EU DEVELOPMENT POLICY FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES VS.
THE NEW SECURITY AGENDA

(A CASE STUDY ON GHANA)

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ABSTRACT

Development issues have been the centre of most international governmental organisations for quite a long time. Most developing countries tend to depend on Western foreign donors to assist them in their developmental ambitions. Ghana as a developing nation also depends on it foreign donors to finance most of its developmental projects. Even though the European Union is an international governmental organisation that is much known for assisting developing countries with their developmental projects it is anticipated that recent occurrences such as the global economic meltdown, climate change coupled with terrorist attacks on most developed nations will limit or perhaps even halt the flow of development aid to developing countries as they might be more concerned with securing their territory rather than thinking of other people somewhere else.

This is because such occurrences have resulted in raising a new concern, thus the New Security Agenda or Human Security. The Human Security in respect to its economic sector is what this paper deals with. This paper takes a critical look on Ghana’s Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (GPRS), as pertaining to the aspect of these papers that received developmental aid from the European Development Fund (EDF). It is proved here that almost all aspects of Ghana’s developmental projects in one way or other received funding from the EDF.

The New Security Agenda in terms of its economic sector was rather found out to be a positive influence for developing nations like Ghana as a result of the country’s stability. This is because it was found out that rather than limiting the flow of development aid to Ghana, it is during this time that the 10th EDF budget for Ghana received the highest funding. It was later found out that all these developmental projects conforms to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which is also an area of concern in the New Security Agenda. All this occurrences are much more explained along a theoretical framework (thus the notions of liberalism, critical theory and constructivism). However other academic works on the subject matter was also comprehensively acknowledged.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God Almighty for His mercies and blessings upon my life and to my Mum Pauline Cecilia Ofosu Addo for her motherly guidance, love and support.
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CHAPTER ONE
PROPOSAL

EU DEVELOPMENT POLICY FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
VS. THE NEW SECURITY AGENDA

“I call on the international community at the highest level- the heads of states and
governments convened at the Millennium Summit – to adopt the target of halving the
proportion of people living in extreme poverty, and so lifting more than 1 billion people out of
it by 2015. I further urge that no effort be spared to reach this target by that date in every
region and in every country” (Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General, 2000).

Introduction
The European Union has been known as one of the key advocates for spreading liberal
democratic values and norms. It is also known and praised for its involvement in helping less
developed countries to develop. The European Union like other International Governmental
Organization (IGOs) has established development policies that guide its developmental
frameworks. However, looking at the trend of events in the current post modern international
system, it is assumed that the current turn of events like the global economic meltdown will
limit or slow or perhaps even halt the flow of development aid to some developing countries
of which Ghana is no exception.

However current events such as the rampant rise of terrorist acts, the global economic crisis,
and that of environmental challenges as a result of global climate change has compel nation
states to begin a rethinking of security in new terms, other than that of the old view in which
they only refer to security in terms of military, (securing a countries territory through means
such as military power). Hence, the proposed new term the New Security Agenda. This
agenda is also called Human Security. What the new agenda brought into focus is concerned
with engaging all aspect of security in terms of what safe marked human, animals and that of
the environment on planet earth. The concept of security is not new to studies in international
relations, but this new agenda is just placing much emphasis while at the same time
broadening the need to secure the necessities of life on earth. It’s just that the events that I mentioned above has given it much priority in our current era of immerse globalization. But it is this new security agenda that this study seeks to investigate. This is because the recent economic crisis that hit Europe and the rest of the world has made nation states to see the need to secure their capital power in the global system, so that they can maintain their standard of living. However, the EU which en-comprises rich nations and has a strong keen desire in spreading liberal democratic values has also been affected by this crisis.

The primary and overarching goal for the European Union development policy is the eradication of poverty in the context of sustainable development including the achievement of the millennium development goals for developing countries. Basically the European Union work on development is based on the European Consensus on development. This the European Commission agrees to on a common vision of development. In the European consensus for development, third world countries are mainly responsibe for their own development. This means that the EU aid is aligned to national strategies that are drawn by these countries in collaboration with Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Even though, there has been a flow of EU development aid to Ghana for the past several years, majority of Ghanaians still live under one dollar per day or below the poverty line. This makes it very problematic should in case aid flowing into the country has to halt or be reduce. This is because the Ghanaian government hugely relies on the EU development aid in perusing some of its crucial development ambitions. With this problem at hand I believe it will be quite problematic in case the EU has to withdraw its assistant to the country. My choice of Ghana as a case study is as a result of the country’s stability in the practice of democracy and its significant economic reform in 1983 and also its being a developing nation yet to be developed.

**Objective of study**

My aim in this study is to investigate and analyze the flow of EU aid for development in particular to Ghana and specifically on the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Policy (GPRS II) and the on-going Medium Term Development Framework Policy (From 1998 – 2010). The study will therefore focus on the effectiveness of the aid in helping the Ghanaian government achieve some of their development ambitions and also find out if the new security agenda in the sense of securing the economy have affected the EU’s aid to developing countries as a result of the global crisis.
Research Questions
For the purpose of this research, I intend to work along specific guidelines by answering the following questions:

A) How has the EU’s aid contributed to Ghana on issues concerning development and specifically on poverty reduction?

B) To what extent has the economic aspect of the new security agenda affected EU’s development aid policy to a developing country like Ghana?

Scope of Research
I am mainly going to look at the flow of the EU aid to Ghana before the economic crisis and after the economic crisis. This is to say that my analysis is going to cover the period between 1997-2010. Also how much has the new security agenda either restricted or encourage them in assisting developing countries. As a result of this I have chosen to conduct a case study on Ghana. In this case study I am going to compile information’s from the EU website on its development assistant to Ghana and also on Ghana’s poverty reduction strategy policy. Other academic works on this subject will also be consulted. This will be largely influenced by reports from both the EU’s website on its development aid strategy for Ghana and that of the Ghanaian government.

Methodology
The primary method of the research will be base on gathering both primary and secondary information from credible sources. This I believe will give accurate reflections on the subject matter. I am also going to adopt a sampling technique with the view of allowing me to critically assess the validity of the information that will be gathered before using it in my work. However careful attention will be given to reports that used primary empirical evidence on poverty reduction and development issues in Ghana. Also I am going to base my theoretical framework along the notions of Liberalism, Critical Theory, and Constructivism as I believe that the EU’s activities in developing countries can be explained comprehensively from these doctrines. I am not testing the theories listed above, what I am trying to do is to use the theories to explain a certain social circumstance. At the same time I will make efforts to
collect a wide range of varieties of academic reports relating to my topic of study in order for me to gain a better understanding of diversities of perspectives and opinions. Furthermore, my research methodology approach is going to be based on constructive approach in methodology as I am of the opinion that, it will be more suitable in helping us understand issues of social actions better.

Again, since my research method is that of the qualitative approach, my data is solely from written documents. From Bryman and Burgess (1999), documents analysis in qualitative inquiry yields to excerpts quotations or entire passages from organisational, clinical, or program records (p.140). More so, the essence of a case study is to illuminate a decision or set of decision as pertaining to why such decisions are taken and how they are implemented and the consequences it might exert on the society (Yin 1994, p.12).

