationship, with a renewed focus on strengthening democratic institutions and fostering economic development (Owusu, 2019).

During his speech in Ghana, Obama made several bold pledges to support Africa's development, including a promise of \$63 billion for combating major diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis. He emphasized that the United States would work with African nations to strengthen public health systems and promote wellness, particularly focusing on the health of mothers and children (Yizhou, 2012,). This rhetoric, however, quickly came under scrutiny. Yizhou (2012,) reveals that although Obama made lofty promises, only \$6.8 billion was allocated to African-related projects, far short of the \$63 billion originally pledged. Furthermore, less than \$1 billion of this amount was dedicated to public health initiatives, which raised questions about the effectiveness and transparency of U.S. aid to Africa.

Despite these shortcomings, Obama's visit to Ghana underscored the importance of the U.S.-Ghana relationship, highlighting areas such as education, healthcare, and governance reform. His pledge to support African institutions was seen as part of a broader effort to promote sustainable development across the continent (Adams, 2018,). However, critics, including Yizhou (2012), argue that the gap between Obama's promises and the actual financial support undermined the effectiveness of his administration's engagement with Africa.

In contrast to Obama's presidency, President George W. Bush's policies toward Africa were seen as having a more lasting impact, particularly in the areas of health and economic development. Bush's initiatives, such as the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the President's Malaria Initiative (PMI), were widely praised for their direct impact on public health

in sub-Saharan Africa (Dietrich, 2007). As Yizhou (2012,) points out, Bush's administration committed \$15 billion to combat HIV/AIDS through PEPFAR, a significant investment that marked the largest effort by any country to address a specific disease on the continent. In addition, PMI, launched under Bush, aimed to reduce malaria-related deaths by 50 percent in 15 African nations, significantly improving public health in the region.

Moreover, Bush's administration also supported initiatives aimed at reducing the debt burdens of poor African nations. The Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDR), which called for debt forgiveness from international creditors, was another key component of Bush's Africa policy (Dietrich, 2007, p. 65). These initiatives were crucial in improving the economic and health outcomes of many African nations, including Ghana.

One of the key elements of the U.S.-Ghana relationship during the Bush administration was the establishment of the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), a program designed to promote economic growth, reduce poverty, and support good governance in Ghana (Agyeman-Duah, 2008, p. 91). Ghana was the largest beneficiary of the MCC compact, receiving \$547 million to support projects in areas such as energy, water, and agriculture. Agyeman-Duah (2008, p. 93) emphasizes that while the MCA focused on governance and anti-corruption measures, its effectiveness depended on the political will of both the U.S. and Ghanaian governments.

However, Agyeman-Duah (2008,) also raises concerns about the long-term sustainability of the MCA. He argues that the success of the program would require continuous commitment from successive governments in both Ghana and the United States. The challenge, as he notes, lies in ensuring that the governance reforms and economic benefits derived from the MCA are sustained beyond the life of the compact.

Obama's presidency marked a period of renewed engagement with Africa, particularly through his symbolic visit to Ghana in 2009. His rhetoric about the importance of democracy, good governance, and sustainable development resonated with many African leaders and citizens. However, as Yizhou (2012,) points out, there was a disconnect between Obama's promises and the actual financial commitments made to African countries. This gap between rhetoric and reality led to disillusionment among some African leaders, who had hoped for more tangible support from the U.S. government.

Nevertheless, Obama's visit to Ghana highlighted the continued importance of U.S.-Ghana relations and set the stage for further cooperation in areas such as trade, security, and regional stability. Ghana's role as a democratic leader in Africa continues to be a point of pride for both Ghana and the United States, as both countries work together to address common challenges such as security threats, economic development, and climate change (Owusu, 2019).

In conclusion, while Obama's visit to Ghana and his promises of financial support were symbolic of a renewed commitment to Africa, the actual outcomes of his policies were less impactful than those of his predecessor, George W. Bush. The legacy of U.S.-Ghana relations, however, continues to be shaped by both administrations, with a focus on promoting democratic values, good governance, and economic development in the region.

5.7.3.2 U.S. Foreign Policy and Development Initiatives in Ghana under Obama and Mill's administration

According to Agyeman-Duah (2008), Ghana stands out as a major success story in every conceivable aspect of the Millennium Challenge Corporation's (MCC) efforts. Agyeman-Duah

notes that although the MCC did not fund the most visible programs such as infrastructure, transportation, and agriculture, it did have a significant impact on governance. The MCC's approach, centered on promoting people-centered government policies, aimed to encourage governments to rule justly, invest in their people, and focus on poverty reduction. Ghana, which became the largest beneficiary of the MCC, receiving \$547 million in funds, is seen as a model of success in achieving these objectives. These funds were aimed at addressing critical sectors within the Ghanaian economy to promote long-term economic growth and alleviate poverty.

Agyeman-Duah contends that the broader goal of the MCA was to catalyze new thinking and stimulate development in recipient nations. However, he acknowledges that the sustainability of these initiatives could only be guaranteed if both Ghanaian and U.S. governments remained committed to the policy. He underscores the critical question of whether Ghana, despite receiving such assistance, would continue to benefit in a sustainable manner after the end of the MCA program. This challenge reflects broader concerns about the long-term impact of foreign aid in African countries and whether these nations can continue to maintain progress independently after initial aid programs are phased out (Agyeman-Duah, 2008).

Schraeder (2004) argues that the United States has had a longstanding relationship with Africa, marked by numerous diplomatic, economic, and humanitarian engagements that have evolved over the years. With a focus on a dynamic and strategic approach to the continent, U.S. policies towards Africa have adjusted in response to shifting geopolitical realities, economic interests, and humanitarian concerns. One notable phase of this engagement was the presidency of George W. Bush, whose administration launched key health initiatives such as the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the President's Malaria Initiative (PMI). These programs were aimed at addressing critical health issues on the continent, including HIV/AIDS, malaria,

tuberculosis, and polio. Dietrich (2007) highlights that under Bush, Africa received increased attention in U.S. foreign policy, and PEPFAR, in particular, was one of the largest global health initiatives ever undertaken by the U.S., aimed at saving millions of lives.

Barack Obama's presidency marked a new chapter in U.S.-Africa relations, with his symbolic 2009 visit to Ghana seen as a significant gesture towards Africa. Obama's visit underscored his commitment to the continent, emphasizing priorities such as economic development, good governance, healthcare, and education. Adogamhe (2010,) notes that Obama's visit was aimed at reinforcing Africa's importance in U.S. foreign policy, with pledges of significant financial assistance to boost various sectors in African countries. Obama's African heritage also raised expectations that his leadership would bring transformative changes to the continent. However, Judy Yizhou (2012,) argues that while Obama's rhetoric was filled with hope, his presidency did not fully meet the high expectations many African leaders and citizens had for a more profound change in U.S.-Africa relations. Yizhou's critique focuses on the disparity between Obama's visionary speeches and the actual level of financial commitment to African nations.

Yizhou (2012,) specifically criticizes the gap between Obama's pledges and the funds actually allocated for African development. While Obama's speech in Ghana included promises of \$63 billion for health-related issues such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, and polio eradication, the actual disbursement figures fell significantly short of these expectations. According to the author, less than \$7 billion was actually allocated to African projects, and only a small fraction of that amount—less than \$1 billion—was directed towards public health initiatives. In contrast to Obama's rhetoric, the financial commitments appeared far less substantial when compared to the broader scope of Bush's health initiatives in Africa, which had focused on specific diseases and made measurable progress (Yizhou, 2012,). Yizhou's analysis suggests that Obama's leadership

was more symbolic than substantive, with real financial investments in health and development in Africa falling behind expectations.

Bush's legacy in Africa, particularly through initiatives like PEPFAR and PMI, is widely seen as having made a lasting impact on the continent. Yizhou (2012,) highlights Bush's early recognition of Africa's health challenges and his efforts to address them. PEPFAR alone committed \$15 billion to combat HIV/AIDS in Africa over five years, which at the time represented the largest single global effort to address a specific disease. Additionally, Bush's push for the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI) and his ongoing support for African countries through increased aid further solidified his administration's significant role in shaping U.S.-Africa relations during the early 2000s. Yizhou (2012) points out that Bush's strategies were framed within the context of both public health and economic growth, advocating for more robust support for African nations, including Ghana, through trade partnerships and debt relief initiatives.

Under Bush, aid to Ghana, as part of broader U.S. engagement in Africa, increased to \$5.7 billion annually by the end of his administration (Yizhou, 2012). This increase in aid was seen as a major achievement, especially as Ghana was viewed as a model of democratic stability and economic growth in West Africa. However, despite these successes, critics of Bush's approach argue that his focus on health and economic development overshadowed concerns about human rights abuses and corruption in certain African regimes. Yizhou contends that Bush's policies were not without flaws, but they were seen as a more effective and impactful approach to addressing the continent's pressing challenges compared to Obama's rhetoric-heavy leadership.

In a similar vein, Cook (2009) argues that the historical relationship between the United States and Ghana has been shaped by shared values, democratic ideals, and mutual interests. Cook notes that Obama's 2009 visit to Ghana was part of a broader effort to strengthen U.S.-Africa relations,

following Bush's earlier visit to Ghana in 2008. In his visit, Bush signed a \$547 million MCC compact with Ghana, which aimed to address the country's critical infrastructure needs and foster economic development (Cook, 2009,). The MCC agreement reflected the U.S. government's belief in Ghana's potential as a stable and democratic partner for development in Africa.

Cook (2009,) also observes that while Obama's 2009 visit to Ghana emphasized the importance of good governance and democratic principles, the U.S. government's policy toward Ghana and other African nations remained consistent in its focus on health, security, and trade. Obama's speeches underscored the importance of strong democratic institutions and the need for African leaders to take responsibility for their countries' development. However, as Cook (2009,) points out, Ghana's stability and democratic achievements made it a key partner in the U.S. Africa policy agenda, positioning it as a model for other nations to emulate.

Furthermore, Katito (2009) examines Obama's approach to U.S.-Africa relations in the context of his broader foreign policy agenda. He argues that while Obama's speeches on Africa were often hopeful and forward-looking, his administration's approach to African governance was more critical. In particular, Obama called out African leaders for their failure to tackle corruption, poor governance, and lack of accountability. Katito (2009) cites Obama's speech in Ghana as a direct challenge to African leaders, urging them to take responsibility for their nations' political and economic trajectories. This stance, according to Katito, was a significant shift from Bush's more collaborative and supportive tone toward African leaders, though it did not necessarily translate into a shift in substantive U.S. policy toward the continent.

In conclusion, while Obama's rhetoric on Africa was designed to inspire change, his administration's foreign policy did not drastically alter the U.S. approach to Africa that had been established under Bush. The financial commitment to African development remained consistent,

but there was a noticeable shift in the tone of U.S. diplomacy. Both Bush and Obama pursued similar objectives of promoting democratic governance, health, and economic growth in Africa. However, Obama's presidency was marked by a more critical stance on corruption and governance failures, which may have influenced the U.S. relationship with African nations. Ultimately, despite Obama's symbolic gestures, the continuity in policy between the two administrations reflects the enduring U.S. interest in fostering stability, economic growth, and health improvements across the African continent.

5.7.3.3 United States and Ghana Economic Relations Under Obama and Mills Administrations

The state of Ghana's economy has been a central issue since gaining independence, drawing the attention of various stakeholders. Strong economic growth in Ghana has played a pivotal role in fostering robust relations with the United States. Over the past decade, trade between Ghana and the US has grown substantially, increasing by 638%. Bilateral trade surged from \$309 million in 2002 to \$1.97 billion in 2014 (United States International Trade Commission, 2014, p. 12). Ghana's imports from the US rose from \$634 million in 2009 to \$1.2 billion in 2011, while US imports from Ghana grew from \$135 million to \$779 million during the same period (International Trade Administration, 2013, p. 8).

In 2013, Ghana was the 91st largest trading partner for the US, with trade totaling \$1.4 billion. That year, Ghana imported \$1.1 billion worth of goods from the US, a 19.3% decline compared to 2012. Key US exports to Ghana in 2013 included vehicles, machinery, oil, poultry, and rice. Meanwhile, Ghana's exports to the US increased by 25.7% from 2012, reaching \$366 million. The main goods exported from Ghana to the US were cocoa, oil, wood, rubber, vegetables, and yams (United States Census Bureau, 2014, p. 5). The US recorded a \$701 million trade surplus with Ghana in 2013, reflecting a 32.0% drop from 2012. Furthermore, US foreign direct investment in

Ghana rose to \$3.6 billion in 2012, representing a 14.5% increase from 2011 (Bureau of Economic Analysis, 2013, p. 9).

Currently, Ghana and the United States maintain three key bilateral agreements that facilitate trade and investment: the Overseas Private Investment Corporation Investment Incentive Agreement, the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement, and the Open Skies Aviation Agreement (Office of the United States Trade Representative, 2014, p. 3). US foreign direct investment in Ghana has shown steady growth, particularly in oil and mining, increasing from \$1.6 billion in 2009 to \$2.3 billion by 2012 (U.S. Department of State, 2013, p. 7).

Ghana's performance under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) has been less than optimal. Exports under AGOA declined significantly, from 41% in 2004 to just 9% in 2011. Contributing factors include limited industrialization, insufficient financial investment, and the absence of a comprehensive national strategy for AGOA (Trade Law Centre, 2012, p. 14). Additionally, the country's reliance on a narrow range of exports—such as processed fuel, fuel products, textiles, and apparel—further exacerbated the decline.

The United States has provided considerable trade-related support to Ghana, focusing on areas like communication, transportation, energy, agricultural services, trade facilitation, and labor improvements. Between 2007 and 2011, Ghana received \$312.5 million in bilateral trade assistance (USAID, 2012, p. 11). Furthermore, Ghana hosts the USAID West Africa Trade Hub, which works to boost regional exports of products such as cashews, fish, seafood, and apparel. The hub facilitates connections between exporters and importers, conducts training sessions, organizes trade fairs, and helps address trade-related challenges (USAID West Africa Trade Hub, 2013, p. 6).

Ghana has achieved high ratings on several socioeconomic benchmarks from the US government. In 2013, it scored 18 out of 20 on the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) policy performance criteria, surpassing the eligibility threshold for compact funding (Millennium Challenge Corporation, 2013, p. 4). This assessment was based on factors such as Economic Freedom, Investing in People, and Ruling Justly. Ghana successfully completed a \$547 million MCC compact in 2012 and appears poised to receive a second compact.

In summary, the economic partnership between Ghana and the United States has yielded significant benefits. However, addressing challenges like the decline in AGOA exports is critical. Prioritizing the expansion of processed and semi-processed goods within AGOA could support Ghana's structural and industrial transformation, advancing its economic growth.

5.7.3.4 Analysis of United States-Ghana Oil dynamics under the Obama and Mills Administration

The discovery of oil reserves in Ghana's offshore waters, particularly in the Western region, has profoundly influenced both domestic affairs and international relations. This section explores the relationship between U.S. military and energy security policies and Ghana's growing oil industry during the leadership of President Barack Obama in the United States and President John Mills in Ghana.

This analysis is set against a backdrop of key global events, including the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001, which shifted U.S. priorities toward energy security alongside counterterrorism efforts (Baker, 2004). During this period, a global surge in energy demand led countries to reevaluate their strategies for securing reliable oil sources (Klare, 2008, p. 15). Ghana's emergence as a significant

oil-producing nation, following discoveries off its coastline, introduced a new layer of complexity to the geopolitical dynamics in the region. The term "New Gulf" was coined to describe the Atlantic waters off the Gulf of Guinea, spanning from Morocco to Angola, underscoring the strategic importance of this area in global energy politics (Lyman, 2006).

Recognizing Africa's growing role in global energy supplies, the United States implemented strategic measures to protect its interests. The creation of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) during President George W. Bush's administration highlights this focus on Africa's energy resources and their security implications (Volman, 2008, p. 92).

This section focuses on how U.S. military and energy security policies intersected with Ghana's oil sector, particularly during the presidencies of Barack Obama and John Mills. Under President George W. Bush, U.S. energy policy took center stage, driven by severe oil and gas shortages and a major electrical blackout in California. For the first time in its history, U.S. oil imports accounted for 50% of total consumption, intensifying the country's focus on securing external energy sources (Yergin, 2006, p. 34).

The term "New Gulf," used by Washington policymakers, refers to the Atlantic waters of the Gulf of Guinea, stretching from Morocco in the north to Angola in the south (Soares de Oliveira, 2007, p. 45). This section examines the global and local political implications of the 2007 oil discovery off Cape Three Points in Ghana. It argues that U.S. military and energy security analysts have shown significant concern over securing access to overseas oil supplies, particularly from Africa. This concern is evident in the activities of the United States Armed Services Committee (ASC), an influential bipartisan body with prominent Senators from both political parties (McCaskie, 2008, p. 59). On September 27, 2007, the ASC convened to discuss President George W. Bush's proposal to establish a dedicated military command for Africa (AFRICOM) and to appoint Lt.

General William E. Kip Ward, then Deputy Commander of the United States European Command (EUROCOM), as its first commander. The committee reviewed a detailed briefing paper from the Congressional Research Service and was familiar with ongoing debates in Washington regarding the President's intentions. The Council on Foreign Relations highlighted AFRICOM as a response to concerns about terrorism, China's growing influence, and Africa's oil resources (Pham, 2008).

Raphael and Stokes (2011) extensively analyze post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy toward West Africa within a global framework but notably omit the rising importance of Ghana's recent oil discoveries. These discoveries are a central focus of this study, particularly in the context of U.S. energy, economic, and security strategies. Instead, the authors primarily reference Nigeria and Angola—key players in U.S.-West Africa relations—as examples to support their observations. Nevertheless, they align with other scholars in recognizing West Africa's oil wealth as a critical factor for U.S. national security (Klare & Volman, 2006).