It must also be noted that the use of secondary sources can be efficient when sources are limited. In many cases primary sources of information are difficult to obtain due to certain circumstantial blockages like the geographical location of the researcher, the target group, and time. This research is related to a historical and a current event which have the tendency to exert some kind of consequences in the society. Therefore secondary sources combined with primary sources were deemed as the most effective way of gathering information. To add more, when one uses secondary sources it is equally important to make sure that the sources are reliable and are without prejudice. However the primary and secondary sources I have used are relevant to my study and are from well known sources such as reports from the EU, UN, Academic books, articles and documents from the Ghana Development Planning Commission plus documents from Ghana districts.

1.6 Limitations
I was not able to conduct any primary interviews with the Ghanaian institutions from which I was able to obtain official documents, rather the documents were sent to me; and this was due to time availability and distance. This is because due to time limit I was not able to travel to my research locations to gather first hand information. As a result, I intend to depend on information gathered from official websites and academic texts on the subjects. However, I do trust that the official documents sent to me through a third party are authentic and also I sincerely believe that my objective for this paper will be accurately upheld. Aside these
limitations I trust that the data collected accurately reflect on the ideological view of the doctrines that I am about to use.

**The New Security Agenda (Human Security) what is it?**

Security has been an issue of concern both within the national and the international setting of a society. The term security is widely used in both the analysis and practice of international relations since its inception at Aberystwyth in 1919. The traditional concern of the notion of security deals with issues that are concern with origins and conduct of war (Sheehan 2005, p.1). In this sense security is the stabilization of conflictual or threatening relations, which are often done through the emergency mobilization of state. (Buzan 1998, p.4). However, since 1991, the notion of security became a contested concept in international relations. The traditional notion of security as we have it during the Cold War period of the realist hegemony suffered a series of attack from a number of directions. This is because the notion of security became increasingly seen as unsatisfactory in its own terms as it ignores some important aspects of the emerging international policy agenda (Sheehan 2005,p.2)

This generated a series of debate within the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1980s, the traditional security conception was challenged and this resulted in the United Nations calling for a new concept of security that would transcend the narrow notions of military defense (ibid,p. 43). As a result of this, several scholars published their contribution to this redefinition of security. This was associated with the need to broaden and deepen the definition of security; so in order for them to broaden the concept, previous non-security issues were securitized. Broadening the concept of security was simply an encompassment of new sectors in addition to the military security which was dominant in the traditional security agenda (ibid, p.44). This justified the need to redefine the concept of security from its traditional military focus. An answer to this need was provided by Barry Buzan who suggested that “in the real world of everyday human existence, people were affected by threats in the political, economic, societal, and environment areas as well” (ibid,p. 46). To make his suggestion more emphatic he advocated for the inclusion of the four levels of analysis (societal, economic, political and environmental) sectors in international relations to be added to the traditional military security understanding (ibid,p.47). As a result of this, the notion of Security was widened in its meaning and application. The new debate became known as the New Security Agenda or Human Security. This Human Security focus on answering questions such as; “what kinds of threats are simply problems deserving government attention and what are specifically security
issues” (ibid, p.5). However, economic security (which in the level of analysis is known as the economic sector) is what this paper will attempt to explain further on in chapter four.

In addition to this, Human security is also the “freedom from want and the freedom from fear”: positive and negative freedoms and rights (Newman 2001, p.240). It is also a normative, ethical movement that rests upon self-interested empirical reasoning. In it normative sense it argues that there is an ethical responsibility to reorient security around the individual in a redistributive way which with changes in the political community as well as the emergence of transnational norms relating to human right (ibid). It rests on empirical reasoning regards the foundations of stability within and between states. In this essence, there is a greater understanding that human security deprivation such as socioeconomic deprivation and exclusion can be counted as one of the many abuses of human rights. The human security in relation to my topic of discussion is base on the 1994 UN Development Program Concept which state that: “For most people, a feeling of insecurity arises more from worries about daily life than from the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Job security, income security, health, environmental security, security from crime- these are emerging concerns of human security all over the world’’ (UNDP,1994:3 quoted in Newman 2001,p.243).

More so, the concept of Human Security tackles security from military, social, political, economic, environment etc. The subject of security has been one of the main focus of the international relations discipline for the past fifty years (Sheehan 2004, p.1). In international relations discipline security issues have remained pivotal to the debates over government policy agendas and their priorities. Again the security debates within this same field are now centred on questions that link certain threats. This means that these threats are simply problems that deserve government attention and also help government to classify what are specifically security issues. From Buzan and Ole Waver, “the process of securitization has a metatheoretical function because it makes clear that what counts as security issue is always a result of political and social discourse” (quoted in Sheehan 2004, p.3). Metatheoretical function deals with how a discussion on the foundations, structure and a result of a theory has contributed in shaping some issues within the contemporary system. The broader security agenda or the human security as I said earlier on takes on all aspect of human life and cut across all of Buzan level of analysis sectors.
CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction
Theories as I understand are analytical tools which helps explain why certain things are the way they are. Theories are also logical explanations, or testable models of the manner of interactions of sets of natural phenomena. Again it is capable of predicting future occurrences and also capable of being tested through experiment, falsification, and empirical observation. More so, theories help in explaining the patterns of behaviour in things that evolve around the human race and scientific matters. International relations as a social and political discipline help us explain the pattern of behaviour of states as well as the international system that shapes our ways of survival. As our ways of behaving follows certain patterns, international relations discipline also helps in shaping these patterns. More so, since development and poverty issues all contributes to our ways of survival it qualify it to be discuss under the auspices of international relations. It is from this venture that I have adopted three of the theories of International Relations to help explain better my points in this discussion. And since my discussion is base on explaining the patterns of inter-states behaviour and as Moses & Knutsen, 2007 (p2) noted; contemporary social scientists are driven by their familiarity with a particular method of study so also are they driven by their familiarity to certain theories within their field of study.

In this section I intend to give an account on certain theories which I believe will help explain the ideological, cultural as well as the social and economic settings of the people of Ghana pertaining to poverty reduction or eradication if possible and advancement in development as a whole. My theoretical framework setting is going to be based strongly on the doctrines of Liberalism, Critical Theory and that of Constructivism. This is because I am of the opinion that these frame of theories will accurately reflect on the issues that I am going to discuss in the subsequent chapters. Also I believe that these theories have the potential of helping the reader understand core issues of international relations pertaining to the behaviour of States. However careful attention will be given to the notions of social liberalist on subjects
concerning poverty and development. I am of the view that these theories mentioned here are of much relevance to the issue that am about to discuss as it will reflect much on the activities of the EU and that of Ghana. This is because this paper is about societal behaviour so the activities (decisions and policies) of the society at the regional and national levels will have a sort of influence on the daily life of the individual within the society.

The theory of liberalism that is presented in this paper will be used to examine the activities of the EU as a liberal institution. Here the activities of EU in connection to Ghana and in the form development aid will be examine to see if these activities follows the principles of the doctrine. Also the critical theory presented in this paper will be apply when discussing how existing structures and practices contribute to the maintenance of the oppression while at the same time providing an alternative version that the oppressed themselves can comprehend, embrace and implement in ways that are relevant to their specific human circumstance. This will answer for Ghana’s ability to learn and cooperate with expertise from the EU in drafting a policy that is of substantial use to the Ghanaian community while at the same time meeting the EU’s requirement for the granting of aid. The theory of constructivism will then be use to answer my second research question by helping us understand how socioeconomic factors and human rights standard have a direct bearing on peace and security within and between our communities. And also on how investment in socioeconomic development will help shape identities while at the same time promoting security. In this sense it will help us understand why the Human Security in terms of economic security is important in promoting world peace.

Relevance of International Relations Theories in the New Security Agenda Discourse

The treaty of Westphalia (1648) brought about three essentially concepts within the system; thus, security, development and Justice. The State was to provide security, sovereignty (social contract), development was to cater for economic growth, modernization and the liberation of humanity from serfdom and Justice was responsible for the redistribution (social justice). In line with this emerge the traditional International Relations theories in the 20th century. These three concepts also generated the need for global governance as a result of the process of globalization that emerged during this time. In sequence to these developments resulted in states seeing the need to re-address security issues from a world order perspective (see: Mcgrew 2005, p. 29-36). This series of events in a way serves as a background for the
solidification of international relations theories to security studies. I have included a diagram below to give a clear picture of how international relations theory is connected to the New Security Agenda. This I hope will give the reader a better understanding of the relevance of security studies in International Relations.

2.1 The Theory of Liberalism

In international relations, Liberalism is a philosophical product of enlightenment which limits government and scientific rationality by believing that individuals should be free from arbitrary state power, persecution and superstition. It also talks about political freedom, democracy, constitutionally guaranteed rights, the liberty of the individual and equality before the law (Burchill 2005, p.55). To liberalists, the western forms of government and the political economy is built on an absolute liberal principle. This principle is the ultimate destination for the human race as national and cultural differences no longer pose as a barrier within the western world (ibid, p.56). However, liberalist believe that international institutions will promotes a secure environment whereby many states will feel secure in pursuance of maximizing their own gains irrespective of others. This is because there will be a sort of mutual benefits that arises as a result of cooperation (ibid. 65). In addition to this, liberalism is mainly concern with developing and promoting moral standards that will command a universal consent as it is believed that it will diminish the pursuit of national interest by states.

Liberalism again promotes and advocates for the creation of legal codes, instruments and institutions such as the United Nations, which has brought about important practice instrument such as the universal Declaration of human rights (ibid, p.67). More so, liberalism propose a very different kind of policies, but it is generally united by its support for constitutional liberalism as; will brings about the freedom of thought and speech, limitations on the power of governments, the rule of law, individual's right to private property, and a transparent system of government. It must again be noted here that Liberalism as a doctrine in international relations is also classified into different types namely: Classical Liberalism, Social liberalism etc. But my interest here will be on Social Liberalism which deals with interventions that are in accordance with the public interest.

According to the doctrine its basic principles are promoting human rights, equality, and rule of law, individual freedom as well as private property and free market. It is from this principle
that the European Union developmental principles is based on. The universalistic conception of human rights which is a strong attributes to the doctrine of liberalism advocates for sovereignty as a conditional value, this value has caused the abuse of self determination by liberalist, in a way it has rather promoted a sort of noninterventionist ends within the liberal doctrine (M. Smith 2009, p.75).

Bob Jessop (2002), propose that liberalism is a rather complex multifaceted phenomenon which is polyvalent in its conceptual ensemble, economic, political and ideological discourse (p.453). The theory is also a strongly contested strategic concept that helps in restructuring market-states relations. This is because the theory of liberalism co-exists with elements of other discourse, strategies and organisational patterns. It can be best describe as a more or less significant principle of economic, political, and social organisation which exists in a broader institutional set up than a self-consistent, self sufficient and externally reproducible organisational principle (ibid). The theory makes claim to the fact that economic, political and social relations are best structure through a freedom of choice, and rational actors, who seek to advance their own material or ideal interest in an institutional framework (ibid).

2.1.1 Social Liberalism

Social liberalism as an ideology stress on the importance of positive liberty, and the assertion of the individual identity, it makes claims on the absence of coercion. In social liberalism unrestrained capitalism is seen as a hindrance to positive freedom, as the theory favoured programs that would allow individuals to prosper with public assistance in health, education, and welfare (Richardson 2001, p.36-37). The doctrine of social liberalism advocates for governments intervention in the economy to provide full employment and protection of individual human rights. These doctrine of liberalism can be said to be one of the main basis that an inter governmental organization like the United Nations based it basic principles of intervention, particularly following the Second World War.

Again its huge emphasis on the importance and the need to practice the following principles: human rights, free and fair elections and multiparty-democracy, social justice, tolerance, social market economy, free trade, environmental sustainability and a strong sense of international solidarity licenses state to intervene only when an individual's actions are harming the well-
being of another individual. In this sense states must build education to a certain standard and in such a way that every human being who is born as a citizen of the state will be catered for (Frank 2007). Social liberalism as an ideology was derived from the school of thoughts of John Stuart Mill’s.

The doctrine of social liberalism advocates for a commitment to lower income inequality by stressing on the need for an equitable distribution of power and authority. This notion as it is; is being practice by liberal democratic organisations such as the European Union through some of the activities that they carried out to which assisting developing and less developed countries through development aid is not an exemption. In political socialization the learning process in which political norms and behaviours are acceptable in a democratic system are transmitted from generation to generation (Mann 1970, p.423). So in this essence a well functioning states is that which accept and practice liberal democratic values. State like the Great Britain, the United States, Sweden, Germany etc have all proved to be successful in the quest to practice these values after the World War II. These states have therefore through their lobbying established various successful liberalisation such as the United Nations, The European Union among many others; the activities of these regional and supra-national organisations seek for the welfare of all humanity. More so, the wide spread of commitment towards all social values, norms and beliefs promotes legitimacy and stability in any social structure (ibid, p.424).

More so, Western forms of government and political economy are the ultimate destinations that all human races will reach one day and that national and cultural distinctions are no barrier to the triumph of liberal democracy and capitalism (Burchill 2005, p.56). Not this alone, progress in human history can be measured by the elimination of global conflict and the adoption of the principles of legitimacy that has evolved over time in domestic political orders (ibid). This in a way it explains the inside outside approach in international relations where the behaviour of states is explained by examining their indigenous arrangements. Liberalism provision for a best prospect of a peaceful world order has projected the liberal democratic principles in the international system. Also the anarchy nature of the international system has rather promoted foreign policy behaviour of socializing states into the system of power politics. This has made the requirement for a strategic power and security becomes paramount in an insecure world (ibid, p.57).
Also Liberal institutions believe that international relations do not need to be a zero-sum game and that there is the need for states to feel secure so as to maximise their own gains regardless of what accrues to others. This means that mutual benefits arising out of cooperation is possible since states are not always preoccupied with relative gains (ibid, p.65). However liberal institutions also are aware of the fact that cooperation between states can be fragile when enforcement procedures for such co-operations are weak. In this our current time of growing regional and global integration, states are often prone to discover with or without the encouragement of a hegemon a coincidence of strategic and economic interest which can be turned into a formalised agreement that determines the rules of conducts (ibid). Rosecrance suggested that in the contemporary world the benefits of trade and cooperation among states greatly exceed that of military competition and territorial control (ibid). So in this case it made no sense for states to threaten their commercial partners whose capital investments are essential to their own economic growth. Not this alone, territorial conquest in this our time of nuclear age is more costly and dangerous therefore states will much prefer a different strategy. Economic development through trade and foreign investment therefore becomes more attractive and a potential beneficial strategy (ibid).