In conclusion, analyzing U.S. military and energy security policies within the context of Ghana's oil discoveries offers valuable insights into the shifting geopolitical dynamics. The strategic relevance of the "New Gulf" highlights the importance of addressing both global and local political considerations in shaping future strategies.

5.7.3.5 Peace and Security Relations between the United States and Ghana under the Obama and Mills' administration

In 2009, the United States Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) established a regional office in Ghana. That same year, the DEA captured drug traffickers allegedly linked to Al Qaeda (Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, 2010, p. 5). Later, in 2011, the DEA collaborated with Ghana's Narcotics Control Board to dismantle a heroin trafficking network operating between Ghana and the U.S. This operation led to the arrest of multiple individuals,

including security personnel implicated in smuggling drugs through Kotoka International Airport (DEA, 2011, p. 17).

The partnership between Ghana and the United States extends beyond combating drug-related crimes, encompassing efforts to mediate political and military conflicts in West Africa and participation in international peacekeeping missions. Through the U.S. Peace and Security Assistance program, Ghana receives military training aimed at building its national security capacity and enhancing its contributions to international peacekeeping missions (Congressional Research Service, 2013, p. 14). In 2013, the U.S. proposed a \$700,000 allocation for military education and training to address Ghana's security and peacekeeping challenges. Additionally, a \$350,000 foreign military financing program was suggested for acquiring equipment and related services (Defense Security Cooperation Agency, 2013, p. 21).

According to a 2013 U.S. Congressional report, Ghana serves as a base for periodic U.S. military activities in the region, such as crisis response actions and military exercises (Congressional Research Service, 2013, p. 16). Ghana is also part of the National Guard State Partnership Program, linked to North Dakota, working with partner nations to achieve U.S. security cooperation objectives. Furthermore, Ghana participates in several Africa Command (AFRICOM) initiatives, including the Africa Deployment Assistance Partnership Team (ADAPT) and the AFRICOM/US Navy Africa Partnership Station (APS) West (Ploch, 2011, p. 30). The country has been used as a deployment hub for U.S. emergency evacuations of citizens and embassy staff in the region. It also hosts a U.S. Military Exercise Reception Facility to streamline troop deployments for exercises and crisis response operations across West Africa, alongside an associated fuel hub. Ghana collaborates with AFRICOM through significant African institutions, such as the African Union,

the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) (U.S. Africa Command, 2013, p. 12).

Despite Ghana's peaceful and stable status, pivotal in fostering strong and progressive relations between the United States and Ghana, collaborations between the two countries have also resulted in the apprehension of drug dealers. This suggests that in the realm of peace and security, the relationship between Ghana and the U.S. has been mutually beneficial (Whitaker, 2010, p. 56).

5.7.4 Relations between the United States and Ghana during the Obama and Mahama administration

During the Obama administration in the United States and John Mahama's presidency in Ghana, both countries strengthened their defense cooperation through the Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA), commonly referred to as US-GH 02. Signed in 2015, this agreement aimed to boost military interoperability, operational readiness, and logistical support between the two nations. It established a framework for logistical collaboration, focusing on enhancing the capacity of Ghana's armed forces while furthering U.S. security interests in West Africa and providing reciprocal benefits to both military establishments (Congressional Research Service, 2015, p. 23). Through the ACSA, Ghana and the United States deepened their military relations by setting standardized processes for sharing logistics support, services, and supplies, thereby contributing to regional security (Cooper & Caverly, 2015).

The immediate one was between President Mahama and the US. But that agreement was allowing the US to use their surveillance aircraft to monitor the movements of Boko Haram activists in West Africa, particularly along Cameroon and Nigeria. – Respondent 11

Part of the reason started from the activities of Boko Haram, particularly after the Libyan invasion by the United States government, which they don't call an invasion because they see it as non-kinetic warfare, even though it was precisely a kinetic military action. – Respondent 11

The agreement's purpose was to facilitate logistics cooperation, covering various forms of logistical support like transportation, billeting, medical services, and maintenance (Defense Institute of International Legal Studies, 2016, p. 15). Notably, the ACSA allowed for the temporary use of vehicles, equipment, and nonlethal items for operations, training exercises, and other collaborative missions, adhering to the legal and regulatory frameworks of both nations. The ACSA's primary objective was to lay down fundamental terms, conditions, and procedures for reciprocal logistics support, establishing that these logistical exchanges could occur under cash payment or reciprocal support. By establishing structured guidelines, the ACSA enabled efficient resource sharing and logistical interoperability between the U.S. and Ghanaian armed forces, supporting mutual operational readiness and joint military activities in times of peace and crisis (Defense Security Cooperation Agency, 2015, p. 29).

Clear definitions for logistics, supplies, and services in the ACSA were critical for minimizing ambiguity in its application. The term Logistic Support, Supplies, and Services encompassed essentials such as transportation, food, petroleum, medical services, training, spare parts, and communication services (U.S. Department of Defense, 2014, p. 11). These definitions ensured the smooth implementation of logistical support exchanges and delineated the categories permitted under the agreement.

The scope of the ACSA covered logistics support primarily during combined exercises, training, deployments, port calls, and other cooperative efforts, with contingencies for unforeseen exigencies (Ploch, 2011, p. 35). The agreement stipulated that logistics support exchanges would adhere to each country's respective national laws and regulations, reinforcing the importance of lawful compliance and mutual respect in bilateral military cooperation (Whitaker, 2010, p. 46).

The agreement provided a structured framework for order placement, request fulfillment, and record maintenance, stipulating specific responsibilities for the Supplying Party (U.S. DoD) and the Receiving Party (Ghana). This structure emphasized transparency, accountability, and mutual obligation in each transaction, enhancing efficiency in logistics operations (Congressional Research Service, 2015, p. 37).

The ACSA explicitly excluded certain items from transfer, including weapons systems, major end items of equipment, and particular munitions prohibited under respective national laws. These exclusions were essential in aligning the agreement with international and national regulations governing military cooperation, demonstrating adherence to arms control measures while focusing on enhancing operational readiness through permissible logistical support (Cooper & Caverly, 2015; Klare, 2013).

The ACSA exemplifies a broader trend in military partnerships where logistics agreements play a critical role in supporting national defense and regional security frameworks. Scholars argue that agreements like the ACSA, while often centered on logistics, reflect strategic geopolitical interests (Lyman, 2016,). According to Cooper and Caverly (2015), logistics cooperation agreements between the U.S. and smaller allies enable the U.S. to extend its influence while empowering partner nations to address shared security challenges. Such agreements are instrumental in enhancing mutual benefits, including capacity building, training, and operational support, without

establishing a permanent U.S. military presence, which is often controversial in host countries (Whitaker, 2020).

The ACSA between the U.S. and Ghana underscores the strategic importance of West Africa within U.S. defense policy, particularly as the region faces rising transnational security threats, including terrorism, piracy, and instability. The Africa Center for Strategic Studies (2019, p. 12) suggests that the U.S. has increasingly relied on logistical and security agreements in Africa to counter these threats without substantial troop deployments, aligning with Ghana's security interests in safeguarding its borders and supporting regional stability (Klare & Volman, 2016).

However, these agreements are not without controversy. Critics, such as Whitaker (2020), caution that increased defense cooperation with the U.S. could draw Ghana into larger geopolitical conflicts or compromise its non-aligned foreign policy. The surveillance operations conducted from Kotoka International Airport, for instance, demonstrate Ghana's role in supporting U.S. intelligence in the region, sometimes causing friction with neighboring nations like Nigeria, which are cautious about U.S. military presence (Raphael & Stokes, 2011).

In conclusion, the ACSA between the United States and Ghana reflects a strategic alignment of defense priorities and a shared commitment to regional security and stability. Under the administrations of Presidents Obama and Mahama, this agreement advanced military interoperability, readiness, and logistical efficiency, contributing to both countries' national security objectives. The ACSA's design, focusing on nonlethal logistics support, allowed for meaningful cooperation while respecting Ghana's sovereignty and compliance with international arms control measures. Nevertheless, the agreement invites a critical evaluation of Ghana's security strategy and its implications within the complex geopolitical landscape of West Africa. As Ghana continues to balance its defense partnerships, understanding the benefits and potential

limitations of such agreements will be essential for maintaining an independent and effective national security policy.

5.7.4.1 Note Verbale regarding the case of two former Guantánamo Bay detainees in Ghana under the administration of John Mahama and Barack Obama

This subsection examines the case involving two former detainees of Guantánamo Bay who were resettled in Ghana during the administrations of Presidents John Mahama and Barack Obama. In January 2016, controversy erupted when Mahama chose to admit the two suspects, Muhammed Al-Dhuby and Muhammed Bin-Atef, into Ghana. These individuals had been detained in Guantanamo Bay for over 14 years on suspicion of involvement in the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States (Petersen, 2018).

The decision to accept these individuals was formalized through an exchange of diplomatic notes: U.S. Note Verbale No. 2015-14-22, dated July 13, 2015, and Ghana Answering Note Verbale No. SCR.GH/USA/RELS, dated August 17, 2015. These notes laid out a framework and determined the arrangement for the transfer and resettlement (Foreign Affairs Committee Report, 2017, p. 43). According to the Report of the Foreign Affairs Committee in Parliament (July 2017), the U.S. government portrayed Ghana's decision as a humanitarian gesture that aligned with the Obama administration's efforts to close down Guantanamo Bay (Memorandum to Parliament, Ghana, 2017, p. 21; Supreme Court of Ghana, Writ No. JI/7/2016).

We were scared when under Mahama the Gitmo2, people feared but we have heard nothing. – Respondent 16

5.7.4.2 Obligations of Ghana under the Agreements

As part of the arrangement, Ghana committed to several obligations outlined in the agreement, including:

- Receiving Mahmud Umar Muhammad Bin Atef and Khalid Muhammad Salih Al-Dhuby.
- Monitoring and surveilling the subjects for at least two years, with extensions as deemed necessary.
- Withholding their passports and travel documents to prevent travel outside Ghana for the initial two years.
- Immediately notifying the U.S. government if there was any awareness of travel intentions outside Ghana.
- Regularly consulting with the U.S. regarding the status, activities, whereabouts, and social integration of the detainees.
- Ensuring that the detainees had unfettered access to legal representation of their choice.
- Providing access to the detainees by a mutually agreed-upon third party, especially if they were detained after resettlement (Foreign Affairs Committee Report, 2017, p. 47).

Despite widespread criticism from opposition parties, civil society organizations, and religious groups, Mahama defended his decision as an act of compassion for the suspects, whom he described as "innocent young men unjustly detained without trial" (Mahama, 2012, p. 6). He argued that Ghana's commitment to international human rights standards and support for global efforts to address the complex issues surrounding the Guantánamo Bay detention center were essential justifications for the decision (Amnesty International, 2016, p. 4).

5.7.4.3 Analysis of International Law, Human Rights, and Diplomatic Relations

This section of the thesis posits that the transfer and resettlement of individuals formerly detained at Guantánamo Bay represent a complex intersection of international law, human rights, and diplomatic relations. Bassiouni (2017) highlights that the resettlement of detainees involves nuanced considerations of state sovereignty, diplomatic commitments, and human rights obligations, as countries that accept detainees often face significant public backlash (p. 65). In this context, the agreement between the United States and Ghana during the administrations of Barack Obama and John Mahama, signed in 2015, exemplifies the multifaceted nature of such international arrangements (Clark, 2019).

By analyzing this case, the thesis highlights the delicate balance between humanitarian obligations and national security concerns. Miller and Satter (2018) observe that transfers of former detainees typically aim to promote international goodwill while allowing for effective monitoring to mitigate security risks (p. 189). In Ghana's case, public debate centered on questions of national security, sovereignty, and whether the government's humanitarian intentions aligned with the nation's interests, considering both domestic and regional security implications (Whitaker, 2020).

This case study underscores the broader implications for international diplomatic practices and human rights advocacy. The obligations Ghana undertook reflect broader trends in international relations where states are often called upon to support humanitarian initiatives that align with complex geopolitical interests (Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2019, p. 18). Furthermore, it exemplifies how nations can leverage diplomatic arrangements to fulfill global human rights objectives, a point underscored by Hathaway (2016) in her analysis of non-coercive international legal agreements, which she argues often reflect shared values between states (p. 225).

In summary, the resettlement agreement involving former Guantanamo detainees and Ghana illustrates how humanitarian obligations intersect with national security and international law. This cooperation represents a model for navigating diplomatic challenges that arise from controversial detainee resettlements, underscoring the importance of transparent and well-structured agreements to address both humanitarian and security concerns.

5.7.5 Presidents Donald Trump and Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo administration (2017-2024)

During the tenures of Donald Trump as President of the United States and Nana Akufo-Addo as President of Ghana, diplomatic relations between the two nations underwent significant evolution. The period from January 20, 2017, when Donald Trump assumed office, to January 20, 2021, marked a distinctive chapter in the interactions between the United States and Ghana.

With the present or the one which was signed between Akuffo Addo's government and Trump's government. – Respondent 05

President Nana Addo and then President Donald Trump. It was a telephone call, according to the information that came out that President Donald Trump called our president, and that was more like a negotiation. – Respondent 10

Here is the Head of State who is not a military expert, who is not a foreign policy expert, who may be only a lawyer who has negotiated on phone on behalf of the state. And the opening statement says based on our telephone conversation on this and these. – Respondent 05

“Trump was a person who never believed in procedure and Nana Addo also doesn't believe in procedure despite being a lawyer.” – Respondent 10

Since the establishment of the Fourth Republic in Ghana in 1992, the relationship between the United States and Ghana has encompassed various dimensions, including defense cooperation. The Fourth Republic marked Ghana's transition to democracy after a period of military rule, creating a conducive environment for expanded diplomatic engagements with the United States. This era saw both nations recognizing the importance of regional stability and security, leading to the development of robust defense cooperation initiatives (Kalu & Kieh, 2013).

The defense collaboration between the United States and Ghana has evolved over time to address emerging security challenges, including transnational threats and maritime security concerns in the West African region. Both countries have engaged in joint military exercises, training programs, and the provision of security assistance as part of their efforts to enhance Ghana's defense capabilities. Ghana's participation in various defense programs and partnerships with the United States underscores its commitment to promoting peace, stability, and security within its borders and in the broader African context (Shai et al., 2017,).

By the time of Nana Addo, given the global circumstances there was the need for a little expansion and perhaps it is the expansion that led to the major debates. – Respondent 20

In 2018, the United States and Ghana solidified their defense cooperation with the signing of the "Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Ghana on Defense Cooperation, the Status of United States Forces, and Access to and Use of Agreed Facilities and Areas in the Republic of Ghana." This agreement reaffirmed both countries' commitment to mutual defense interests while respecting each other's sovereignty (Cook, 2019,).

They claim that there was some \$20 million that Ghana would benefit from if Ghana would benefit from if Ghana signed the defense corporation agreement. – Respondent 03

I mean, the Ghana government's approach then was, well look, we are getting logistics we're getting the equipment we are getting some training.– Respondent 14

However, the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) between the United States and Ghana has raised concerns among some Ghanaians regarding its implications for national security and defense policies. These concerns have prompted analyses of the agreement and its potential impact, with some scholars exploring theoretical frameworks such as neorealism and neoliberalism to understand state behaviors in the realm of international politics (Mattes & Vonnahme, 2010).

Ambassador Jackson was the one there at the time. He was there in 2016/2017. This particular one he left, and the next day he went to the President. In the next meeting, he said your president has already agreed. - – Respondent 09

The agreement was negotiated with the Ministry of foreign affairs defense and the attorney general's office at the level of the sector. - Respondent 18

It started with the government, then the minister of defense came in, and then finally ratified by the Parliament of Ghana. – Respondent 12

The ratification was the child of the Parliament of Ghana, the government had the majority in parliament, so they ratified it passing it to law and that's what we are having currently - -

Respondent 12

When everything is done, then finally, the president assigns and adds his signature then it becomes.

It means that it has been the agreement has been part of our national laws. – Respondent 12

At the time this thing broke, the response that came out would have given us the assurance that there had been enough consultations among our people, and the circumstances as I understand it, have incorporated with some military colleagues give me the impression that not much consultation was done. – Respondent 13

My assessment gave me the impression that not much consultation was done. My interaction was with a few colleagues. – Respondent 13

The defense cooperation between the United States and Ghana reflects a shared commitment to addressing regional security challenges and fostering peace and stability in West Africa. Despite occasional concerns, the partnership underscores the strategic importance of mutual collaboration in safeguarding common interests and promoting security in the region (Parliamentary Debate, 2018, p. 17). This study aims to examine the defense cooperation between the United States and Ghana during the administrations of President Donald Trump and Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, focusing on analyzing the implications of this cooperation on Ghana's national security and defense policies.

The thesis argues that the United States' defense cooperation with Ghana primarily serves U.S. strategic interests rather than Ghana's. Historically and contemporarily, the United States and Ghana have engaged in military-to-military training and joint exercises to enhance the capabilities of the Ghanaian armed forces. However, the primary objective of the United States' defense cooperation with Ghana is to establish a hub, potentially a forward base, for U.S. forces' activities in counterterrorism in West Africa. This strategic shift became more pronounced after the vulnerabilities exposed by the September 11th attacks (Cook, 2019, p. 102; Shai et al., 2017).

Defense agreements have played a crucial role in the sovereignty of many countries over the years, and Ghana, since gaining independence, has consistently entered into defense pacts with various nations, including the United States. Scholars argue that the United States and Ghana maintained robust security cooperation, focusing on counterterrorism, maritime security, and regional stability. The U.S. has played a vital role in assisting Ghana in enhancing its capabilities to address common security threats in the Gulf of Guinea region (Kalu & Kieh, 2013).