To add more to this, liberals believed that, the legitimacy of domestic political orders is largely contingent on the upholding of the rule of law and the states respect for the human rights of its citizens. In liberals foreign policy in international relations, rights gives a legal foundation to emancipation, justice and human freedom (ibid, p.67). Liberalism also advocates for the rights of individuals to free from starvation. Even the whole world community regardless of their religious affiliations or ideological differences agrees to this notion of liberals which propose that a right to subsistence was essential to the dignity of mankind. Liberalism tries to change the conception that its charged for human rights, and democracy are culturally specific, ethnocentric and therefore are irrelevant to societies which are not Western in cultural orientations (ibid,p.68). Liberal institutions connote attention to the essential moral rights and legal right of persons and propose for these rights to be respected in all public policies (Forsythe 2006, p.32). Liberalism proposes for a state intervention in the economic life of a society as a way of defending the community against destructive powers of unfettered markets, this is because if such societies are left unregulated it will lead to their annihilation of that society. Also to liberals, state intervention in the economy is very necessary if markets are to function. This is because free trade, commercial exchange and liberal markets have always
been the policies of states and have not emerged organically or independently of it (Burchill 2005, p.71).

Not this alone a liberal like Michael Joseph Smith tells us that the doctrine of liberalism worries about how individuals can claim and preserve a “certain minimum areas of personal freedom which on no account can be violated” (Smith 1992, p.201). Liberalism urges and applies ideas of limiting arbitrary power and protecting individual freedom to a milieu in which such freedom is regularly violated with impunity (ibid., p.202). To conclude it will be safe to say that, the heart of liberalism proposes that progress is not a matter of mechanical contrivance, but of the liberation of ‘living spiritual energy’.

2.2 Critical Theory

Critical theory is a set of school of thought in international relations that criticize the status-quo from a positivist and post positivist approach. The theory has its roots in a series of ideologies that can be traced to the period of enlightenment and also be connected to the writings of Kant, Hegel and Karl Marx (Devetak 2005, p.137). And also on classical Greek thinking in autonomy and democracy as well as Nietzsche and Weber’s works all contributed to this theory (ibid., p.138). The theory is concerned with the central features of the contemporary society by trying to understand its historical and social development. It also tries to trace contradiction of the present state of the society that may open up the possibility of transcending the contemporary society, as it built in pathologies and forms of dominations (ibid). Critical theory is simply a commitment to our understanding of world and looking at things as they really are.

In critical theory debate on security, the meaning of security simply implies the stability of the existing order and the continuation of that stability into the unforeseen future. So in this sense, stable political arrangements such as any social change that might upset these arrangements are then classified as security threats (Sheehan 2005, p. 151). More so, it is good to know that dependency theory is the same as critical theory in its original form. In dependency theory social structures are the product of man’s collective behaviours that are transformed by social movements. And since social behaviour is ignited by beliefs and constitutional constructions, any interpretation of human behaviour by social scientists has to be interpretive and historical. So in these calculations, the agents of emancipation are identify as the people themselves; self-reflectively engaged in social struggles (ibid, p. 152).
In addition to this, critical theory base its emphasis on the various strands of Western social, political and philosophical ideologies in order for it to be able to emphasize it points on a theoretical framework which is capable of reflecting on the nature and purpose of the theory while at the same time it tries to reveal both obvious subtle forms of injustice and domination in the society (Devetak 2005, p.140). This it does by problematizing and seeking to dismantle the entrenched of social life that put constrains on human freedom by acknowledging that human beings do not make history under conditions of their own history. It rather stress that a detail examination of one’s present conditions is necessary and need to be undertaken (ibid). In this doctrine, there is an understanding that an ‘order’ has been given to us and that this order is by no means natural, necessary or historically invariable. This side of the theory is what give it strength to take on global configuration of power relations as its object and also gives it the power to ask how the configuration of that power came into existence in the first place, this is because the theory advocates that whatever causes any change in the contemporary society brings with it an alternative possibility which has remained immanent in history.

However, critical theory is politically and ethically charged by its interest in social and political transformation in the contemporary society (ibid, p.143). This means that the theory does not only advocates for the understanding and explaining of the existing realities of world politics, but rather it also seeks to find any loop holes in the order that transform such realties; so in essence its sort of offers us with a form of social criticism that support practical political activity which are aim at societal transformation (ibid, p.145). More so, critical international theory advocates for the explanation of how both the individual and social structures emerged and are conditioned by history. To proprietors’ of this theory, it is very crucial that we account for the development of modern states as the dominant form a political community in modernity (ibid, p.150). So in this essence it will be morally justifiable for states to construct their moral and legal duties as well as reflecting on certain assumptions about the structure and logic of international relations (ibid). Again critical theorists acknowledge that in the international system a hegemonic order must be understood as a dominant configuration of material power, ideology, and institution, that has the power to shape the world order.

Horkheimer’s tells us that critical theory is not historicism but rather it’s a theory that reflects on hegemonic socioeconomic forces through its rejection critique approach while at the same time tries to strengthens the ideologically established interests (Goman 2008, p.67). To Goman social theory are never neutral and that is why critical theory works to transform existing social
arrangements, by establishing a society of free human beings which according to him in
Horkheimer’s words, “transcend[s] the tension and y [abolishes] the opposition between the
individual’s purposefulness, spontaneity, and rationality, and those work– process relationships
on which society is built” (see ibid). To him a society needs to posses the qualities of freedom
and rationality and that is what critical theory tries to offer. The theory simply do not
acknowledge historicism but it does acknowledges a universal truth that is somehow
manifesting in history, and also justifies our creating a more “perfect” non-capitalist society
(ibid).

In addition to this, the theory does not equate knowledge and sensation. It rather establishes it
ground through movement and interpenetration. It is also not subjected or objected to the
notion of foundationalism. It rather prefer to advocate that sensations are therefore a complex
phenomena, entwining social forces and consciousness into a cognitively experienced unity;
and that we perceive it historically and socially conditioned (ibid, p.67). More so the theory
argues for its point’s based on past incidence while at the same time it reflects on dominant
values and institutions. In critical theory, how we perceive our society depends on experiences
that are reinforced by all the cultural forces that normally affect a situated actor. This is
because in critical interpretation the word perception means, “a product of society as a whole”
(ibid).