The defense cooperation agreement signed in 2018 was controversial, sparking protests and parliamentary debates in Ghana. Many Ghanaians raised concerns about the fundamental violation of national sovereignty by the USA, with thousands protesting in Accra against the expansion of defense cooperation (Parliament of Ghana, 2018, p. 23). Concerns included the unfettered access granted to U.S. military aircraft, vehicles, and vessels within Ghana's territory, airspace, and waters, as well as the provision of free access to Ghana's radio spectrum and runways (Daily Graphic, 2018, p. 5).

Ghana's National Defense Policy classifies threats into internal and external categories, highlighting issues such as military coups, ethnic conflicts, corruption, and external threats like terrorism, drug trafficking, and regional instability (Ministry of Defence, 2012, p. 19). Despite the

National Defense Policy downplaying the likelihood of a direct military attack on Ghana, it emphasizes the importance of vigilance and readiness of defense and security institutions (Ministry of Defence, 2012, p. 21).

Unless we get a strong government. A government that can get the people to move them when there's a backlash and I doubt. There are two main strands in Ghana, the NDC, and the NPP, there's no difference between them. – Respondent 19

The United States-Ghana defense cooperation during the administrations of Donald Trump and Nana Akufo-Addo was marked by significant collaboration and occasional controversy. While the defense agreements aimed to enhance Ghana's defense capabilities and address regional security challenges, they also raised concerns about national sovereignty and the strategic intentions behind U.S. military presence in Ghana. This period of cooperation underscores the complexities of balancing mutual interests and national sovereignty in international defense partnerships. The study highlights the need for continued scrutiny and dialogue to ensure that such agreements serve the security interests of both nations equitably.

The tenures of Donald Trump as President of the United States and Nana Akufo-Addo as President of Ghana marked a distinctive chapter in the diplomatic relations between the two nations. This period witnessed a multifaceted evolution in their interactions. Under President Trump's administration, the United States maintained its commitment to supporting democratic governance, economic development, and regional security in Africa. Ghana, being one of the continent's stable democracies, played a crucial role in these broader objectives. Both leaders

emphasized the importance of fostering economic ties, promoting trade, and addressing mutual concerns.

5.7.5.1 Evolving Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Ghana under the Trump and Nana Addo administration

The historical relationship between the United States and Ghana has been notably characterized by a cooperative and warm dynamic, rooted in shared strategic interests, strong cultural connections, and robust people-to-people ties. Cook (2019) argues that Ghana's role as a democratic leader and a stabilizing influence in Africa underpins this connection. The significance of the U.S.-Ghana relationship has been underscored by high-profile visits from U.S. Presidents, including Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama, all of whom made official trips to Ghana. In 2019, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi also led a congressional delegation to Ghana to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the first arrival of enslaved Africans in the United States, reflecting the strong cultural links between the two nations (Cook, 2019).

Cook (2019) highlights that the Ghanaian diaspora in the United States, concentrated in cities like New York, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta, plays a significant role in maintaining these ties. Many U.S. citizens also reside in Ghana, fostering bilateral cultural connections. In a bid to attract heritage tourism, President Akufo-Addo launched the "Year of Return" in 2019, marking the 400-year commemoration of the transatlantic slave trade and encouraging African Americans to visit and invest in Ghana (Johnson, 2022).

Economic cooperation formed another vital aspect of the U.S.-Ghana partnership. Through the "Prosper Africa" initiative, the Trump administration sought to expand economic engagement with

African nations, including Ghana, focusing on opening markets for American businesses and fostering mutual investment. For Ghana, the "Beyond Aid" policy signified a drive for self-reliance and sustainable development through foreign partnerships that align with national development goals (Kalu & Kieh, 2013).

Security collaboration remained central to the bilateral relationship, especially as both nations acknowledged regional security challenges such as terrorism and maritime threats in West Africa. Ghana's peacekeeping efforts have been supported by the United States, with the latter recognizing Ghana's significant contributions to stability in the region. Amidst rising extremism in the Sahel, the Biden administration designated Ghana a priority country under the Global Fragility Act (GFA) in 2022, which aligns with U.S. efforts to counter violent extremism (CVE) in the Coastal West Africa sub-region (Smith, 2022).

The U.S. Congress also plays a role in shaping U.S.-Ghana relations, primarily through its appropriation of foreign aid and oversight of U.S. initiatives. The Ghana Caucus, launched in late 2022, demonstrates growing congressional interest in areas like regional security, human rights, and economic engagement. This period saw members of Congress increasingly attentive to issues such as governance, transparency, and human rights in Ghana, including the protection of press freedoms and LGBTQI+ rights (Smith, 2022,).

While generally marked by collaboration, the relationship between the Trump and Akufo-Addo administrations was not without challenges. U.S. immigration policies under Trump affected the Ghanaian diaspora, leading to diplomatic negotiations (Cook, 2019). Despite occasional policy disagreements, both countries successfully managed these issues, reinforcing the strength and resilience of U.S.-Ghana ties.

In conclusion, the bilateral relationship between the United States and Ghana from 2017 to 2024 reflects a multi-dimensional partnership that encompasses economic, security, and cultural collaboration. The enduring significance of Ghana's role as a stable democracy in West Africa was recognized and bolstered by the United States, with initiatives like "Prosper Africa" and the "Year of Return" symbolizing mutual efforts to deepen economic and cultural relations. The strategic cooperation forged during this period provides valuable insights for future engagements, underscoring the adaptability and continuity of U.S.-Ghana relations.

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CHAPTER SIX

IMPLICATIONS OF UNITED STATES' DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT (DCA) ON GHANA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

6.0 INTRODUCTION

One of the primary objectives of this study is to assess the implications of the United States' Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) on the national security of Ghana. As previously mentioned, the study conceptualizes defense cooperation as a clandestine defense arrangement between two or more states, manifested through various defense instruments ranging from recognized cooperations such as international military education and exchange programs to joint military exercises, aimed at covertly influencing state behavior and sovereignty.

This study employs a qualitative research methodology, specifically utilizing phenomenological approaches. Qualitative research, metaphorically described by Creswell (2013) as "an intricate fabric composed of minute threads, many colors, different textures, and various blends of material," forms the basis of this defense cooperation study between the United States and Ghana. Qualitative data analysis involves a triangulation of various techniques to interpret data collected for each research question.

Qualitative inquiry encompasses several methodologies, including narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study (Creswell, 2013). Merriam and Tisdell (2015) suggest that qualitative research can be broadly understood as a qualitative research

study without strict categorization into one of the five types. Qualitative research inherently explores the phenomenon under study, aiming to gain a comprehensive and detailed understanding.

Data was collected from respondents through in-depth interviews, jotted notes, recordings of interviews, and field notes, as well as media reports, and analyzed qualitatively by grouping them under relevant themes in content analysis. The analysis involved examining the implications of the DCA on Ghana's national security through the lens of the CSS theory. Content analysis was applied to identify recurring themes, their context, and their interrelations. Additionally, the analysis relied on in-depth interviews, Defense Cooperation Agreement documents from 2018, parliamentary debates from 2018, and other media reports.

6.1 UNDERSTANDING THE REASONS BEHIND THE DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT

This section delves into the analysis of the reasons for the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) between the United States and Ghana, drawing upon data from interview respondents across four main categories: academia, military officers, parliamentarians, and security experts. In exploring the motivations behind the signing of the DCA by both countries, this section aims to elucidate these factors through the lens of realism. These factors revolve around national interest, the overriding goal of state security and survival, sovereignty, and military power.

The research data underwent meticulous transcription, with the final transcripts coded into key themes and categories. Following Creswell's (2013,) coding steps, which involve data processing, overall data review, classification, and interpretation, the identified themes in this section stemmed from two primary questions posed to interviewees. These questions aimed to elicit their

understanding of the motivating factors for both Ghana and the United States in signing the Defense Cooperation Agreement, as well as what prompted both governments to engage in the DCA.

6.1.1 Economic Benefits and Aid Assurance

The geopolitical significance of Ghana, coupled with its rich mineral resources and economic potential in West Africa, has been a major draw for the United States of America. An overarching theme emerging from the interviews was the consideration of economic benefits and aid assurance as factors motivating Ghana to sign the DCA. This suggests that Ghana anticipated some form of financial gain from the agreement. As articulated by respondents, including a Professor in International Relations and a Rear Admiral in the Ghana Navy:

"Normally, in developing nations like Ghana, we go into agreements, hoping to reap benefits, and that is the key issue. And sometimes these developed nations end up giving some peanuts. What I call peanuts maybe 20 million dollars, I don't have it." – Respondent

01

"There was the monetary considerations, they claim that there was some \$20 million that Ghana would benefit from if the defense corporation agreement was signed." – Respondent

02

These statements reflect the perception that Ghana, being a developing nation, was motivated by the expectation of economic gains from the agreement. Specifically, one respondent highlighted the possibility of financial gains accruing to Ghana. Moreover, there's an indication that Ghana saw the agreement as a means to address resource limitations, with the notion that the U.S. could provide support when needed, as mentioned by a Professor in Political Science at the University

of Ghana, Legon. Another respondent, a Professor in International Relations and Security at Ghana Armed Forces and Commands College, suggested that Ghana's military being poorly resourced could have influenced the government's decision to sign the agreement:

"It appears that maybe some financial gains may accrue to the nation." "...the fact that if there is a base here, we can easily fall on them for support when the need arises." – Respondent 17

"I strongly suspect that the Ghana government was only motivated by what they thought they could gain from the US because the military is poorly resourced..." "This agreement inures to the benefit of the US more than it does to Ghana... Ghana thinks that this will allow them also to get something a little from them." – Respondent 19

Similarly, from the perspective of the U.S., a Major General in the Ghana Armed Forces suggested that the U.S. had an interest in safeguarding its interests in West Africa's energy resources, implying a strategic motive. A Professor in Political Science also cited economic reasons for U.S. involvement in Ghana:

"For the United States, they normally would like to have leverage so that when they are in a particular country, they would enjoy certain privileges." – Respondent 21

The primary data from the interviews reveals a recurring theme of economic incentives influencing Ghana's decision to sign the DCA, underscored by a desire for financial aid and military support. Respondents, including experts from academia and military backgrounds, point to Ghana's anticipated economic benefits from the agreement, including direct financial assistance and the possibility of leveraging U.S. military support to address resource gaps. These perceptions align

with common expectations in developing nations, where international agreements often offer the potential for economic assistance and military aid.

For example, the statements made by respondents like Respondent 01 and Respondent 02 suggest a clear expectation of financial compensation for the signing of the DCA. These figures, such as the reported \$20 million, represent a tangible form of aid or investment that Ghana hoped to receive in exchange for allowing U.S. military presence in its territory. This expectation aligns with common patterns in international relations, where military agreements are often accompanied by economic packages aimed at securing cooperation from the host country (Sandler & Hartley, 2001, p. 76).

From another perspective, the theory of economic diplomacy (Bayne & Woolcock, 2011) can be applied here. Economic diplomacy emphasizes the use of diplomatic relations to enhance a nation's economic objectives, with military agreements serving as mechanisms for both economic and strategic gains. In this case, Ghana appears to have entered the agreement with hopes of securing financial assistance and military resources to mitigate its own defense challenges. The poorly resourced military, as highlighted by Respondent 19, suggests that economic considerations, particularly related to defense, were central to the decision-making process. This resonates with the broader narrative in international relations where military cooperation agreements often reflect a balance of economic and strategic interests (Smith, 2000).

Additionally, Ghana's approach to the agreement echoes dependency theory (Dos Santos, 1970), which posits that developing nations often rely on developed countries for financial support and military aid. Ghana's expectation of financial assistance through the DCA can be seen as a reflection of the country's dependency on external powers to address its developmental challenges. While the agreement was likely framed as a mutually beneficial arrangement, the economic gains

for Ghana might be viewed as more symbolic than substantial, given the relatively modest figures mentioned by respondents.

From a geopolitical perspective, U.S. involvement in Ghana is not only about aid but also about securing strategic and economic interests in the West African region, particularly in relation to energy resources. As pointed out by Respondent 21, the U.S. seeks leverage through its military presence, which is often coupled with economic privileges. Secondary sources, such as the work of Mearsheimer (2001) on offensive realism, provide insight into the broader motivations of states like the U.S. in securing military agreements with other nations. In this case, the U.S. likely saw the DCA as a way to solidify its strategic presence in a resource-rich region, thereby ensuring access to critical resources and maintaining regional stability to protect its energy interests. These dynamic underscores the power asymmetry inherent in such agreements, where the stronger party (the U.S.) can leverage its resources for broader geopolitical and economic objectives, even if the host country (Ghana) receives limited direct financial compensation.

6.1.2 Strategic Interests and Subregional Influence

This section examines another theme arising from the responses of interviewees, focusing on the geopolitical aspect. Several respondents pointed out that the United States aimed to exert influence in the subregion, with Ghana strategically chosen to advance its interests. For instance, a Senior Lecturer in International Relations and African Security at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) highlighted Ghana's stability and peaceful democratic atmosphere as factors contributing to its attractiveness to the U.S.:

"When you look at US policy and military policy, there are certain reasons why Ghana was chosen. Ghana is peaceful, Ghana is a democracy, and Ghana is relatively stable." -

Respondent 05

Furthermore, a former U.S. Army Officer and security expert at Ghana Armed Forces and Command's College emphasized Ghana's location in the Gulf of Guinea as a major factor in the U.S.'s decision to enter the agreement. The respondent suggested that the U.S. sought to strategically enter this agreement to gain influence in the territorial waters of West Africa and access mineral resources:

"The strategic location of Ghana within the Gulf of Guinea makes it a strategic zone... The United States policy, defense policy has been re-articulated recently that African leaders are willing to go with the United States foreign policy..." – Respondent 11

Additionally, a Major General in the Ghana Armed Forces argued that the U.S. aimed to enjoy certain privileges in Ghana, suggesting that leverage was one of the reasons for seeking the agreement:

"For the United States, they normally would like to have leverage so that when they are in a particular country, they would enjoy certain privileges." – Respondent 21

6.1.3 U.S. Strategic Interest and Forward Base

This section discusses the implications of the presence of a US military base in Ghana. One of the key themes that runs through most of the interview responses was the fact that the US was looking for a military base in the region from which they could launch their military activities. At the base of the United States warfighting strategy, it makes an approximate distinction between geographic regions in the Unified Command plan. This approach originated from its adaptation to fight the second World War. Establishment of a military base within the region of West Africa falls within this warfighting strategy of the United States. The US has opened many military bases in Africa, a typical example being Djibouti. Despite this, it is not clear how it relates to security concerns.

France has Permanent military bases in Africa that are not even subject to negotiation of their former colonies and Ghana is around its Francophone countries, so it has implications. So, for the Americans, this is also a way of checking what Macron is doing in Ivory Coast, in Burkina Faso, and Togo.

Neoclassical realism integrates domestic and systemic factors into the analysis of state behavior. From this perspective we see the importance of power and pursuit of national interest in international relations. The realist perspective shows that the United States seeks strategic advantage in form of a military base to bolster its power and security.

Against this backdrop, most respondents argue that Ghana was chosen as a front where the US could have a base for their military activities. This indicates that the United States intended to utilize Ghana as a strategic location for military operations, either as a staging post or potentially as a forward operating base.

"One of the issues we raised and we understood very clear that they intended to use Ghana as a forward operating base for their military operations if the need arose." "But whichever way you looked at the whole thing, whether they were going to have a permanent presence or not, the agreement clearly meant that if the need arose, they could use our territory as a 'staging' post to attack." – Respondent 03

"The United States has its strategic interest. And this strategic interest can be self-serving. The arrangements... are very much going to be like a military base." "The strategic location of Ghana within the Gulf of Guinea makes it a strategic zone from which counterterrorism operational activities can take place." "So, Ghana becomes a strategy for them to be able

to fight the Malian insurgents, to fight Boko Haram, to be able to do many things without going into their territory and having a location there." – Respondent 04

A Senior Law Lecturer and former defense minister further explained that terrorism is a global crime that requires a global response and so the US needed Ghana as a base from which they could fight terrorist groups like Boko Haram, Malian Insurgents in the subregion. He argues that given the role of Ghana in ECOWAS, the US could use Ghana as its forward base to fight terrorism because the September 11 terrorist attacks exposed the American system so badly.

It has always been the norm for America to fight their wars where the repercussions and the collateral damage do not affect their citizens. The US does not fight their wars on home soil, and so they always want proximity to certain embassies which they use as bases for their military activities. The respondent further notes that Ghana was targeted as a coy for the US operating military base in the subregion to avoid any consequences of war in that region.

"The American strategy has always been that they don't like to fight wars where the consequences come into their zone... They would want proximity to a number of these embassies so that they can respond rapidly." – Respondent 04

6.1.4 National Interest and Mutual Benefits

The most widely used frameworks for evaluating international relations pay attention to the division of IR components into three levels: the individual, the nation-state, and the international system. This is frequently linked to Waltz's writings, which discuss how nation-state conduct stems from the pursuit, defense, and advancement of self-interest. According to Waltz, the majority of analysts believe that nation-states have underlying interests that underlie their actions; these are

commonly referred to as national interests. It should be mentioned that every nation-state has its own core or vital interests. The majority of academics concur that the nation-state's territory, people, and sovereignty are its primary survival interests. It is also important to emphasize that the concept of national interests depends on a certain degree of sovereignty.

The traditional conceptualization of security links security to the state's survival and the advancement of its national interests, demonstrating how crucial the state-centric approach to understanding security is to the history of modern security architecture. As Morgenthau (1948,) defined power distribution, national interests are particularly quantified in terms of "anything that establishes and maintains the control of man over the minds and actions of others." The state's survival and the advancement of its national interests are linked to security in the philosophical conception of the term.

Similarly, Bemis (1948) postulates that the fundamental bases of the foreign policy of any state are security for the state and what the state stands for in the world. He argues that every state seeks security first; if it cannot have security, if it cannot be its own sovereign master, it cannot stand for much in this world. Also, Tim Dunne (1998, p. 17) and Brian C. Schmidt (2019, p. 204) argue that the core values of statism are substantially about survival and self-help, which feature across almost all strands of realism.

The realism paradigm would note that there is an inherent power imbalance between the United States and Ghana. Although both parties may derive some benefit from the DCA, the United States, as a global superpower, will definitely hold more leverage in the formulation of the terms of the DCA. This balance of power is a pivotal aspect of realism in the analysis of international relations. Additionally, Carr (2001) argues that states are power-hungry entities and cannot be seen as morally responsible to each other; this would imply that both nations had an interest for there to

be any form of agreement. This section discusses one of the themes that cut across the interviewees, which is the national interest and mutual benefits of the two nations.

While some of the respondents argued that the US would benefit more from the agreement, others felt that the agreement signaled a win-win relationship for both parties which motivated the parties to sign the agreement. In the words of two of the respondents, one security analyst and a Rear Admiral respectively:

"We aim for a win-win relationship, but it's up to us to define how it benefits us... it's incumbent upon us to assess how it benefits us." – Respondent 06

"So, the two nations necessarily must consider what will be their gain from the agreement. In this particular instance, we can talk of the US and Ghana achieving a win-win situation or win-win benefit from the agreement." Respondent 12

One of the respondents, an international relations expert, also mentions that this is not the first time that the US would go into such an agreement; he further notes that anytime two nations sign such a form of agreement, there is always a mutual interest.

"So, the United States of America has had a similar defense agreement with some nations around the world. And anytime a nation or group of nations decides to sign such a security agreement or military agreement, they are convinced that it is in their mutual interest." – Respondent 12

Another respondent, a Rear Admiral in the Ghana Navy, specifically mentions how Ghana would benefit in terms of monitoring installations in reconnaissance as the nation lacks a maritime patrol aircraft. He explains that although the US has their interests, the periodic patrol along the borders

and maritime domain of Ghana US would be beneficial to Ghana but it would also affect the sovereignty of the nation.

6.1.5 Fight Against Terrorism and Regional Security

Barry Buzan claims that the idea of a "regional security complex" counteracts power theories' propensity to downplay the significance of the regional level in matters of international security (2003). According to Buzan, a region represents a unique and important subsystem of security ties between a group of states that are physically confined to one another. High degrees of interdependence, numerous interactions, and shared vulnerabilities and sensitivities are assumed by this subsystem. Security complexes cannot become self-contained since transnational threats including terrorism, international crime, drug trafficking, illegal migration, and environmental degradation cross territories.

This framework emphasizes understanding security dynamics at the regional level rather than solely focusing on global or national perspectives. In the fight against terrorism, regional security complexes highlight the interconnectedness and interdependence among states within a particular geographic region. Terrorist threats often transcend national borders, necessitating collaborative efforts among neighboring countries to effectively address them. Taking West Africa as an example, where the Boko Haram terrorist group has invaded parts of Nigeria, states share common sensitivities and vulnerabilities to extremist ideologies, insurgencies, and terrorist activities. This shared security environment fosters a sense of mutual dependence among these states in combating terrorism, hence the need for the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA).

David Lake and Patrick Morgan's (2010) concept of regional security underscores the importance of understanding security dynamics at the regional level in the fight against terrorism. Most interviews revealed heightened concerns about terrorism following events like September 11 and

subsequent movements of jihadist groups into the region. Respondents suggest genuine worry about Ghana becoming a target for terrorist attacks, as neighboring countries like Nigeria have experienced attacks from groups like Boko Haram. Additionally, Burkina Faso, a neighboring country, has been destabilized by terrorism. Since terrorism is an international crime, the U.S. is committed to fighting it, and Ghana may be exposed to these attacks. Hence, it would be in the interest of both the U.S. and Ghana to enter into a defense agreement to counter any attacks in the region. A member of parliament from the select committee of security and defense, a Professor of Political Science at the University of Ghana, and a Former Defense Minister shared their thoughts, respectively:

"I think the factors that led to signing this agreement were a result of certain security issues happening globally at that time, such as the September 11 attacks and terrorism." - Respondent 08

"The jihadists, terrorists after 9/11 had moved to North Africa, and Al-Shabaab had its terrorist group there, mostly through the maritime domain, coming through the Cape of South Africa and heading towards the Gulf of Guinea. They would need surveillance and visibility in those areas." – Respondent 09

"The strategic location of Ghana within the Gulf of Guinea makes it a strategic zone from which counterterrorism operational activities can take place." - Respondent 04

International Relations and African Security Scholar, University of Ghana, and a Security Analyst emphasized collaboration in fighting extremism and terrorism. They argue that to prevent destabilization in the West African region, there must be teamwork to counter the threat posed by

terrorism. This collaboration to counter terrorism is one of the main factors considered in signing the agreement.

"...the common interest of fighting terrorism in the West African Sub-region was the immediate reason upon which the agreement was signed." - Respondent 05

"I do believe that, as the name suggests, cooperation, armies do not operate in isolation. So, there is a need for collaboration..." – Respondent 06

6.1.6 Historical Context and Previous Agreements

In the context of traditional studies, defense is often considered as protecting the state from external physical threats, and one of the ways to achieve state defense goals is through defense diplomatic relations (Setiyanto, 2015). Four factors and values were found to be included in the definition of defense diplomacy by Cottey and Forster (2013): possible enemy, peacetime, defense instrument, and national interest. There has long been a standard set of procedures for diplomatic relations between nations, with the need to keep in touch in order to promote communication between states and eventually achieve diplomatic recognition. This recognition can be of the state but not necessarily of the government, or vice versa. Such recognition typically indicates that a government controls the predetermined national territory and that official avenues of contact are beneficial to the other nation, rather than serving as a moral seal of approval. Severing ties may be an indication of impending conflict or, more frequently, of strong dissatisfaction.

Given this perspective, an agreement would merely be an extension of the diplomatic ties that Ghana and the US have had since 1957 in order to accomplish state defense and collective security. One of the topics identified from the interviews is reviewed in this section. According to the interviews, several participants thought that the signing of the DCA between Ghana and the United

States had a historical background. They contend that since Ghana and the United States have historically had some sort of agreement, it was only fitting that the two countries sign the pact. The opinions of a member of parliament and a security and defense select committee were exchanged, respectively:

"Apart from what I mentioned regarding global security happenings, I think the other aspect was to have some kind of collaboration between the two countries because Ghana and the US have been partners for some time over the years now." - Respondent 08

Others also share the view that as a sovereign state, Ghana has always entered into various kinds of defense agreements with other countries, so entering into any form of agreement with the US would not be a new thing. Another respondent, a former Defense Minister, further emphasizes that a defense agreement is an integral part of many sovereign countries, and as an independent nation, Ghana has entered into different defense agreements since its independence, so this agreement with the US would only be a continuation of that norm.

"Defense agreements have been an important part of many sovereign countries over the years, and Ghana since independence has always had defense pacts with several countries." – Respondent 04

6.1.7 Democratic Governance and Stability

The nature of the political system is emphasized as a key factor influencing state behavior in one of the most popular state-level approaches. One concept, for instance, is that authoritarian political systems act differently from democracies. This is the same idea behind the Theory of the Democratic Peace, a key element of the present national security strategy of the United States. The

United States' desire to support more democracies worldwide as a means of enhancing systemic peace and stability is understandable if the democratic peace thesis is correct.

The concept of the "democratic peace" theory posits that democracies tend to avoid conflict with one another, leading to greater international peace and stability. This theory is grounded in the belief that democratic governments, characterized by free and fair elections, rule of law, protection of individual rights, and mechanisms for peaceful conflict resolution, are less likely to engage in aggressive behavior towards other democracies (Russett et al., 1995). Democracies often share common values such as respect for human rights, the rule of law, and peaceful dispute resolution. These shared norms create a foundation for mutual understanding and cooperation among democratic nations. Based on the premise that Ghana and the United States are both democratic nations, they share common values, and the DCA would only serve as a foundation for mutual understanding and collaboration.

Some respondents also point out that the recognition of Ghana's democratic governance and stability was an influencing factor in the U.S. decision to sign the agreement. This implies that the U.S. might have been more inclined to engage with a democratic and stable country, of which Ghana was a perfect example. In the words of a former Defense Minister and Rear Admiral of the Ghanaian Navy, respectively, their perspectives highlight the strategic importance of engaging with democratic nations for the purpose of strengthening international peace and security.

Further support for the democratic peace theory can be found in works by Doyle (1986), who argued that the spread of democracy reduces the likelihood of war between democratic states, reinforcing the rationale for the U.S. to support democratic governance abroad. Additionally, Russett and Oneal (2001) present empirical evidence showing that democracies are less likely to

engage in militarized disputes with one another, further justifying the U.S.'s efforts to foster democratic values in its foreign policy:

"Ghana was also seen as the oasis of peace and an example of democracy, and that also influenced their choice." - Respondent 04

"Ghana was also seen as the oasis of peace and an example of democracy, and that also influenced their choice." – Respondent 02

Two respondents, a Senior Law lecturer and former Defense Minister and a Rear Admiral of the Ghana Navy argue that Ghana's reputation as an oasis of peace and a democratic example played a role in the decision. Democratic governance in Ghana was perceived as more favorable for cooperation, as opposed to a military regime, influencing the US choice.

6.1.8 Benefits in Terms of Joint Military Training and Education

Scholars have proposed that a variety of relationships can be described by formal and informal, institutional, and behavioral characteristics in relation to cooperation (Walt, 1987). Bilateral DCAs are the most prevalent type of institutionalized defense cooperation, claims Kinne (2018). He contends that by creating extensive defense-oriented legal frameworks among signatories, these formal agreements promote collaboration in core domains like research and development, joint military exercises, education and training, arms procurement, defense policy coordination, and the sharing of classified information.

Military training entails carrying out operations together, sharing weapons, technology, and even classrooms. Military commanders have long held the notion that military training is necessary to prevent individuals from entering harm's way and to perform physically and mentally demanding

tasks at the highest level of proficiency. This requirement is a defining characteristic of military training (Dupuy & Dupuy, 1977).

However, joint military training is conceptualized as a latent, underlying feature of a dyad that manifests itself in numerous observable ways, ranging from formal alliances to military education and exchange programs. Joint military training leads to a linking of security issues among states, and states become increasingly responsible for the security of one another (D'orazio, 2014). Against this backdrop, both Ghana and the United States would seek to benefit from the DCA by enhancing their security through joint military training and education.

From the interviews conducted, most respondents allude to the fact that Ghana would enjoy joint military training and education as a benefit from the agreement. A Professor in Political Science and International Relations specifically mentions that Ghana would learn new things from joint military exercises, although it would come at the cost of exposing the strengths and weaknesses of the Ghanaian military.

"In terms of the exercises, we learn something new from them. The joint military exercises. They also learn from us. While we also want to get something new from them, they know our strengths and weaknesses." – Respondent 01

A ranking member on the Interior and Defense Committee of parliament, however, argues that joint military exercises would benefit both parties, as American troops would learn Ghana's jungle warfare, and Ghana's military would also learn something from them.

"The benefits are mutual. They are not exclusive to Ghana. Because when you send American troops to our jungle warfare school, often times they learn from our forces, and our forces learn from them." – Respondent 03

A Security Analyst, Member of Parliament, and Member of Committee of Interior and Defense also highlight the equipment benefits that come with the agreement. They explain that Ghana would be provided with some equipment as a result of the agreement, although they feel the equipment would not be sufficient for the Ghanaian military. A Professor in Political Science and Peace and Security at Kofi Annan International Peace and Training Center further explains that the approach used by the Government of Ghana was that they would get some logistics and training from the agreement. The specific example of archery training and some courses for women was mentioned by Major General as benefits of the agreement.

"Well, in terms of training, it's beneficial because every now and then, they come in, they go into Achiase, they go into other jungle areas to train. Every now and then, our military officers are sent to American bases all over the world to receive training. In terms of equipment, I know they are providing us with some equipment, but some of us feel that there should have been more equipment." – Respondent 09

"Yes, proponents of the agreement, especially the defense minister, argue that there are benefits to be gained, such as equipment and training." – Respondent 07

"The defense in terms of training equipment, in terms of the equipment, I'll say yes this year. In the unlikely issue, you can use it to assist the country. So, that's one. Secondly, the training that they are having in Ghana, is also assisting our local people to learn, to get to know new things." – Respondent 08

"So, after the transition, things have improved gradually, particularly with training and equipment, transfer, acquisition, and positioning. It's been encouraging, where minimum courses are provided for Ghanaian officers and women. For example, "aquota," archery.

Those were some of the things that the Ghana Armed Forces benefited from those times."

– Respondent 15

'I mean, the Ghana government's approach then was, well look, we are getting logistics we're getting the equipment we are getting some training'" – Respondent 14

6.2 THE UNITED STATES' DEFENSE COOPERATION'S IMPLICATIONS ON GHANA'S SOVEREIGNTY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

As previously stated, the main objective is to assess the United States' Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) with Ghana and its implications on Ghana's sovereignty and national security under Ghana's Fourth Republic through the lens of critical security studies philosophy. The chapter presents and analyzes the data. It seeks to answer research questions two and three of this study and examines the key implications of the Defense Cooperation Agreement. The analysis and discussion will be based on the theoretical framework of Critical Security Studies (CSS). According to Krause and Williams (2015,), who present the core assumptions of critical security, the main players in the world are social constructs and products of complex historical processes that include social, political, material, and ideational dimensions. They also argue that these actors are constituted and reconstituted through political practices that create and share social understanding. Furthermore, they emphasize that international politics evolves through social processes, which is not static but continually changing. All these assumptions cut across the various approaches of CSS.

According to CSS, the main players in international politics, such as states, are viewed as social constructs. In the case of Ghana and the United States, their relationship within the framework of

defense cooperation is not simply a matter of two static entities engaging with each other, but rather a dynamic interplay influenced by historical legacies, power dynamics, and socio-political factors. Critical Security Studies emphasizes emancipation from state-centric security, asserting that the interests of actors in international politics are continually constituted and reconstituted through political practices. This suggests that the nature of the defense cooperation between the United States and Ghana is not predetermined but subject to negotiation, contestation, and reinterpretation over time. The terms of the defense agreement, including the presence of U.S. military personnel or assets on Ghanaian soil, are shaped by the political processes and power dynamics within both countries, as well as broader regional and global factors.

CSS posits that international politics evolves through social processes rather than being static or predetermined. This implies that the implications of defense cooperation between Ghana and the United States on Ghana's sovereignty and national security are not fixed or immutable but are contingent upon changing social, economic, and political dynamics. As the global security environment shifts and as domestic priorities and perceptions evolve within Ghana, the nature and implications of the defense relationship with the United States may also change. Applying these core assumptions of CSS to the situation, one can argue that the defense cooperation between Ghana and the United States cannot be understood solely in terms of military hardware, training programs, or strategic objectives. Rather, it is embedded within a complex web of social, political, and historical factors that shape the perceptions, interests, and actions of both countries. The extent to which this cooperation enhances or undermines Ghana's sovereignty and national security depends on how it is negotiated, implemented, and contested within the context of these broader dynamics. This critical perspective invites a deeper analysis of the underlying power relations,

discourses, and social practices that underpin the defense cooperation agreement and its implications for Ghana's autonomy and security.

It should be noted that all states have their core or vital interests, and the most readily seen and agreed upon are the basic survival interests of the nation-state: its territory, its people, and its sovereignty. A country that is unable to exercise effective control over its territory and its people, relatively free from the intrusion of other nation-states into its internal affairs, is lacking in this critical element of sovereignty. Historically, states and their people have been willing to risk much, including deaths and destruction, in order to protect their sovereign rights.

In the case of America, there is some agreement as to what constitutes their vital interests which also constitutes its sovereignty. Current US policy, as formulated in the most recent version of the national security strategy, identifies three broad categories of interests which include: protecting the lives and safety of Americans, maintaining the sovereignty of its values, promoting the prosperity and well-being of the nation and its people.

This section seeks to discuss the implications of the DCA on Ghana's Sovereignty. The themes identified under this section were based on two questions posed to interviewees. These questions sought to solicit their understanding of the implications of the DCA on Ghana's Sovereignty. The questions asked were: (1) How is the Defense Cooperation Agreement going to affect Ghana's sovereignty?

6.2.1 Legal Implications and National Sovereignty

Makinda (1998) explained Judicial Sovereignty as the legal identity of the state. By utilizing a critical security studies perspective, we can examine the intricacies of sovereignty and legal ramifications in Ghana's Defense Cooperation Agreement with the United States. This approach

challenges conventional notions surrounding sovereignty and legality by recognizing their social constructivism and frequent subjugation to the dominant entities' agendas.

One can contend that there exist power asymmetries and legal sovereignty issues inherent in the DCA, as per critical security studies. The arrangement seemingly endows U.S. military personnel and contractors with significant legal impunity at Ghana's expense, thereby placing limitations on its autonomy over laws. This disparate setup contradicts the notion of equitable international jurisprudence among nations while reinforcing a system where dominant states' interests (in this case, those of America) supersede weaker ones like Ghana's rights. The exemption made for U.S. personnel from Ghanaian legal jurisdiction leaves room for violations of local laws to go without punishment, thus eroding the nation's sovereignty regarding justice matters. This ultimately undermines the country's ability to enforce its own laws within its borders, leading critics to point out these challenges faced by Ghana as a result.