In furtherance to these assumptions of critical theory, the theory aims at producing a sort of
practical emancipatory results that will increase individual and collective self-determination in
the face of oppression and injustice. So in this essence critical theory explains how existing
structures and practices contribute to the maintenance of the oppression while at the same time
providing an alternative version that the oppressed themselves can comprehend, embrace and
implement in ways that are relevant to their specific human circumstance (Sheehan 2005,
p.152). It also advocates that security studies needs to engage with the real world by suggesting
policies, agents and site of change that are meaningful to mankind. So in essence, critical
theory debate on security is lobbying for the international society’s attention towards the
marginalized societies that have been rendered insecure by the existing system. Therefore, in
practice, it challenges the system to adopt a radical stance that may challenge the existing
political practice by (the international society) pursuing a goal of supporting the emancipation
of the victims of the current international system (ibid, p. 153); and here all developing
countries can be classified as the victims of the system.
2.3 The Theory of Constructivism

Constructivism is a theory of epistemology which argues that humans beings generate knowledge and meaning from their experiences. The theory of constructivism came about as a result of the different debate that came around with the aim of applying the logic of economic rationality in international relations. The debate was spark between neo-liberalist and realist, and also between rationalist and critical theorists. Critical theorists’ side of the debate was much concerned with the epistemological, ontological, methodological, and the normative assumptions of both the neo-realist and the neo-liberalist (Reus-Smit 2005, p.188). As a result of these debating disparities within the international relations theories came about a new theory thus; Constructivism in the 1980s. This new theory (Constructivism) is much characterise by the emphasis it places on the importance of the normative as well as material structures, and also on the role of identity in shaping political action and also on the mutually constitutive relationship between agents and structures (ibid).

As the end of the cold war brought about a major reconfiguration of debates within the dominant international relations theory, which prompted the raise of a new theory, thus the constructivist theory, this new school of thought owes much of its intellectual developments to the stream of sociological institutionalism (ibid,p.194). Richard Price and Chris Reus-Smit argue that constructive theory is primarily an outgrowth of critical international relations theory. They made this argument because the theory mainly seeks to employ the insight of critical theory as it aims at explaining the diverse issues of international politics. However it must also be noted that constructivism differs from the first wave of critical international relations theory, by placing much emphasis on empirical analysis (ibid, p.195). Modernists and post modernists constructivists through their articulation and exploration of the three core ontological propositions in social life throws more light on issues of world politics than it rival rationalists assumptions does. It goes beyond the limit to explain the extent of how structure can be used to help shape the behaviour of both social and political actors, whether they are individuals or states. So in this sense normative or ideational structures are just important as material structures. In this essence the system of shared ideas, beliefs and values all possesses structural characteristics which give power to exert influence on social and political action’s within a contemporary society. And this is because, material resources can only acquire its
meaning for human actions through the structure of shared knowledge to which it is embedded
in (ibid, p.196).

In addition to this, Constructivism put much emphasis on the importance of normative and
ideational structures because the notion teaches us on how to shape the social identities of our
political actors as the norms of the international system condition the social identity of a
sovereign state. Also the theory of constructivism advocates for the understanding of how
non-material structures helps conditions actor's identities. Identity in this sense has the
capability of influencing state interest and actions because it place much emphasis on the need
to understand how actors develop their interest, as it believe that this understanding help in
explaining better, a wide range of international political phenomenon that rationalist ignore. In
trying to make its points the theory explains what it’s meant by the term interest formation. In
constructivism interest formation is based on the social identities of individuals or States.
Identity here deals with the basis of interest (ibid, p. 196-197).

Much more, constructivism advocates that agents and structures are mutually constituted.
Even though, the theory advocates for the view that normative and ideational structures
conditions the identities and interest of actors, it also accept that these structures will not be in
existence if it were not for the knowledgeable practice of it actors (ibid). Also constructivists
tells us that non- material structures affects what actors see as the realm of possibility; as it
help shape how they (actors) think about how they should act or react, and what they are to
perceive as limitations of their actions and also as to what strategies they can imagine, entertain
or embark on in order for them to achieve their objectives (ibid, p.198).

However, the theory of Constructivism also obscures politics which are already involved in
representing reality. This is because this theory objects to the exclusion of challenging the
thought-provoking questions about politics, while at the same time it acknowledges the fact
that, thought provoking questions can be precisely link to certain unproblematic acceptance of
the real. Constructivism sees reality as a supposed virtue which exists in both the material and
social world that can also be analysed in international relations (Maja 2002, p.250). Also
constructivist like Stefano Guzzini, tells us that the theory acknowledges the existence of a
phenomenal world which are external to our thinking and do not deny reality to either the
material or social world. To constructivism advocates, it rather helps by opening up ‘the
objective facts of world politics, which are facts only by human agreement’ (ibid), as new areas for empirical investigation.

In addition to this Constructivist like Ted Hopf tells us that, the theory offers us with various means of understanding to some central issues in international relations theory. The theory throws light into issues like anarchy and the balance of power, as well the relationship between state identity and interest and also the elaboration of power and issues that concern with changes in world politics (Hopf 1998, p.172). This is because actors develop their relationships through their understanding of other actors and also through means such as media of norms and practices. So when there are no such norms to guide their actions, states exercise of power or actions possess the qualities of something that is devoid of meaning. Again in constructivism the notion of the constitutive norm is what help in shaping the specific actions of actors that will cause other actors to recognize their identity and respond to them appropriately (ibid, p.173). As a result it is really important for actors to know about the culture, norms, institutions, procedures, rules as well as the social practices that may constitute other actors. This is because one needs to know actors identities in order for them to be able to find out about what other actors interest are in international world politics or in a domestic society. Knowing the identity of a state will help one to identify the state’s preferences as well as be able to predict its line of actions in a situation.

Lastly, Constructivism debate on security advocates that there is a growing understanding that socioeconomic factors and human rights standard have a direct bearing on peace and security within and between our communities. This has made governments to acknowledge the facts that investments in socioeconomic development are means of building stability within and between states, as this will in turn promote international systemic stability. In furtherance to this, the theory place much emphasis on the notion that the underlying foundations of stability include social /economic security, resource security, inclusive and representative government, cultural security and the absence of gross inequality in societies (Newman 2001,p.249).
From this diagram, one can see that in the new global order, one cannot discuss security issues without addressing issues on development and that of Justice. Here we can see that events that resulted in the need for global governance which can be traced back to the Westphalia era, through to this era of immerse globalization have all resulted in the need to look at security from a different perspective other than the traditional notion of security; hence the proposal for the New Security Agenda. The diagram also depicts how International Relations theories are related to issues of security within the world system.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND PRESENTATION

Introduction

One cannot discuss poverty without making the reader aware of her stake in poverty issues. To me poverty is simply the lack of the very basic necessities that are needed to sustain the basic survival of the human race. In order to get a clear understanding of the European development policy for developing countries and the New Security Agenda, the case of Ghana, it is equally important to give a brief description of the Aids that have been given to the country so far, and also acknowledge those European countries that are its major Development Partners (DPs). This will then be followed by an account of the EU strategy for Africa of which the Cotonou Agreement will be discus. This agreement is basically an agreement between the ACP countries and that of the EU on issues of Development and Foreign aid. An overview of EU aid supported activities in Ghana as well as Ghana’s Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategies (GPRS) will be addressed. This will then be followed by a presentation of the New Security Agenda with its focus on economic growth. The curtains will then be drawn with issues addressing the future effects that their present predicament will exert on the Ghanaian society.