Krause and Williams (2015) highlight the significance of human security and citizen rights in critical security studies. Conditions set forth in this agreement, which include absolution for American soldiers from legal repercussions as well as suppressed jurisdiction on Ghana's part, may expose civilians to harm with no access to justice. This absence of responsibility undermines the government's obligation towards safeguarding its citizens while also eroding its authority against promoting their welfare within its territory.

According to critical security studies, this form of judicial exclusion can obscure the actions of influential individuals or organizations and restrict public oversight. The DCA's decision not to document deliberate criminal acts may conceal wrongdoing by American personnel, thwarting Ghana's mechanisms for transparency and accountability. This lack of clarity weakens the state's

sovereignty as it hinders its ability to hold those operating within its borders responsible for their actions.

To sum up, critical security studies offer a structured approach to comprehend how the Defense Cooperation Agreement signed between Ghana and the United States weakens Ghana's independence via unequal power dynamics, legal disability, violation of citizen rights, and lack of transparency in accountability procedures. Shedding light on these aspects emphasizes the importance of scrutinizing security and legal agreements affecting states' sovereignty as well as their citizens' welfare through a critical lens. This section discusses one of the themes identified from the responses of the interviewees on the implication of the DCA on sovereignty.

From the interview responses, judicial incapacitation and ousted jurisdiction were highlighted as threats to the sovereignty of Ghana. An MP and a ranking member on the interior and defense committee of Parliament suggested that the agreement presented some form of incapacitation on the part of Ghana's judicial system, such that it could not address issues of abuse of rights of Ghanaian citizens. This restriction on the sovereignty of the host nation means that Ghana's courts are rendered ineffective or completely incapacitated when it comes to addressing abuses perpetrated by entities associated with the United States government.

"Whether rights are abused of the host nation, citizens of the host nation's rights are abused or not, they are placed beyond the reach of our judicial system. That too compromises our sovereignty, meaning you have a situation whereby the courts of the land are rendered ineffective or they are completely incapacitated when it comes to looking into issues of abuse and all that perpetrated by the so-called partner ... Yes, so in other words, the jurisdiction of our courts is completely ousted so far as the agreement is concerned." - Respondent 03

The respondent further argues that in the DCA, Ghanaian courts' jurisdiction was not accepted in events of abuses committed by the US military on Ghanaian soil, which is a clear infringement on the foundation of Ghanaian sovereignty.

"Well, I think we earlier touched on this particular point. We are looking at an agreement which does not accept the jurisdiction of Ghanaian courts in the event of abuses committed by elements associated with the United States government in the course of the presentation of the agreement. So be it contractors or even military personnel directly deployed on our soil. They are not amenable to the jurisdiction of our courts. That is the foundation of our sovereignty." – Respondent 03

A Professor in Political Science and Foreign policy at the University of Ghana suggested that because of this lack of judicial capacity, the US military could act with impunity. He argues that nothing could be done to any US military personnel who deliberately decide to go against Ghanaian laws, which would have dire implications for Ghana's sovereignty.

"If something happens if somebody from his own country comes to misbehave here and you can't do anything. If a person runs afoul of your law with impunity, you can't do anything to that person." – Respondent 16

Legal aspects of the Defense Cooperation Agreement, such as immunity for U.S. soldiers and limitations on Ghana's legal jurisdiction, are identified by a Rear Admiral in the Ghana Navy as potential threats to Ghana's sovereignty.

"It is also the case that when a crime is committed, you can't try any US soldier on our soil... The agreement says that we cannot take it to any court anywhere. Does that suggest

to you that the matter of sovereignty one way or the other, where you define that sovereignty means that your country has a position of making decisions on its own?" – Respondent 02

A Professor of Political Science at University of Ghana, highlighted how the DCA affects the sovereignty of Ghana by infringing on citizens' rights. He argues that any injury to Ghanaian civilians by the US military can be dismissed as an accident, giving license to the US military to behave however they want on Ghanaian soil.

"I mean, it goes without saying that if something happens if somebody from his own country comes to misbehave here and you can't do anything. If a person runs afoul of your law with impunity you can't do anything to that person. That's a serious affront to your nonexistent sovereignty. If an accident occurs, it's an accident. If you have your limb injured, it's up to you." – Respondent 17

An interviewee, an MP and member of the interior defense Committee, suggested that the DCA would involve not including certain criminal activities in a record-keeping system. This could apply to various contexts such as financial records, employment background checks, or legal documentation. By specifying "willful criminal acts," the respondent is likely referring to intentional or deliberate wrongdoing. This indicates that the DCA excludes offenses that were committed purposefully, as opposed to accidental or unintentional actions that resulted in a criminal offense. This could have implications for accountability, transparency, and possibly legal or regulatory compliance in various industries or sectors, thereby affecting the sovereignty of the nation.

"There's a possibility of a mandate that excludes criminal acts, willful criminal acts that cannot be exempt from our books." – Respondent 20

In sum, the implications of the DCA on Ghana's sovereignty are significant, particularly in terms of judicial incapacitation, legal impunity, and the erosion of citizen rights. By granting U.S. military personnel immunity from local laws, the agreement undermines Ghana's judicial system and its capacity to uphold the rights of its citizens. This reality is made clearer when juxtaposed with the critical security studies theory (Dos Santos, 1970, p. 42), which highlights how developing countries like Ghana may enter agreements that compromise their sovereignty due to unequal power relations.

The DCA, therefore, not only reflects an imbalance in military power but also reinforces the vulnerability of weaker states to external pressures that subordinate their legal and judicial frameworks. In the context of critical security studies, the DCA's provisions exemplify how legal agreements can serve as tools for powerful states to advance their interests while compromising the sovereignty and rights of weaker states. This underscores the importance of critically examining such agreements to assess their long-term implications on national autonomy, legal independence, and the protection of citizens' rights.

6.2.2 Information Exposure and Security Risks

The Westphalian regime redefines critical security studies on the basis of the significance of power dynamics and their impact on relationships between nations. The DCA agreement raises concerns about Ghana's vulnerability, as it grants access to sensitive information regarding its defense strategy to the United States. This exchange of unequal information puts Ghana in a position that compromises its sovereignty, making it dependent on America and hindering its ability to safeguard national interests independently.

Biersteker and Webber (1996) define sovereignty as a social construct. Lending to that argument, critical security studies also view security and sovereignty as notions that are not restricted to

military dangers; instead, they are products of societal influences and actors. The DCA threatens Ghanaian security in ways beyond just defense forces, as information and intelligence might also be compromised. This event challenges conventional beliefs about protection only being related to military defenses while highlighting how safeguarding digital infrastructure forms an integral component of overall security practices at all levels within a nation-state context.

CSS emphasizes the impact of identities and perceptions in shaping security discourses and practices. This is true regarding Ghana's perception of the United States' potential threat due to power asymmetry resulting from the DCA. One can discern an intricate interplay of power dynamics, social constructs of security, and threat perceptions. Through this lens, it becomes evident that these factors offer profound insights into how the agreement impacts Ghana's sovereignty as well as national stability.

Two respondents, a Professor in Political Science and International Relations at the University of Winneba and a security analyst, argued that the DCA exposes sensitive information to the US, potentially compromising Ghana's security by revealing vulnerabilities and strengths in the country's defense strategy. This has major implications for the sovereignty of the nation because the US has access to information that should only be privy to the Ghanaian government. Due to this, a security analyst (Interviewee 12) mentions that the US could destabilize the country if they decide to, as they have all the necessary information, thanks to the agreement. This puts Ghana at the mercy of the US, which is a major implication for Ghana's sovereignty and national security.

"If the US wants to strike Ghana, they know where we will become defenseless. They have access to your armory and know the type of armory you have." – Respondent 01

"So, what it means is that the protocol, some intelligence because then we sit here, we don't know where they are entering, how much information they are picking and all that. Because the more information they pick about you, it means that if at any given point they even decide, I'm not saying they will, but if they decide to destabilize this country, they know how to do it... you don't know who you're talking to." – Respondent 06

A respondent, an International Relations and Security Analyst at Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), suggests that the US has access to Ghana's national security communications, as they can use the radio spectrum, which is part of Ghana's infrastructure, to tap into Ghana's communication network. One major part of a nation's sovereignty is its classified information and communications network, and any form of external access to this would infringe and undermine the nation's sovereignty. Therefore, if, because of the Defense Cooperation Agreement, the US can tap into Ghana's national security communications, then it means the agreement has serious implications for the sovereignty and national security of Ghana.

"If in your country there's cooperation that brings another country that has superior weaponry, indirectly your security preparedness for defense is weakened. So, in a way, Ghana's security is more compromised than being strengthened in this circumstance. The radio spectrum can be used, which is part of Ghana's infrastructure. But what all this means is that they can tap into our national security communications and all kinds of things." – Respondent 05

6.2.3 Restricted Access and Territorial Sovereignty

The Critical Security Studies theoretical framework deviates from traditional notions of security and emphasizes the significance of scrutinizing power dynamics, identity, and social constructions in matters pertaining to security. The CSS underscores the importance of territorial sovereignty in

statehood and security. The DCA by extension seems to grant significant authority over Ghana's terrain to America. This unfair distribution of influence undermines both autonomy and independence as it restricts Ghana from overseeing its own territory effectively. Critical security studies as described by Buzan highlights the impact of identity and national narratives on shaping notions of security threats. A CSS perspective on the restricted access and territorial sovereignty concerns within the DCA unveils intricate power dynamics, ambiguous agreements, and identity-based notions of security threats. Thoroughly scrutinizing these aspects reveals that Ghana's security and national interests are intricately tied to questions surrounding autonomy and sovereignty in relation to this agreement. This section discusses responses from the interviewees on the theme of Restricted Access and Territorial Sovereignty.

In the context of the agreement, it is mentioned that Ghana is to allocate a place for American military forces. One of the respondents, a Major General argues that this provision is akin to ceding Ghana's territory to America, which he considers a detrimental move for Ghana. He suggests that even the Ghanaian President doesn't have access to enter the ceded territory.

"In the agreement, it talks about the fact that when such a place is given to the American military force, our president is not allowed, neither do our military forces have the right to enter. That's suicidal in my view. That's a bad agreement to have. I think it's also a very bad provision. We're ceding our territorial sovereignty to them." – Respondent 15

"The effects are manifold. Firstly, if you examine the agreement, it contains provisions that stipulate that even the President of Ghana has no right to visit US soldiers on Ghanaian soil without their prior permission." – Respondent 07

A respondent, a Lecturer in International Relations and Security Analyst at Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), highlighted concerns related to sovereignty and the potential consequences of unclear terms regarding US military operations within Ghana's borders. He suggests that the terms are ambiguous or not well-defined, leading to uncertainty about the rights, responsibilities, and limitations of the US military. He warns that in the absence of clear terms, the US may exploit Ghana's resources without appropriate oversight or regulation, undermining Ghana's sovereignty.

"If there's a country coming into your jurisdiction, and the terms of its coming are not clear, it will choose to use any of your resources, whether it's building roads or to the extent that Ghanaians will not be allowed to go into those areas, then your sovereignty is at stake." –

Respondent 05

In this analysis, the DCA emerges not only as a defense agreement but as a manifestation of deeper social and power dynamics, wherein Ghana's sovereignty is redefined through its relationship with the United States. The restricted access to certain parts of Ghanaian territory, the ambiguity regarding the terms of the agreement, and the provision of legal immunities to US personnel all suggest a broader shift in Ghana's sovereignty, which must be critically examined. By juxtaposing these primary concerns with secondary data and the theoretical insights of CSS, it becomes clear that the DCA is not just a military arrangement but a reflection of how global power relations can reshape national identities and security practices.

6.2.4 Compromised Sovereignty through Unimpeded Access

Since the end of World War II, sovereignty has been associated principally with territory, population, state, and government, as well as the nonintervention norm. To CSS theorists, human rights, the environment, and international law are all legitimate items that underscore sovereignty.

The UN charter speaks volumes about the protection of individuals as it does about the territorial sovereignty of states. CSS scholars recognize the imbalanced power dynamics involved in arrangements that give unrestricted entry to military base facilities. This highlights a consistent CSS criticism of hegemonic actions by dominant countries trying to expand their sway over more vulnerable states. Securitization refers to altering specific issues as crucial threats necessitating extreme measures, resulting in augmented state authority and reduced civil liberties. In this instance, while the agreement's terms may be perceived as indispensable for safety reasons, some scholars within CSS would challenge if such actions truly enhance protection or merely fulfill dominant state interests. From the responses of the interviewees, this section discusses the theme: Compromised Sovereignty through Unimpeded Access as one of the implications of the DCA on Ghana's Sovereignty.

A respondent, a member of Parliament and a ranking member on the interior and defense committee, suggests that allowing unimpeded access to military facilities undermines the sovereign status of the host nation. Granting such access could be seen as relinquishing control over these facilities, thereby compromising the host nation's sovereignty. One of the respondents, a Law Lecturer and former Defense Minister, emphasizes the security risks associated with granting unimpeded access, raising concerns about potential threats to the host nation's interests when they conflict with those of the United States.

"You have an agreement which purports to grant unimpeded access to certain military facilities of the host nation... That undermines our sovereign status as a country." – Respondent 03

"It will affect, like many other initiatives, it is just one among many, because the American advanced military technology is of such a nature that even giving them the right of

unimpeded passage through your country to a third country, by itself is a security risk." –

Respondent 04

A Former Major General in the Ghana Armed Forces expresses concerns about the agreement's terms being skewed in favor of the United States rather than the host country, potentially leading to resentment and questioning the motivations behind the agreement. A Professor in Political Science and Security Studies at Kofi Annan International Peace Training Centre introduces worries about unwritten instructions allowing others to pass through the host country's territory, indicating a lack of transparency and clarity in the agreement.

"One of our concerns has been that if you looked at the terms of the agreement, it is carved in such a way that all the benefits or the majority go to the US rather than to the host country...soldiers driving in uniform around having free access...Gives us a lot to think about." – Respondent 13

"My real worry is the unwritten instructions that also allow others to pass." – Respondent 14.

In regards to globalization and transnational governance, Critical Security Studies (CSS) experts such as Ronnie Lipschutz and Saskia Sassen would likely examine the United States–Ghana Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) through the lens of global economic processes and power relations. Lipschutz (1992) argues that security agreements like the DCA are often closely tied to broader economic structures and norms, particularly through mechanisms like customs waivers and reciprocity. These provisions, as highlighted by the Major General, reveal how security agreements intersect with global economic processes, influencing not just military operations but also trade, resource flows, and local economies.

However, skeptics of these agreements, such as Sassen (1996), contend that they reinforce uneven power dynamics, favoring dominant nations at the expense of weaker states and local communities. From a CSS perspective, this critique emphasizes how such deals often perpetuate a system where the interests of powerful countries, like the United States, overshadow those of less powerful nations, undermining their sovereignty and reinforcing global inequalities. This perspective is critical when analyzing the implications of the DCA on Ghana, as it underscores the risks of local communities and national interests being subordinated to the interests of foreign powers.

6.2.5 Diplomatic Immunity and Exemptions

Diplomacy is one of the many instruments that governments utilize in pursuit of their national interests. However, it must be noted that diplomacy does not function in isolation from other instruments of power, such as military, economic, intelligence gathering and operations, and cultural or information "soft power." Diplomats have special advantages, such as possessing significant knowledge of personalities and national cultural styles.

Scholars in the Critical Security Studies (CSS) discipline, such as David Campbell and Ole Wæver, emphasize that agreements like the DCA reveal imbalanced power dynamics between nations. By providing US military personnel with diplomatic immunity and exceptions, the agreement constitutes a form of "structural violence," demonstrating how dominant countries prioritize their interests over weaker ones (Campbell, 1992). This compromises Ghana's authority to enforce its laws while also undermining its sovereignty—reflecting Wæver's notion of "securitization," where problems are constructed as security threats to justify extraordinary measures (Wæver, 1995).

CSS scholars like Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen would examine the methods of communication used to justify the terms outlined in the DCA. The likening of American military personnel to diplomats serves as an effort to position their advantages within customary diplomatic standards,

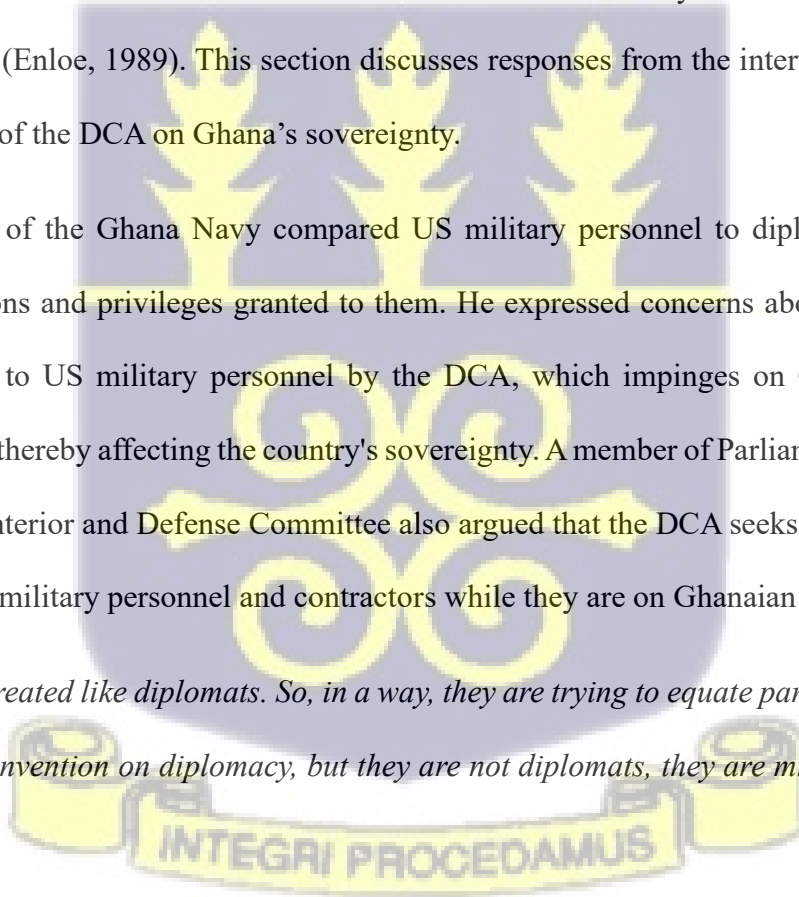
thereby validating their exceptional status (Buzan et al., 1998). However, examining the admission protocols and exclusions accentuates how these discourses are open for debate, revealing contradictions between the language used in the agreement and its hidden, authentic outcomes (Hansen, 2000).