4.1 Country Background – Ghana and the EU

(Source: Ghana Statistical Service Website)

Ghana is a West African Country that can be located on the Gulf of Guinea, with Ivory Coast, Togo and Burkina Faso sharing its boundaries. Its population is estimated to be around 20.1 million in 2002. The country is ranking 129th out of 175 countries in the 2003 United Nations
Human Development index, with a per capita income of 270 US Dollars in 2002. However its per capita income has improved tremendously to 434 US Dollars, according to the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Draft report for the year 2006-2009 (EU & Ghana, Country Overview). Ghana gained its independence in 1957 and started it permanent or let’s say it stable constitutional democracy in 1992, to which an elections were held again in 1996 and December 2000. In December 2004, another free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections were held and the then ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) was return to power.

However, aside the country’s high potentials in democracy, its economy has remained structurally rigid, largely depending on exports of primary commodities, namely gold, cocoa, bauxite and timber. Also the country has since in 1983, committed itself to an ambitious economic reform programme, which is supported by international donors. This step taken by them has contributed considerable to the economic growth of the country with an average of 4.2 percent per annum between 1991 and 2002 and an estimated 6 percent for the year 2005 (EU & Ghana, Country Overview). In 1983, under the Rawlings led administration of the PNDC regime, the fragile country took a bold step by coordinating with the IMF to launch an economic recovery program. This program till today has remained the most stringent and consistent of all economic recovery programs within the African region. Even though the program was not successful upon its inception within the first few years as a result of the influx of deported Ghanaian’s from Nigeria in 1987, it however experience some solid growth for the first time since 1978, as there was a renewal of aid inflows to the country (U.S. Department of State, 2010). This reform is the very basis of stable economic recovery for the country, to which subsequent administrations worked on.

It is also important to note that aside all these praises for a developing country like Ghana; it is still a low-income country with a per capita income of US$ 434 in 2005 as was reported in the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) final draft report for the period of 2006-2009. The annual economic growth rate stood at 5.8 percent in 2005, after 4.0 percent in 2001 (ibid). Population growth is estimated at a comparatively low 1.6 percent per annum in 2002. With all these being said, 40 percent of the country’s population have been estimated to be living below the poverty line of One US dollar per day over a period of 17 years, precisely from 1983-2000 (ibid). As a result of this and in their quest to reduce the level of poverty in the society, the country formulated and implement a policy christened Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GPRS I) in February 2003. This document sets the overall framework for medium-term
poverty reduction and growth in the country for a period 2003-2005. This document is one of the main references for the 9th EDF Country Strategy Paper of the European Commission and provides a comprehensive set of development indicators and specific targets for the coming years. In 2005, a GPRSII was developed; this also highlighted their policy objectives and detailed activities for the period 2006-2009. In the 2002, Ghana opted for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) programme. This also helped by reducing the large fiscal burden of its external debt. In mid 2004, the country reached HIPC completion point. The debt relief provided under the HIPC initiative was estimated to reach an amount of US$215 million per year over the period of about nine years (2002-2011). More so, Ghana is still one of the 14 poor countries that will be benefiting from the debts cancellation agreed by the G-8 Group in July 2005 in Gleneagles (Scotland), this decision by the G8 will amount to the nominal debt relief of the country to the sum of about $4.3bn. This amount will be the total value of debt relief that will be realised over the next 20+ years (EU & Ghana, Country Overview).

The EU is the world’s largest and most open trading partner. It is also the world’s biggest single market. The enlargement of the EU in May 2004 opens the opportunity for third world countries of which Ghana is among, to benefit from the enlarged Union. A single set of trade rules, tariffs, and administrative procedures are applied throughout their trading with each other and this has simplified dealings for Ghanaian exports to the EU thereby improving the conditions for trade and investments (EU & Ghana, Country Overview). The EU is Ghana’s major trading partner accounting for 53 percent of Ghana’s exports and 33 percent of its imports. The major countries they trade with are the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Germany, France, Italy and Belgium. Also Ghana do trade with other parts of the world aside Europe, example the USA and Japan represent important export destination, whilst Nigeria, China and US are relevant importing countries. The country’s exports to the European Union mainly consist of some few primary products, with almost 60% of the exports consisting of cocoa, followed at a distance by wood (including sheets and plywood), gold (and other precious stones), prepared fish, fruits and nuts (ibid). On the other hand, Ghana also imports some range of products from the European Union and this products includes machinery, vehicles; chemical oils, clothing, medicines, electrical equipment and spare parts. It must be acknowledged that, Ghana’s trade is largely dependent on a few primary products thus gold, cocoa and timber. This puts the economy of the country in a vulnerable position to international price fluctuation. For example in 2004, it was recorded that the total value of EU exports to Ghana was €1,186
million, while imports from Ghana valued €1,032 million. This in turn shows a trade balance of €154 million deficit for Ghana (ibid).

Again, the EU actors have given very little of their attention to the country, despite the policy statements and the favourable political context in Ghana. The European Union has made the promotion of democracy and human rights a central feature of its external relations policy over the past 15 years to which the African continent is no exception. Gordon Crawford (2005) argues that the promotion of democracy by the EU as one of its policy agenda can be traced back to two key documents in the early 1990s: a Council of Ministers’ Resolution on development cooperation and the Maastricht Treaty (ibid, p.573). The EU external relations and agreement with other regions in the world are commonly seen as having ‘three pillars’, with political dialogue a relatively new addition to the traditional elements of trade and development cooperation.

More so, the EU’s main focus in Africa is based on the promotion of human rights and democracy. This according to him has been attached to the EU’s regional agreements as a shared value and objective. He again went further and excited the Cotonou Partnership Agreement and the Euro- Mediterranean Partnership, whose coverage includes sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa respectively as a good example of this (ibid,p.574-575). Additionally, a human rights and democracy clause has been inserted into the agreements with individual countries and standardised, not this alone the EU has put in place mechanisms that will ensure the coherence and consistency of democracy promotion policy between different EU actors. And lastly the EU has made available to these countries funds for positive support on issues of democratisation from a number of different sources (ibid, p.575).

Interestingly, the EU has significant agreements with the countries in Sub-Sahara Africa, this agreement started from the Lomé Convention (1985-1990), which was later on succeeded by the Cotonou Agreement in June 2000. This agreement has been rectified by all the 48 countries in Sub Saharan Africa (ibid). The main funding source for the Sub-Saharan African countries came from the European Union Development Fund (EFD), which before financing any proposal will request for the country’s strategy and national indicative programme. However this proposal is work on by both the EU and the ACP state as they both determines the focal sector of assistance for the country in questions (Crawford 2005, p. 577). In addition to this, the European Union development assistant to Ghana is mainly finance through the European Union Development Fund. In line with this, the country (Ghana) after signing the Cotonou
Agreement, presented a proposal by the name Country Strategy Paper (CSP) and National Indicative Programme (NIP) which was suppose to last from the year 2002–2007. This proposal was however accepted and adopted by the European Commission and an agreement between the two parties was, signed in October 2002. As a result of this new agreement the European Commission allocated funds from the EDF totalling €311 million. Even though the EU ‘s main focus is to promote democracy and human rights little emphasis was placed on this issues, rather the main focal point for the funds was directed towards the promotion of rural development, road transportation and macroeconomic support (ibid.p.579).

In furtherance to this, much of the Union’s funding has been allocated to the promotion of Ghana’s decentralisation program of which rural development is its main focus. Within the rural development and natural resource programme, there are three elements that potentially contribute to decentralisation and local democratic governance. These elements includes: The Human Resources Development Programme that was put in place to last for a period of five years (1997 to 2003) with a budget of €3.8 million. This program provided training in development planning and financial management to district officials and District Assembly members in Ghana’s (then) 110 districts. Also an additional, amount of €3 million was earmarked in the current European development fund to enhance a further decentralisation support. More so, another €1.5 million from the EDF was directed towards the strengthening of their local NGOs. Yet, closer examination indicates that such ‘decentralised co-operation’ has little to do with decentralised governance. This is because their emphasis on this aspect is based on the generation of income at the local or the rural level. The projects in this sector are aimed at skill development from the grass-roots, however the type of skills that they aim at improving and developing includes carpentry, sewing, baking, animal husbandry and agro-forestry (see: ibid, p.579). Despite the many funds that have been put in this area, there is evidence that it is only the first of the three components of the rural development programme that has contributed unambiguously to the strengthening of their democratic decentralisation programme (ibid, p.580).

To add more to these, further assessments of the EU’s assistant indicated that the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DANIDA) has also contributed about 70 million Danish Kronor towards Ghana’s GPRS program (ibid,582). Germany on the other hand has also been contributing to the country’s Local Governance and Poverty Reduction Support Programme (LG-PRSP). Even though it acknowledged that the Netherlands have been making some
contribution towards Ghana’s development, little have been received from the Dutch as compare to what the United Kingdom (who has long history of assistant to this country) and the other donor countries have all contributed and are still contributing (see: ibid, p.581-586).

4.2 EU Aid policy for Africa - the Cotonou Agreement

The European Union and its relationship in Africa can be traced to both their historical past. Over the years, the EU has been able to successfully contract different agreements with the various African countries which focus on the continents’ diversity in history, policies and needs. The Lomé I Agreement, which was enforced in 1975, marks the first framework of agreement with the EU and the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, as part of the ACP group of states (Commission of European Communities, Brussels 2005 p, 13). This agreement between the parties included principles such as partnership, the contractual nature of the relationship and the principle of long-term predictability of financing (ibid). This is followed by a number of subsequent agreement that includes the Lomé Agreements, and the Cotonou Agreement which was concluded by the EU in 2000 to last for a period of twenty years with the 48 countries of Sub-Saharan Africa as the signatories. The Cotonou Agreement, revised in 2005, combines a political dimension with trade and development issues in a single comprehensive framework. This agreement concluded in parallel a separate ambitious Trade, Development and Co-operation Agreement (TDCA), that has made provision for a long-term framework of dialogue, trade and cooperation (ibid).

The ever changing political and economic context of the world systems has necessitated the need for the EU to constantly reform its policy to fit into these changes. The huge emphasis on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the new security agenda after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and subsequent events like the increased impact of globalisation and the global economic meltdown are parts of the elements that has necessitated the need for the EU to rethink its policy towards the developing world. As a result of this, the Commission issued the so-called “MDG package” in April 2005; this package provides the basis for the commitments of the European Council. Building on this package, the Commission proposed, in July 2005, to the Council and the Parliament to adopt a Joint Declaration on the EU’s new Development Policy, this declaration is what they termed as the ”European Consensus” (ibid). The Consensus provided a common framework of
objectives, values and principles that the EU member states, the Commission and the European Parliament – supports and promotes as a global player and partner. The EU Strategy for Africa aims at providing a common, coordinated and coherent European initiative that supports and respond to the challenges of Africa and also constitutes a concrete case of implementation of the European Consensus mentioned above. The EU has seen the need to reinforce its basic principles that govern their relationship with the African continent. Among this principles are the notions of equality, partnership and ownership and these principles are the same principles that liberalism advocates. Even though these principles are not new, their sense of significance and implications alters the external political and economic context of changes (ibid, p.14). Incidence like the birth of the Africa Union (AU), the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) and the reinforced role of the African Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as well as the emergence of a new generation of leaders at national level has all affected the continent relationship with the EU.

On the part of its principles on equality, the Union have created a new and a more symmetrical institutional framework for relations between the two continents. For the EU, “equality implies mutual recognition, mutual respect and the definition of mutual collective interests” (ibid, p.14). Furthermore, on partnership the EU is not acting as a donor of development aid only, but also a political and commercial partner. Its relations with Africa do not only involve development issues, but also it includes a broad, concrete and constructive political dialogue (ibid). The EU tends to offer Africa lessons that they (EU) learned from their experience of continental integration, institution building and policy development. They are also the continent strategic partners. More so, issues of ownership on development policies and strategies are not imposed by the EU. The idea for good governance, respect for human rights and democracy practice by the AU and NEPAD has gain the support of the EU and this has improve the basis of dialogue and cooperation among them (ibid,p.14). As a result the EU has pledged to consistently and collectively support Africa and their country-owned strategies and policies. In order to translate the principle of ownership into policy, and budget support, aid directly contributing to a partner government’s budget for sectoral policies or general programmes, should increasingly become the main aid delivery mechanism. This approach do improves the ownership, efficiency and predictability of the support, while at the same time it aims at enhancing a more mature policy dialogue that will lead the countries to take their responsibilities in terms of objectives, means and governance mechanisms (ibid).
Also the EU aims to create an economic environment that will help the African countries reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) while at the same time help boost the economic growth of the continent. Despite improvements in economic performance, Africa only accounts for about 2 percent of the world trade and its share of global manufactured export is almost negligible. However, most African countries have been unable to diversify their exports and often remain dependent on a limited number of market-sensitive agricultural or mining commodities. Without increased economic growth and private investment, few African countries will have the sustainable revenues they need to deliver basic social services such as education and health care. Boosting economic growth will thus be a key factor in achieving the MDGs, as this will help increase their chance of halving poverty by the year 2015. Again there is the need for Africa to achieve at least a yearly average growth of 8 percent for globalisation to become a positive and effective force for Africa’s development. Because of this the EU’s development policy for Africa seeks to stimulate rapid and broad-based economic growth in order to contribute to an effective reduction of poverty. The Union’s does this by working along a specific guidelines such as supporting macro-economic stability and creating and promoting a regional integrated markets among the developing countries (South-South trade) (ibid,p.20). This here once again conforms to the notion of liberalism with its emphasis on the need to promoted development and the market economy as I did presented earlier on in my account on liberalism.

4.3 EU Aid Supported Activities in Ghana

The Government of Ghana and the European Commission on March 2006 – October 2007 drafted a paper on the Country Strategy and an Indicative Programme of Community Aid in favour of Ghana. This was signed and agreed upon by both parties. The paper was drawn up in accordance with Articles 2 and 4 of Annex IV of the ACP –EC Partnership Agreement that was signed in Cotonou on June 23, 2000, and was revised in Luxembourg on June 25, 2005. The European Community has made available the sum of €367 million which is in accordance with Article 3.2 (a) (A allocation) of Annex IV of the ACP-EC Partnership Agreement. Also the Union has made available €6.6 million which is also in accordance with Article 3.2 (b) (B allocation). However, these allocations are not entitlements and will be subjected to revision at the completion of the mid-term and also at the end of the term, this will be done in accordance with the Article 5.7 of Annex IV of the ACP-EC Partnership Agreement. It must also be not that the A allocation is to cover the things such as the macroeconomic aspects, sectoral policies, programmes and projects that are in support of both the focal and non-focal
areas of the European Community assistance. Again the B allocation is to take care of any unforeseen needs such as emergency assistant. (See: Ghana –European Community Country Strategy Paper for the period of 2008 -2013).