CSS scholars would also investigate how the DCA influences national identities and resistance movements in Ghana, extrapolating from the writings of Cynthia Enloe and J. Ann Tickner on identity and resistance. Attention should be drawn to the potential pushback against the perceived encroachment on sovereignty, as evidenced by exemptions for embassy premises (Tickner, 1992). It follows that the threats associated with the DCA related to security matters may compromise national identity (Enloe, 1989). This section discusses responses from the interviewees on one of the implications of the DCA on Ghana's sovereignty.

A Rear Admiral of the Ghana Navy compared US military personnel to diplomats, noting the similar exemptions and privileges granted to them. He expressed concerns about the diplomatic immunity given to US military personnel by the DCA, which impinges on Ghana's ability to enforce its laws, thereby affecting the country's sovereignty. A member of Parliament and a ranking member of the Interior and Defense Committee also argued that the DCA seeks to grant a form of immunity to US military personnel and contractors while they are on Ghanaian soil.

"They are to be treated like diplomats. So, in a way, they are trying to equate part of the agreement to the Vienna Convention on diplomacy, but they are not diplomats, they are military personnel."

– Respondent 02



"Yes. I mean, certain military installations clearly, I mean, and then you have the agreement I mean which also seeks to grant immunity to soldiers or even contractors, agents of the United States government whilst they are residents in this country." – Respondent 03

One respondent, a Major General questioned the provision that denies Ghanaian authorities the right to search materials brought in by American military forces, drawing a comparison with embassy premises. He argues that such exemptions could have serious implications for the sovereignty and national security of Ghana.

"It doesn't make sense. You cannot be allowed that same freedom, even protocols about the infallibility of embassy premises." – Respondent 15

6.2.6 Land Use and Concessions

SS experts, namely Timothy Luke and Robyn Eckersley, would examine both the economic and environmental aspects of land-use concessions granted under the DCA. The assertion that such concessions promote stability and predictability aligns with Luke's view on security agreements serving as facilitators for resource extraction and infrastructure development (Luke, 1999). However, concerns about undisclosed risks associated with military operations in Ghanaian territory highlight potential environmental or social consequences—a concern echoed by Eckersley (2004).

A member of parliament and Chairman of the Interior and Defense Committee argued that the United States sought certain temporary concessions from Ghana, but these concessions would remain in force for the duration of the agreement, thus providing a degree of stability and predictability within the agreed-upon framework. He suggests that this strategy allows the United States to achieve its own strategic objectives or goals within the negotiation. This observation

mirrors Luke's argument that security agreements often embed economic and infrastructural advantages for more powerful states, thereby fostering conditions that allow them to pursue their interests while maintaining a degree of stability.

The juxtaposition of primary data, such as the Member of Parliament's insights into the long-term nature of the concessions, with secondary data from Luke and Eckersley, deepens the analysis of the DCA. By exploring the balance between stability and risk, it becomes clear that while the agreement provides a predictable framework for the U.S., the undisclosed risks linked to military operations on Ghanaian soil point to broader implications for national sovereignty and environmental well-being.

Through this lens, we can analyze how the DCA facilitates the United States' access to Ghana's resources and infrastructure, while potentially exposing the country to ecological and social risks that may not have been fully accounted for in the agreement. The concerns raised by both the Member of Parliament and the secondary scholars emphasize how such agreements often come with hidden costs that can undermine the long-term security and sustainability of weaker states like Ghana.

"The United States in the negotiations demanded certain concessions which are not permanent but for the life of the agreement." – Respondent 18

6.2.7 Specific Clauses and Entry Restrictions

Critical security scholars emphasize how wording and communication shape security strategies and results, revealing that unclear phrasing within this agreement could give rise to opportunistic behavior from the United States government by exploiting local resources or infringing on Ghana's

jurisdiction without proper supervision or regulation. The presence of ambiguity instills uncertainty which may undermine Ghana's capability to protect its own interests effectively.

Some respondents highlight various aspects of clauses in the DCA that could potentially lead to hidden dangers or negative consequences. A Major General in the Ghanaian Army pointed out specific clauses in the Defense Cooperation Agreement that affect entry procedures for US soldiers, highlighting the potential disparity between the agreement and conventional diplomatic rules.

"It is embedded in the agreement that the US soldier can enter Ghana using only their ID cards... They are not subject to any search... So, in a way, they are trying to equate part of the agreement to the Vienna Convention on diplomacy, but they are not diplomats, they are military personnel." – Respondent 09

A Professor in Political Science and Foreign Policy at University of Ghana suggested that while the DCA may seem beneficial on the surface, there could be hidden dangers or risks within them that are not immediately apparent. A Professor of Political Science at the University of Ghana raised concerns about certain clauses, particularly omnibus clauses, in the DCA, which might initially seem beneficial but could inadvertently encourage or provide a platform for US military personnel to engage in improper behavior or actions. A Professor of International Relations and Security Studies at Ghana Armed Forces and Command College suggested that specific clauses related to military personnel driving vehicles without proper identification impinge on Ghana's sovereignty, posing risks or dangers that could lead to security breaches.

"... sometimes these tend to overshadow dangers that are hidden in some of these agreements." – Respondent 16

"If you have this clause, great, it is an omnibus clause, that can create a platform for people to want to misbehave." – Respondent 17

"You see American service personnel driving cars that don't have military numbers, and that's dangerous." – Respondent 19

Customs Waiver

A Major General in the Ghana Armed Forces explains the customs waiver, stating that it is related to the intended use of items for the benefit of Ghana. He also highlights reciprocity in recognizing military IDs and offering discounts.

"The issue with our customs has to do with the payment of customs duty because the usage of these items is meant for Ghana." – Respondent 21

6.2.8 Potential Threats During Pandemic

The treating of American military personnel to diplomats overlooked the possible implications it could have in the time of a pandemic. As an effort to structure their advantages within customary diplomatic standards while validating their exceptional position, exemption was given to the American military personnel as they were exempted from testing before entering the nation state of Ghana. Such Diplomatic exemptions infringe on the notion of sovereignty as argued by CSS scholars like Weaver. This is also a form of "structural violence," showing how the interest of dominant countries are prioritized over that of weaker ones (Campbell, 1992).

A Major General and a Rear Admiral of the Ghana Navy lamented on how the Defense Cooperation Agreement did not anticipate situations like a pandemic, and the potential issues this might pose as US military personnel will not be tested before entering the nation's borders. This

could mean the spread of the virus if any of the US military personnel is a carrier of the Covid-19 virus, highlighting another aspect affecting Ghana's sovereignty.

"I don't think the defense cooperation agreement contemplated things like that... Almost everybody was subject to scrutiny or testing at the airport, but my concern is what happens." – Respondent 02

6.2.9 Attraction of Threats and Vulnerabilities

Ghana's National Security response to security challenges driven by political instability is no longer adequate or effective due to the evolving threats and risk profiles faced by the country. The traditional limited defensive scope and posture must expand beyond solely defending territorial integrity, sovereign rights, and regime security in order to adequately respond. Ghana's historically traditional national security orientation needs adaptation as its narrow focus does not effectively address contemporary threats against the nation. The idea of security entails safeguarding the accepted standards, regulations, ethics, and establishments within a society. This includes maintaining the integrity of its political system as well. It should be emphasized that sovereignty is at the center of security concerns since it serves as a prerequisite (both in legal terms and practical aspect) for acknowledging any secure environment.

Critical security studies theorists promote a more comprehensive concept of security that goes beyond conventional military considerations to encompass areas such as environmental concerns, human rights, and global law. This broader outlook recognizes the possibility of threats against individuals and communities coming from multiple origins other than just direct armed conflict. Kolodziej (2005, p. 45) stresses the importance of a more comprehensive conceptual framework in security studies, one that integrates perspectives from various fields and theoretical approaches. Synthesizing interdisciplinary views enables analysts to gain deeper insights into the intricate

factors affecting present-day threats to security. Likewise, Buzan (1991) underscores the significance of acknowledging security's multifaceted nature and its political milieu. Security cannot be confined to military might alone but must involve economic, societal, and environmental spheres as well. Additionally, Buzan points out the paradoxes and uncertainties that arise when applying security concepts in world affairs, thus requiring a perceptive grasp to resolve current intricate issues proficiently.

In essence, Kolodziej and Buzan support a broader and more nuanced approach to security studies that considers various aspects such as human rights, the environment, international law, along with the political context. This inclusive outlook enables a comprehensive understanding of the contemporary world's security dynamics.

If we view security through the lens of Critical Security Studies (CSS), a theoretical framework that challenges conventional state-centric perspectives, we can examine the implications of the DCA on the national security of Ghana. CSS typically critiques mainstream approaches to security due to their narrow focus on military threats and national interests, while advocating for an inclusive conception of security encompassing social, economic, and environmental concerns. Proponents of the CSS theory also question power balances within global arrangements aimed at safeguarding peace and equity.

The works of Barry Buzan and Ole Waever (2003), prominent CSS scholars, would analyze the power dynamics involved in the DCA between Ghana and the United States. Against this backdrop, it follows that such agreements breed reliance on dominant nations like America, posing a risk to Ghana's independence and freedom when it comes to determining its security protocols.

Critical Security Studies would examine how security threats are formulated and presented within the DCA framework. This theory argues that Ghana runs the risk of framing certain issues as

military threats while aligning with US interests in its bid to secure itself. This may result in marginalizing other crucial aspects of security, such as development or human safety concerns. Also, CSS experts Ken Booth (2007) and Cynthia Enloe (2016) examine how the DCA impacts Ghana's national identity and subjectivity. Their works contend that prioritizing American security interests could influence Ghana's self-perception, shaping its role in global politics and possibly reinforcing some power structures while suppressing others.

The transnational security implications of the DCA for Ghana will be analyzed by CSS experts like David Campbell (1992) and Jef Huysmans (2000,) in light of globalization. They could contend that aligning with US security interests and permitting a US military presence within its borders intertwines Ghana into global security networks, making it susceptible to potential vulnerabilities or threats to transnational safety.

In this subsection, the responses of interviewees are discussed under the theme: Attraction of Threats and Vulnerabilities as one of the potential ramifications of the DCA on Ghana's national security. A member of Parliament and the Interior and Defense Committee suggested that the presence of US troops historically attracts anti-US forces such as ISIS and other hostile entities. This suggests that wherever US troops are deployed, they may become targets for these groups, which could potentially pose a security risk to Ghana. A Major General of the Ghana Armed Forces also mentioned that if Ghana is hosting a US military base within its borders, then it may attract the attention of its opponents, including groups like Al Qaeda and the Islamic State. This could make Ghana a target for attacks by these organizations, posing a serious threat to its national security.

"Historically, wherever US troops have been deployed, they have attracted anti-US forces. In other words, wherever they go, they become targets for groups like ISIS and other entities hostile to the United States." – Respondent 08

"Ghana attracts the eye of its opponents...Al Qaeda and the Islamic State, and now America has some base, we will become their target." – Respondent 13

Another Major General also raised a concern that the DCA could place Ghana in situations that threaten its defense policy. He suggests that the agreement may have implications for Ghana's ability to maintain its own defense priorities and strategies, which poses a significant threat to its national security.

"Let me grant the benefit of the doubt that the agreement also put us in a couple of areas where that would threaten our defense policy." – Respondent 15

A Professor of Political Science and Foreign Policy at the University of Ghana, also argues that being an American ally could make Ghana susceptible to terrorist attacks. This implies that by aligning itself with the US through the DCA, Ghana may inadvertently become a target for terrorist groups seeking to harm US interests. Another respondent, a Political Science lecturer, however, mentioned that although the presence of US forces may fortify Ghana's security, it could also make the country more vulnerable to terrorist attacks. This suggests a potential trade-off between enhanced security cooperation with the US and increased risks from terrorist threats. In this case, the natural security of Ghana is at risk.

"But the point is, some have also argued that if you're an American ally, you are susceptible to terrorist attack...our security, even though we may think is fortified, at the same time, it may have some trappings or invitations that attract others to want to compromise our security system." – Respondent 16

"They will tend to fortify our security...if you're an American ally, you are susceptible to terrorist attack." – Respondent 17

A former Defense Minister highlighted that the interoperability with US security institutions introduced by the DCA raises concerns about potential security risks. He suggests that Ghana's security could be compromised if the agreement is used against neighboring countries or other nations, potentially inviting retaliation or attacks on Ghana. This means that if the US military uses the DCA as a means of engaging neighboring countries through Ghana, it could backfire against Ghana and this poses a threat to the national security of Ghana.

"From the national security perspective, there is what you call interoperability with security institutions... So, all those become issues. So, you can't take a firm position now that no, this is a harmless situation. Because national and global developments can determine and they can be able to convert it to their strategic advantage if they're having problems with Ghana. If we allow it to be used one day as a base against any of our neighboring countries or any country in the world, we are opening the doors for other countries or other agents to also attack us." – Respondent 04

6.2.10 Loss of Control and Sovereignty

Critical Security Studies (CSS) examines how power dynamics contribute to dependency relationships seen in agreements such as the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA). Their analysis focuses on sovereignty and argues that foreign military bases can create an asymmetrical dynamic, leading host countries to surrender control over certain security aspects while undermining their ability to regulate activities on their territory effectively. Consequently, this relationship affects a country's independence by limiting its enforcement capabilities. Additionally, CSS examines how discourse on security threats validates the presence of foreign military forces

and rationalizes diminished sovereignty. They suggest that securitizing certain topics, like shielding against external dangers, may result in approving actions that breach national autonomy, such as granting impunity to overseas troops or permitting the unrestricted movement of militaristic resources.

The impact of foreign military bases on a nation's identity and subjectivity is studied by CSS experts such as Ken Booth (2007) and Cynthia Enloe (2001). They contend that the endorsement of foreign military presence may affect how the host country views its own autonomy and influence in global matters, which can cause conflicts between nationalist perspectives on authority and practical considerations for collaborating with external forces to ensure security.

Furthermore, scholars David Campbell (1992,) and Jef Huysmans (2000,) examine how globalization impacts sovereignty issues when dealing with foreign military bases. They suggest that in a world where countries are more interconnected, transnational security threats and the presence of international troops intensify challenges to national sovereignty. Additionally, this interaction underscores the intricate relationship between territorial supremacy and worldwide security trends. This section discusses the respondents' views on one of the implications of the DCA on Ghana's National Security.

A Rear Admiral in the Ghana Navy raised the issue that hosting a foreign military base may result in a loss of control over the armament and other materials brought into the country by the US military. This lack of control could potentially pose security risks or lead to unwanted consequences. He argued that Ghana has no control whatsoever over the kinds of armaments brought in by the US military due to the DCA. This lack of control, as put by the Rear Admiral, poses a serious threat to Ghana's national security.

"If you have a foreign base in your country, you don't have control over the sort of armament and other things that they bring in because you cannot search them." –

Respondent 09

A Professor in Political Science and International Relations at the University of Winneba expressed a similar concern, emphasizing that when foreign military forces bring in their aircraft and vessels, the host country may not have the authority to search or question them. This lack of jurisdiction could undermine Ghana's sovereignty and ability to enforce its own laws.

"If they can bring their aircraft, they can bring their vessels and we have no right to search them. We have no right to question them." – Respondent 01

Another respondent, a Rear Admiral of the Ghana Navy, added to these concerns by suggesting that the presence of foreign troops could lead to situations where Ghana's sovereignty is compromised. In the event of aggression from neighboring countries, the US foreign military could justify actions under the guise of protecting their troops or interests, potentially bypassing Ghana's sovereignty and decision-making processes. He further underscores the potential vulnerability of Ghana's sovereignty in the scenario where US troops are positioned in the country, and in case of aggression from neighboring countries, the foreign military could intervene citing the need to protect their interests, potentially infringing upon the host country's sovereignty and independence.

"And say we have aggression from our eastern neighbors, for example, they can do anything and say that they have to act to protect their troops or their interests. If Americans have an interest here, their troops are positioned here for any emergency. And

say we have aggression from our eastern neighbors, for example, they can do anything and say that they have to act to protect their troops or their interests." – Respondent 02

6.2.11 Weakened National Defense and Security

The analysis of power dynamics and dependency by CSS experts Barry Buzan and Ole Waever (2003) would examine the extent to which the DCA highlights imbalances in influence between Ghana and the United States. According to their perspective, entering into this agreement leaves Ghana reliant on US military aid and backing, putting its own defense capabilities, as well as sovereignty, at risk. This reliance could potentially impede Ghana's efforts towards autonomous security policies or strategies, thus compromising its overall strength in that area.

Barry Buzan's (1991) work suggests that prioritizing specific concerns as imperative for national defense can overshadow other vital components, leading to weakened overall preparedness. Specifically, in Ghana's case, framing such agreements as essential might obscure their possible adverse impacts on domestic military capabilities. Furthermore, the impact of the DCA on Ghana's national identity and subjectivity is a topic that CSS experts such as Ken Booth (2007) and Cynthia Enloe (1989) may delve into. They could posit that aligning with US security objectives might undermine Ghana's autonomy, resulting in a diminished sense of defense capabilities, which can cause debates and conflicts regarding the country's priorities for security cooperation.

David Campbell (1992) and Jef Huysmans (2000,), among other academics, investigate how globalization impacts national security challenges. Their work suggests that the DCA reflects a trend of transnational cooperation on security but also exposes Ghana to vulnerability due to global power dynamics. Hence, it is crucial for Ghana to evaluate carefully the implications of such agreements regarding its defense capacities and security. This section discusses one of the implications of the DCA on Ghana's national security.

A member of parliament and ranking member of the interior defense committee suggested that entering into a particular agreement or cooperation may have been promoted as a means to enhance Ghana's national defense and security. However, he expresses skepticism by implying that, contrary to this expectation, the agreement has actually resulted in weakening Ghana's security and defense capabilities. This implies that the DCA may not have provided the anticipated benefits and may have had unforeseen consequences that compromised national security. Both the member of Parliament and a Professor in Political Science, Peace and Security at Kofi Annan International Peace and Training Centre (KAIPPC), suggested that the DCA has had a negative impact on the national defense and security of Ghana, either by failing to deliver promised enhancements or by directly compromising established security protocols and measures.

"Because if you listen to those who are the proponents of the agreement and all that, the understanding was that Ghana's national defense and security would be enhanced if we were to go into that kind of cooperation. So, with that agreement, our security, our national defense was going to be weaker." – Respondent 03

"We have compromised our national security by not following the rules." – Respondent 14

6.2.12 Historical Precedent and Reluctance

In the context of security cooperation between countries, experts on CSS such as Barry Buzan and Ole Waever (2003) provide analysis on underlying power dynamics. In the context of the Liberian situation with the US, we see an example of reliance on US aid during crises; however, the United States' hesitation to provide resources exposes disparities in their levels of influence. The ability for the US to withhold or delay support underscores its superior position in this relationship—an issue which may undermine Liberia's sovereignty and independence. CSS delves into the

relationship between securitization and discourse. They study how security threats are perceived based on discussions surrounding them as well as actions taken in response to those threats. An example is Liberia's view that its crisis was a national security concern for which they expected aid from the US. The credibility of this narrative has been cast into doubt by delays or reluctance in offering aid.

The connection between national identity and subjectivity is a topic of interest to CSS experts such as Ken Booth (2007) and Cynthia Enloe (1989), who delve into how US security partnerships affect these concepts. In particular, examining other nations past encounters with reliance on America instigates a reevaluation towards dealings that are currently ongoing or being considered. Also, the analysis of globalization and transnational security conducted by David Campbell (1992,) and Jef Huysmans (2000) indicates that the consequences of security cooperation are influenced by globalizing processes. In this context, engagement with US military personnel may lead to social frictions in host nations, exposing how collaboration on a safety level can have far-reaching societal ramifications across borders.

A Major General in the Ghana Armed Forces shares a historical example, expressing reluctance and cautioning the United States' defense cooperation with Ghana in dealing with the United States, citing past experiences where expected support was delayed.

"During the early days of the Liberian crisis, the US had closer ties with Liberia... When we needed certain information and resources, they were not forthcoming... We should be cautious in our dealings with them." – Respondent 13

6.3 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings from the qualitative interviews with respondents across academia, military, parliamentary, and security expert categories provide a multifaceted understanding of the motivations behind the U.S.-Ghana Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) and its implications for Ghana's sovereignty and national security. These results are interpreted through the lenses of realism and critical security studies (CSS), revealing a complex interplay of national interests, power asymmetries, and social constructs that shape international military agreements. The discussion synthesizes the emergent themes, contrasts them with existing literature, and explores broader implications for Ghana's foreign policy and regional stability.

6.3.1 Key Motivations for the DCA

The analysis in Section 6.1 highlights that both Ghana and the U.S. were driven by self-interested pursuits of security, survival, and power, aligning with realist tenets (Morgenthau, 1948; Waltz, 1979). For Ghana, economic benefits and aid assurance emerged as primary motivators, with respondents emphasizing expectations of financial gains (e.g., \$20 million in aid) and military resource support to address deficiencies in a poorly resourced armed force. This reflects dependency theory (Dos Santos, 1970), where developing nations like Ghana leverage agreements with superpowers for economic diplomacy (Bayne & Woolcock, 2011), often accepting asymmetric benefits. The U.S., conversely, was perceived as pursuing strategic interests in West Africa, including access to mineral resources, influence in the Gulf of Guinea, and a forward operating base for counterterrorism operations against groups like Boko Haram and Malian insurgents. Respondents' views echo offensive realism (Mearsheimer, 2001), portraying the U.S. as seeking regional hegemony to safeguard energy interests and counter rivals, such as French influence in neighboring Francophone countries.

Mutual benefits, such as joint military training and education, were also noted, with Ghana gaining from exercises in jungle warfare and equipment transfers, while the U.S. benefits from interoperability and reconnaissance capabilities. However, the "win-win" narrative was contested, with some respondents arguing the agreement disproportionately favors the U.S., underscoring realism's emphasis on power imbalances (Carr, 2001). Historical context and democratic stability further motivated the partnership, building on post-independence ties and Ghana's reputation as an "oasis of peace" (Russett & Oneal, 2001), which aligns with democratic peace theory. The fight against terrorism reinforced regional security complexes (Buzan, 2003), where interconnected threats necessitate collaboration, yet this often masks underlying U.S. strategic self-interest.

These findings diverge from purely altruistic interpretations of U.S. foreign aid, as seen in Sandler and Hartley (2001), by highlighting how economic incentives serve as "peanuts" to secure military footholds. They also extend Smith (2000) by illustrating how military agreements in resource-rich regions perpetuate neocolonial dynamics, where Ghana's motivations stem from survival needs amid economic vulnerabilities.

6.3.2 Implications for Sovereignty and National Security: A Critical Security Studies Lens

Section 6.2 reveals profound concerns about the DCA's erosion of Ghana's sovereignty, framed through CSS's critique of state-centric security and emphasis on social constructs, power dynamics, and emancipation (Krause & Williams, 2015; Booth, 2007). Legal implications, such as judicial incapacitation and immunity for U.S. personnel, were recurrent themes, with respondents decrying the ousting of Ghanaian courts' jurisdiction over abuses or willful crimes.

This embodies "structural violence" (Campbell, 1992), where power asymmetries allow the U.S. to operate with impunity, undermining Ghana's legal sovereignty (Makinda, 1998) and citizen rights. CSS highlights how such provisions securitize U.S. interests, justifying extraordinary measures that marginalize host nation autonomy (Wæver, 1995).

Information exposure and restricted access further compromise territorial sovereignty, as U.S. access to Ghana's communications, armories, and facilities exposes vulnerabilities, potentially enabling destabilization. Respondents' fears of unimpeded U.S. entry, unchecked armaments, and ceded territories resonate with Biersteker and Webber's (1996) view of sovereignty as socially constructed, reshaped by hegemonic practices. The DCA's ambiguity in clauses (e.g., entry with ID cards, no searches) creates "hidden dangers," aligning with CSS's discourse analysis (Hansen, 2000), where vague language perpetuates unequal power relations.

On national security, the agreement attracts threats and vulnerabilities, such as terrorist targeting due to U.S. presence, echoing historical precedents like Liberia's experiences. This broadens security beyond military threats to include transnational risks (Buzan, 1991), where interoperability with U.S. institutions may weaken Ghana's independent defense posture. Loss of control over foreign armaments and potential misuse against neighbors heighten risks, supporting Kolodziej's (2005) call for interdisciplinary security frameworks that account for environmental, social, and global dimensions. Pandemic-related exemptions (e.g., untested U.S. entry during COVID-19) exemplify unforeseen vulnerabilities, reinforcing CSS's emphasis on evolving social processes in international politics.

Compared to literature, these results challenge optimistic views of DCAs as mutual enhancements (Kinne, 2018), instead aligning with Enloe (1989) and Tickner (1992) in critiquing how they reinforce gendered and identity-based power structures, subordinating weaker states. They also extend Lake and Morgan (2010) by showing how regional security complexes can exacerbate dependencies rather than foster equitable collaboration.

6.3.3 Broader Implications and Limitations

The DCA exemplifies how global superpowers use military agreements to extend influence in Africa, potentially at the cost of host nations' autonomy. For Ghana, it underscores the tension between short-term gains (e.g., aid, training) and long-term risks (e.g., sovereignty erosion, threat attraction), informing policy to prioritize transparent negotiations and parliamentary oversight. Regionally, it highlights West Africa's interconnected security challenges, suggesting ECOWAS could mediate to balance U.S. involvement without compromising member states' independence. Limitations include the qualitative nature of data, reliant on 21 interviewees' perceptions, which may not capture quantitative impacts or U.S. perspectives. The study's focus on elite respondents potentially overlooks grassroots views, and the post-2018 context may not reflect evolving dynamics post-COVID or amid shifting U.S. Africa policy.

Future research could employ mixed methods to assess tangible outcomes (e.g., aid disbursed, terrorist incidents) or compare the DCA with similar agreements in Djibouti or Kenya, exploring CSS applications to decolonize African security narratives.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was undertaken to assess the national security and sovereignty implications of the United States and Ghana Defense Cooperation Agreement under Ghana's Fourth Republic through the lens of Critical Security Studies and realism. The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the key findings; the factors that motivated the United States' defence cooperation agreement (DCA) with Ghana under the fourth republic and the implications of the DCA on Ghana's sovereignty and national security.

7.1 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The thesis was grounded on theoretical principle of Critical Security Studies (CSS) and the research was driven by the following questions: To what extent does the United States' defense cooperation with Ghana have implications for Ghana's sovereignty and national security? The summary of the key findings of this research is discussed in line with the research questions.

7.1.1 A Comprehensive Historical Overview of Diplomatic, Economic, and Military Relations Between the United States and Ghana

The relationship between the United States and Ghana is rooted in shared values of democracy, mutual respect, and cooperation. Since Ghana's independence in 1957, the two nations have fostered ties across diplomatic, economic, and military dimensions. These relationships have evolved in response to regional and global challenges, reflecting shifts in U.S. foreign policy and

Ghana's development trajectory. This thesis provides a comprehensive overview of these relations, highlighting their historical evolution, key milestones, and contemporary significance.

7.1.2 Diplomatic Relations

Diplomatic engagement between Ghana and the United States began soon after Ghana gained independence from British colonial rule on March 6, 1957. Ghana's first president, Kwame Nkrumah, pursued a non-aligned foreign policy but maintained ties with the U.S. to leverage economic and technical assistance for development. The U.S. established its embassy in Accra in 1957, marking the beginning of formal diplomatic relations.

During the Cold War, U.S.-Ghana relations were shaped by ideological tensions between the capitalist and socialist blocs. Nkrumah's Pan-Africanist agenda and his alignment with socialist nations led to intermittent strains. However, the U.S. remained engaged, offering aid through programs such as the Peace Corps, which began operating in Ghana in 1961. The relationship improved after the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966, as subsequent Ghanaian governments adopted more pro-Western policies.

The post-Cold War era ushered in stronger ties, as Ghana emerged as a stable democracy in a region often characterized by political instability. The U.S. recognized Ghana's democratic progress and economic reforms, making it a key partner in West Africa. High-level visits, such as those by U.S. Presidents Bill Clinton (1998), George W. Bush (2008), and Barack Obama (2009), underscored Ghana's strategic importance.

7.1.3 Economic Relations

Economic cooperation has been a cornerstone of U.S.-Ghana relations. The U.S. has consistently supported Ghana's development through aid, trade, and investment. In the early years of

independence, U.S. aid focused on infrastructure development, education, and health care. For example, the U.S. funded the Volta River Project, which contributed to the construction of the Akosombo Dam in the 1960s.

Trade relations have also been significant, with Ghana exporting commodities such as cocoa, gold, and oil to the U.S., while importing machinery, chemicals, and agricultural products. In recent years, the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) has provided Ghana with preferential access to U.S. markets, promoting exports of textiles, apparel, and agricultural goods.

U.S. assistance has expanded under initiatives like the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), which signed two compacts with Ghana. The first compact (2006-2012) focused on agriculture and infrastructure, while the second compact (2016-2021) aimed to modernize Ghana's energy sector. These investments have reinforced Ghana's economic growth and energy security.

The U.S. private sector also plays a vital role in Ghana's economy. American companies operate in key sectors, including energy, mining, and technology. For instance, ExxonMobil and Kosmos Energy have been involved in Ghana's burgeoning oil and gas industry, while technology firms like Google and IBM have established a presence in Ghana.

7.1.4 Military Relations

Military cooperation between the United States and Ghana has strengthened over the decades, underpinned by shared security interests in counterterrorism, maritime security, and peacekeeping. Ghana's strategic location in West Africa and its reputation as a regional stabilizer make it a valuable partner for the U.S.

Early military collaboration included training programs and the provision of military equipment under U.S. security assistance programs. Ghana became a beneficiary of the International Military

Education and Training (IMET) program, which enhances the professional capabilities of its armed forces.

The relationship deepened in the post-9/11 era, as the U.S. sought partnerships to combat transnational threats. Ghana joined the Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) and cooperated with the U.S. in regional security initiatives. The U.S. has supported Ghanaian participation in United Nations peacekeeping missions, recognizing Ghana as one of the top contributors of troops to UN operations globally.

The 2018 Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) marked a significant milestone in U.S.-Ghana military relations. This agreement formalized the legal framework for U.S. military operations in Ghana, allowing for joint exercises, logistical support, and the use of Ghanaian facilities. While the DCA aims to enhance regional security and counterterrorism efforts, it has also sparked debates about Ghana's sovereignty and the implications of hosting foreign military forces.

7.1.5 Contemporary Challenges and Opportunities

Despite the overall strength of U.S.-Ghana relations, challenges persist. Ghana faces economic vulnerabilities, such as debt sustainability and reliance on commodity exports, which require diversified economic partnerships. Moreover, debates about the terms of military agreements, such as the DCA, highlight the need for transparent and mutually beneficial arrangements.

Opportunities for deepening ties abound. Ghana's position as a leader in African integration, through initiatives like the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), aligns with U.S. interests in promoting trade and investment across the continent. Additionally, Ghana's commitment to renewable energy and digital transformation offers avenues for U.S. engagement in emerging sectors.

Conclusion

The diplomatic, economic, and military relations between the United States and Ghana reflect a dynamic and evolving partnership. Rooted in shared interests and values, these ties have adapted to historical and contemporary challenges, solidifying Ghana's role as a key U.S. partner in West Africa. Moving forward, sustained collaboration will be essential in addressing regional security threats, fostering economic growth, and advancing democratic governance. This relationship serves as a model of mutual cooperation between the U.S. and African nations, demonstrating the potential for partnerships that prioritize shared development and security objectives.

7.2 OVERVIEW OF THE KEY ELEMENTS AND PROVISIONS OF THE 2018 DÉFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT (DCA) BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GHANA.

The 2018 Défense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) between the United States and Ghana is a significant framework that formalizes their security and defence collaboration. It addresses shared security challenges such as terrorism, organized crime, and regional instability while promoting regional peace and stability in West Africa. The agreement strengthens defence relations through joint military exercises, training programs, and mutual support, emphasizing respect for sovereignty to establish an equitable partnership.

Key provisions grant U.S. personnel diplomatic privileges and immunities under the Vienna Convention, ensuring their legal protection while stationed in Ghana. The agreement allows the U.S. to use specific facilities for military activities, training, and equipment storage, with operational flexibility to manage these sites independently or in collaboration with Ghanaian forces. While Ghana retains overall security responsibility for these facilities, the U.S. implements

additional security measures, reflecting the importance of these locations in the broader U.S. defense strategy in Africa.

The economic aspects of the DCA include exemptions from taxes, customs duties, and import/export restrictions for U.S. personnel and contractors. These provisions enhance logistical efficiency for U.S. operations but raise concerns about lost revenue for Ghana. Although the agreement promises economic benefits such as infrastructure development and potential job creation, the lack of financial compensation for U.S. access to facilities and resources is viewed by some as economically imbalanced.

The agreement places significant security responsibilities on Ghana, requiring its forces to protect U.S. personnel and facilities. This could strain Ghana's security resources, particularly in unstable regions. The U.S.'s autonomy in securing its facilities, including control over access, raises questions about the extent of Ghana's sovereignty under the agreement.

The DCA also includes a waiver of claims, ensuring that neither party holds the other liable for damages incurred during official duties, with the U.S. addressing third-party claims. While this minimizes disputes, it reduces accountability for potential U.S. actions in Ghana. The agreement's implementation is overseen by a Joint Committee, and disputes are resolved diplomatically to maintain strong bilateral relations. It is renewable and does not specify a fixed expiration date, offering flexibility for adjustments to evolving security needs, with termination requiring 180 days' notice.

The 2018 Defense Cooperation Agreement represents a milestone in U.S.-Ghana military relations, providing significant operational benefits to the U.S. while promising enhanced security and defense capabilities for Ghana. However, the agreement poses challenges related to sovereignty,

economic fairness, and legal accountability. Its implications demand careful management to maintain a balance between mutual benefits and national interests

7.3 REASONS FOR THE DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT

The Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) between Ghana and the United States is a strategic partnership shaped by both economic and geopolitical considerations, aiming to address mutual national interests. At the core of Ghana's motivation for entering into the agreement is the anticipation of economic benefits, including financial assistance and military support. Various experts, including academics and military professionals, emphasized that Ghana's under-resourced military and the need for external support were key factors driving the country's decision. For instance, respondents mentioned the possibility of a \$20 million financial boost from the U.S., reflecting the hope of securing tangible economic gains through the agreement. These economic motivations align with theories such as economic diplomacy and dependency theory, suggesting that Ghana sought both financial aid and military resources to strengthen its defense capabilities.

Moreover, U.S. involvement in Ghana is intricately tied to its broader geopolitical interests, particularly in securing access to the rich resources of West Africa. Ghana's strategic location in the Gulf of Guinea and its democratic stability make it an attractive partner for the U.S., as it provides a foothold in a region critical for energy resources and regional stability. The U.S. is seen as aiming to exert influence in West Africa, both through military cooperation and leveraging Ghana's position to safeguard its strategic interests in the region.

A significant theme emerging from the agreement is the potential for the U.S. to establish a military base in Ghana, which would function as a forward operating base for counterterrorism operations across the Gulf of Guinea. Given the ongoing threats from groups such as Boko Haram and the Malian insurgents, the U.S. sees Ghana's location as a vital strategic asset for launching operations in the region without the direct risks to American soil. This arrangement reflects broader U.S. military strategy, which prefers operating from foreign bases to avoid the repercussions of military actions on domestic territory.

The DCA is also framed within a context of mutual benefits, with both Ghana and the U.S. seeking a “win-win” relationship. While the U.S. has the upper hand due to its superpower status, Ghana benefits from enhanced border security, maritime patrols, and the broader counterterrorism strategy in the region. Ghana’s participation in the DCA is further understood as part of its ongoing foreign policy, marked by a history of defense agreements with the U.S. These past collaborations laid the groundwork for continued military cooperation, reinforcing the partnership as a natural extension of Ghana's diplomatic relations.

Additionally, Ghana's democratic stability plays a pivotal role in the U.S.'s decision to engage in the agreement. The country is seen as a model of democracy and a beacon of peace in a region often plagued by instability. This stability makes Ghana an ideal partner for the U.S. in advancing regional security initiatives.

Finally, the agreement includes benefits in terms of joint military training and education. Ghana gains access to new skills and equipment, while the U.S. also benefits from Ghana’s expertise, particularly in jungle warfare, and the broader context of regional security. Training programs and

military exchanges are seen as valuable outcomes of the agreement, with some respondents indicating a desire for more comprehensive equipment support from the U.S.

In conclusion, the DCA between Ghana and the U.S. is a multifaceted agreement grounded in both economic and strategic considerations. It underscores the mutual interests of both nations, with Ghana seeking economic assistance and military support, while the U.S. aims to secure its regional interests and enhance its military leverage in West Africa. The agreement is also seen as a natural extension of Ghana's foreign policy, building on longstanding defense relationships, and highlights the ongoing collaboration in the fight against terrorism and the promotion of regional security.

7.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THE DCA ON GHANA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

Drawing on the perspective of Critical Security Studies (CSS), the DCA could result in Ghana being vulnerable to threats and attacks. The deployment of American troops might attract anti-US groups such as ISIS or Al Qaeda, heightening the risk for potential assaults directed at Ghana. Furthermore, this agreement may compromise Ghana's defense strategy thereby exposing it to terrorist activities. According to CSS theorists it can be contended that Ghana risks surrendering its control and independence by allowing a foreign military base on its soil. The unregulated influx of armaments and resources could potentially erode the country's sovereignty, while precluding any attempts to scrutinize or interrogate these assets may lead to security threats, thereby putting at stake Ghana's power to enforce her laws. The DCA has the potential to weaken Ghana's national defense and security by forcing reliance on US military aid, hindering efforts towards independent security policies. There are doubts regarding whether the agreement truly improves defenses or undermines existing protocols. Previous instances, such as the situation in Liberia where US

assistance was sought during times of crisis, showcase the potential hazards associated with depending on America for security collaboration. The past occurrences of postponed or hesitant aid prompt concerns when moving forward with defense accords involving the United States.

To sum up, the DCA has significant ramifications for Ghana's national security such as vulnerability to risks, compromised control and autonomy, diminished defensive potentiality, and cautious reflection on past experience. These aspects clearly point towards an essential requirement for judicious evaluation and tactical decision-making concerning collaboration with the United States in matters of security.

7.4.1 Implication on Ghana's sovereignty

Another key factor of significant importance in this chapter is the in-depth examination of how the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) between the United States and Ghana could affect Ghana's autonomy. This analysis specifically focuses on the perspective of critical security studies. It covers several factors ranging from judicial incapacitation and ousted jurisdiction of Ghana's courts and possible information leaks risks and territorial boundary restrictions.

The study examines the legal consequences and implications for national sovereignty in relation to the (DCA). It accentuates how this agreement can confer substantial immunity to American personnel, at Ghana's expense of self-rule over established legislation. The exclusion of US individuals from being subject to Ghanaian law discredits its capacity to impose laws and guard citizens' rights. This feature poses a challenge on customary concepts related to jurisdictional power and legitimacy, highlighting an obligation for security agreements evaluations through a discerning perspective. The DCA's decision to provide the US with access to Ghana's confidential

defense strategy raises serious concerns about information exposure and security risks. This exchange puts Ghana at a disadvantage, compromising its sovereignty and potentially making it vulnerable to destabilization. The analysis underscores how power dynamics, threat perceptions, and social constructs of security all play into shaping the impact of this agreement on Ghanaian sovereignty.

The study delves into the issue of how Ghana's territorial sovereignty can be compromised by restricted access imposed by the DCA, which could result in relinquishing substantial control over Ghana's terrain to the United States (US). This development is viewed as detrimental to Ghana's independence and autonomy, prompting apprehension about vague terms surrounding American military activities within Ghana's borders and possible misuse of resources without adequate monitoring.

The relinquishing of control of military facilities through unimpeded access compromises Ghana's sovereignty, was raised as a concern. security risks and an imbalance of benefits that favor the us are also raised as concerns. Critical Security Studies (CSS) contends that the concession of diplomatic immunity and exemptions for American military members undermines Ghana's sovereignty and its capacity to enforce laws. Issues which underscore anxieties over asymmetrical power relations and the likelihood of abusing diplomatic perks were also raised. The economic and environmental impacts of land use concessions that have been awarded under the DCA were scrutinized through the lens of CSS. Potential risks to both the environment and society were raised, as well as doubts about the durability and dependability of US granted concessions.

Also, this study section sheds light on the potential hazards that may arise from DCA provisions in times of pandemics, especially with regards to exempting American military personnel and its

affiliates from mandatory testing before going into Ghana. This express worries about virus transmission and criticizes the absence of foresight within the treaty for such scenarios. - Unforeseen risks arising from Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) enforcement during a pandemic are discussed in this segment, focusing on exceptions granted to United States (US) soldiers who don't need to undergo screening prior to their deployment in Ghana. Specifically, it raises concerns about overlooked implications of the DCA regarding exemptions for US military personnel from testing before entering Ghana. It also draws attention to the lack of preparation in the agreement for virus transmission and spread. Inadequate consideration is given under specific situations concerning outbreaks/pandemic surges and the relative effects upon more vulnerable populations located near or where US military personnel are situated.

In general, the study thoroughly explores different facets of how the DCA affects Ghana's sovereignty - from legal and diplomatic matters to concessions around land usage and issues related to pandemics. It emphasizes that scrutinizing security agreements with a discerning eye is crucial for comprehending their potential effects on national interests as well as overall autonomy.

7.5 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis undertakes a comprehensive examination of the defense cooperation relationship between the United States and Ghana, with particular emphasis on analyzing the implications of the Ghana-U.S. Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) for Ghana's national security and sovereignty within the Fourth Republic. Through the lens of Critical Security Studies complemented by realist perspectives, this research interrogates the complex dynamics,

motivations, and consequences of this bilateral security partnership, situating it within broader debates about asymmetric power relations, state autonomy, and contemporary security governance in West Africa.

The study addresses a critical gap in scholarship concerning how defense cooperation agreements between major powers and smaller states affect sovereignty, security autonomy, and national interest protection. While U.S.-Ghana security relations have expanded significantly across multiple domains including arms sales, intelligence sharing, joint military exercises, education and training the 2018 DCA has generated substantial controversy regarding its implications for Ghanaian sovereignty and the broader dynamics of security partnerships with global powers. Ghana's strategic significance in U.S. efforts to counterbalance rising powers such as Russia and China, coupled with regional counter-terrorism imperatives, has intensified these bilateral defense ties, raising fundamental questions about the balance between security enhancement and sovereignty preservation.

Employing a qualitative research methodology, this thesis utilizes in-depth interviews with key stakeholders, including military personnel, defense analysts, policymakers, and academics, alongside critical document analysis of the DCA text and related policy materials, it explores the agreement's impacts on sovereignty, its strategic benefits in combating terrorism, and the associated challenges of sovereignty concerns, information sensitivity, and territorial access.

The research reveals profoundly concerning findings regarding the DCA's impact on Ghana's sovereignty and national security. Rather than constituting a straightforward military partnership enhancing Ghana's security capabilities, the agreement embodies complex power asymmetries that fundamentally challenge traditional conceptions of state sovereignty and security autonomy. The

findings demonstrate that sovereignty erosion operates on multiple interconnected levels, creating cumulative effects that substantially compromise Ghana's independence and self-determination. The most immediate sovereignty concern centers on judicial incapacitation, whereby Ghanaian courts are effectively rendered powerless to address violations committed by U.S. military personnel operating within Ghana's territory. This legal impunity transcends technical jurisdictional issues, fundamentally undermining Ghana's Westphalian sovereignty by establishing a parallel legal system within its borders. The granting of diplomatic immunity to military personnel, as consistently highlighted by respondents, blurs boundaries between legitimate diplomatic privileges and military operations. This conflation normalizes exceptional treatment that would ordinarily face contestation, exemplifying what scholars identify as securitization, where security narratives are deployed to justify measures that would otherwise encounter significant resistance.

Territorial sovereignty concerns extend far beyond symbolic access restrictions. The finding that even Ghana's President requires permission to enter U.S.-designated areas within Ghana's borders represents a profound reversal of traditional sovereignty principles. This creates what can be termed "sovereignty enclaves," spaces within Ghana where Ghanaian authority is suspended, fundamentally challenging the territorial integrity that underpins statehood. These enclaves operate as extraterritorial zones where Ghanaian law, oversight, and governance cease to function, effectively ceding portions of national territory to foreign control. The ambiguity in DCA clauses regarding entry procedures, operational scope, and jurisdictional boundaries appears deliberate rather than accidental, creating interpretive flexibility that favors the more powerful party. This linguistic dimension of power enables the United States to expand operational freedom while limiting Ghana's capacity for meaningful oversight.

The research uncovers a critical but often overlooked dimension of sovereignty erosion: information exposure and asymmetry. Respondents consistently emphasized that the DCA grants the United States access to Ghana's defense infrastructure, communications networks, radio spectrum, and strategic vulnerabilities. This information asymmetry creates structural dependency wherein Ghana becomes transparent to U.S. intelligence while remaining opaque to its own understanding of U.S. activities within its borders. From a Critical Security Studies perspective, this represents epistemic violence, the systematic undermining of a state's capacity to know and secure itself. The ability of U.S. forces to utilize Ghana's communications infrastructure and potentially monitor national security communications transforms the DCA from a cooperative agreement into a mechanism of surveillance. These findings challenge conventional security analyses that focus primarily on military hardware and troop deployments, revealing how information access constitutes a powerful tool of influence and control that operates invisibly yet profoundly affects state autonomy.

Perhaps the most striking finding concerns the paradoxical impact on Ghana's national security. While ostensibly designed to enhance Ghana's security capabilities through capacity building, intelligence sharing, and joint training, respondents consistently identified ways in which the DCA actually weakens national defense. The agreement appears to create security through dependency rather than genuine capacity-building, aligning with critical perspectives on how dominant powers perpetuate structural inequalities through security partnerships. The attraction of external threats represents a particularly concerning dimension. Multiple respondents noted that hosting U.S. military presence could transform Ghana into a target for anti-American forces, including terrorist organizations, converting Ghana from a relatively neutral regional actor into a potential battleground for conflicts in which it has no direct stake. This reflects the externalization of U.S.

security concerns onto partner states, effectively conscripting them into America's global security apparatus and exposing them to retaliatory threats. The loss of control over armaments and materials entering the country further compounds these vulnerabilities. Ghana's inability to search or monitor what U.S. forces bring into its territory creates security blind spots that could be exploited, representing a fundamental abdication of border control, a core sovereignty function, in the name of security cooperation. The pandemic-related exemptions permitting untested U.S. personnel entry during COVID-19 exemplify how unforeseen vulnerabilities emerge from overly permissive agreements, demonstrating how security cooperation can inadvertently create new security risks.

The findings consistently reveal profound power asymmetries embedded within the DCA's structure. The agreement's provisions overwhelmingly favor U.S. interests, from legal immunities to unrestricted territorial access to customs waivers, reflecting what scholars identify as structural violence, systemic arrangements that privilege powerful states while constraining weaker ones, even absent direct coercion. These asymmetries manifest not only in explicit provisions but also in implementation practices, interpretive flexibility, and the broader context of unequal bargaining power that shapes agreement negotiation and enforcement. This research demonstrates that the U.S.-Ghana Defense Cooperation Agreement presents profound challenges to Ghana's sovereignty and national security that extend far beyond conventional analyses of military cooperation. The agreement represents not merely a technical security arrangement but a complex reconfiguration of sovereignty, authority, and autonomy that fundamentally alters Ghana's position as an independent state. The erosion of judicial sovereignty, creation of territorial enclaves, information asymmetries, attraction of external threats, and loss of border control collectively constitute a

multidimensional assault on sovereignty that operates through legal, spatial, epistemological, and discursive mechanisms.

The paradox at the heart of the DCA, that an agreement ostensibly designed to enhance security may actually increase vulnerabilities and dependencies, reflects broader patterns in asymmetric security partnerships between major powers and smaller states. Critical Security Studies provides essential analytical tools for understanding how security cooperation can serve hegemonic interests while constraining partner state autonomy, revealing the political nature of security arrangements that are often presented as purely technical or mutually beneficial. The findings contribute to broader scholarly debates about sovereignty in the contemporary international system, demonstrating how sovereignty operates not as an absolute condition but as a continuum that can be incrementally eroded through seemingly benign security partnerships. The research reveals how discourse, legal frameworks, information asymmetries, and territorial access collectively reshape sovereignty in ways that challenge traditional Westphalian conceptions while establishing new forms of hierarchy and dependency within the international system. For Ghana and similar states navigating security partnerships with major powers, the research highlights the imperative of balancing security enhancement with sovereignty protection. While defense cooperation offers legitimate benefits including capacity building, intelligence access, and deterrent effects, these benefits must be weighed against sovereignty costs, dependency risks, and vulnerability exposure.

Based on the empirical findings and theoretical analysis, this thesis concludes that Ghana must undertake fundamental reforms to transform the DCA from an asymmetric arrangement into a genuinely equitable partnership. The research recommends that Ghana strengthen legal frameworks and parliamentary oversight by establishing dedicated committees with

representatives from security agencies, legislative bodies, and civil society to monitor implementation continuously. Ghana should renegotiate provisions to establish clear delimitation of military access and operations, eliminating any requirements for Ghanaian authorities to seek permission to access areas within national borders. Comprehensive data protection protocols must be implemented with regular security audits. Ghana should insist on reciprocal benefits including technology transfer and genuine capacity-building rather than dependency-creating arrangements. Full jurisdictional authority over criminal matters involving U.S. personnel must be restored with Ghanaian judicial primacy clearly established. Mandatory health, environmental, and community safeguards with legal enforcement mechanisms should be implemented. Ghana should strengthen regional partnerships through ECOWAS to reduce dependency on external powers while enhancing collective security. Regular review sessions with meaningful stakeholder participation should be instituted with provisions for agreement suspension if fundamental concerns remain unaddressed. These recommendations aim to establish important precedents for African and Global South states navigating similar security partnerships, demonstrating that smaller states can pursue beneficial security cooperation while maintaining sovereignty, autonomy, and national dignity in an increasingly complex international security environment.



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No.	Institution	Date/Place of Interview
1	Professor in Political Science and International Relations, University of Winneba	30th December 2023
2	Rear Admiral of the Ghanaian Navy	28th November 2023
3	Member of Parliament	28th November 2023
4	Former Defense Minister	3rd February 2024

5	Lecturer of International Relations, University of Ghana	3rd December 2023
6	Security Analyst	5th October 2023
7	Security Analyst	12th December 2023
8	Member of Parliament	22nd April 2023
9	Major General in Ghana Armed Forces	27th September 2023
10	Former Defense Minister	September 2023
11	Security Analyst	1st March 2023
12	Lecturer of International Relations, Wisconsin University	22nd April 2023
13	Major General in Ghana Armed Forces	19th March 2023
14	Professor in Political Science and Peace and Security, Kofi Annan International Peace and Training Centre (KAIPTC)	13th January 2024
15	Major General, Ghana Armed Forces	13th January 2024
16	Professor of Political Science and International Relations, University of Ghana, Legon	13th January 2024
17	Professor of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon	9th August 2023
18	Member of Parliament	22nd April 2023
19	Lecturer of International Relations, Ghana Armed Forces and Command College	22nd April 2023
20	Member of Parliament	22nd April 2023

21	Major General in the Ghana Armed Forces	19th October 2023