It is important to note that in accordance with the EU principles that I have mention earlier on partnership, the EC will only finance project and programmes only upon request from the Government of Ghana and also within the limit of the A and B allocations. More so, financing decisions on project can also be base on Article 15(4) and Article 4 (1) (d) of Annex IV of the same ACP-EC Partnership Agreement for support to non-state actors and or on the basis of Article 72 (6) of the ACP-EC Partnership for Agreement for humanitarian and emergency assistance funded from the B allocation (ibid).

It is very positive to report that the overview of the Ghana’s cooperation with the EU seems to produce some positive and significant results in the economy of the Country. The table below will help give us a clear over view of the situation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9th EDF: Revised allocation of funds</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Infrastructure</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Development</td>
<td>103.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget Support</td>
<td>102.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non- Focal sectors</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total National Indicative Programme</td>
<td>315.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The result from the 9th and previous EDF’s programme focal sectors indicates that the EC strategy on rural development was quiet a success. This is because its focus on the improvement of agriculture, the environment, water and sanitation, micro-project and the building of infrastructures such as schools, clinics, markets, water and sanitation facilities in the Northern region of Ghana were all successful. The EC practically support a small town water project that provided water systems to about 30 towns totalling about 350,000 people. By the end of the mid-term the EC was already providing water for about 600,000 people. It
has also been able to successfully strengthen and institutionalize the Water and sanitation board in the region to function well (ibid, p.27). On Agriculture, they were able to reduce the spread of the cocoa disease that was affecting Ghana’s cocoa plantations. Also, their activities on micro project was quiet a success, about 283 schools, and 64 clinics were built. All these projects are now providing services to the Ghanaian communities (ibid, p.29). So in a nutshell the EC aid assistant on micro project in the rural developmental sectors to the best of my knowledge was quiet a success.

Again on the aspect of macro-economic support, the EC has since the year 2001 focused on the implementation of the government of Ghana’s strategy and operates within the framework of Multi-Donor Budget Support. A 2-3 year general budget support programmes are drawn with the cooperation of the Government of Ghana. This budget is basically what they termed as the Poverty Reduction Budget Support (PRBS). For example it was recorded that the following sums of money were donated to the country under the following periods in accordance with the European Development Fund program.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periods</th>
<th>Amount in Millions of Euros</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However a total amount of € 91.9 million have been disbursed from 2003 to 2006. In this money € 55.2 million was funded under the 9th EDF support. More so, the EC Progress Assessment Framework (PAF) in 2006 for the year 2005 suggested that two of their triggers have not been met, while the donors own assessment suggested that its only one of those triggers that have not been met. (Source: Ghana-European Community Country Strategy Paper for the period of 2008-2013, p.29). The table below again will provide us with an overview of the allocation of the 10th EDF budget support to the country.

**10th EDF Budget Allocation Support for Ghana**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10th EDF GHANA</th>
<th>Amount in euro millions</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Type of financing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1: Transport connectivity and Regional</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Project</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Integration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Budget 1</th>
<th>Budget 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Trunk roads, other infrastructure and regional integration</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Feeder roads</td>
<td>p.m</td>
<td>p.m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Studies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Governance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Budget 1</th>
<th>Budget 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Decentralisation framework and implementation (feeder roads, water and sanitation and rural infrastructure and development.)</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Civil society capacity, social accountability (rural areas)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Non-executive governance institution</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### General Budget support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Budget 1</th>
<th>Budget 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other Programmes (of which):</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Trade facilitation, regional integration and Economic Partnership Agreement support</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Migration, Diaspora and Security</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Environment and Natural Resource Management (incl. FLEGT)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Technical Cooperation Facility</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>367</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
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The EC interventions in macro-economic support and public finance management contributed immensely to improving the macro-economic framework and public finance management capacity of the country. Also the intervention of the EC have contributed to the reduction in the macro economic imbalances that constrained the country’s growth, while at the same time the EC has been able to help the country established Public Finance Management Reform, which helped shape and discipline as well as improve their budget practices. In the nut shell the EC support to Ghana’s Audit service has been very effective (ibid, p.29).
4.4 Ghana’s Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS)

Ghana’s Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) is a developmental policy framework that was designed by the government of Ghana to help reduce the rates of poverty within the Ghanaian society as well as promoting economic growth. It includes measures that will ensure macro-economic stability and a framework on sustainable economic growth. Again its features consist of a broad base set of programs that support the growth and poverty reduction strategy as well as corresponding with the Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). Ghana’s current development policy framework can link it beginning to the 1990s vision 2020 that was brought about during the Rawlings administration.

The vision 2020 which was originally called National Development Policy Framework (NDPF) was drawn to last for a period of 25 years. The main agenda of the vision 2020 was to improve the living standard of the individuals in the Ghanaian society as well as improve their social well-being (Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy 2003-2005, p.1). Even before the vision 2020, there was an attempt to boost up the country’s economy, in 1991 the then government of Ghana drafted a report that was titled Making People Matter: A Human Development Strategy for Ghana, this was then followed by the 25 years development perspective and vision 2020 in 1994 (ibid, p.2). In view of these development strategies multilateral and bilateral donors have been making significant contribution to these development strategies. In all donors contributes to the largest share of the non-wage expenditure of the country, the share of the foreign donors as in 1997 amount to about 75% of the total non wage expenditure of the country. Also donors contributed 66% of the overall non wage expenditure of the country in 1998, for the year 2001 alone their contribution as very much significant and crucial to the development of the country. With 86% going to Agriculture, 90% on Energy, 72% on industry, 76% on water and 76% on roads (ibid). This all tells us that the majority of Ghana’s development project lies on the contribution of it foreign donors.

The government of Ghana’s GPRS programme is made up of comprehensive policies, strategies, programmes and projects that will support growth and poverty reduction over a three year period. Its main aim is to create wealth by transforming the nature of the economy to achieve growth, through a meaningful acceleration of poverty reduction as well as the protection of vulnerable plus exclusion in decentralise democratic environment. In order to achieve this purpose or aim, the government worked along the following guidelines:

- Ensuring sound economic management for accelerated growth;
Increasing production and promoting sustainable livelihoods;
Direct support for human development and the provision of basic services;
Providing special programmes in support of the vulnerable and excluded;
Ensuring good governance and increase capacity of public sector; and
The active involvement of the private sector as the main engine of growth and partner in nation building.


For the country to achieve its ambition of the reduction of poverty within its society, the policy (GPRS) that its responsible for, had defined its scope of poverty as an unacceptable physiological and social deprivation that are caused by the following list points:

- lack of macro-economic stability that erodes the resources of the poor through inflation and other variable
- the inability of the national economy to optimise benefits within the global system
- low capacities through lack of education, vocational skills, entrepreneurial abilities, poor health and poor quality of life
- low levels of consumption through lack of access to capital, social assets, land and market opportunities
- exposure to shocks due to limited use of technology to stem effects of droughts, floods, army worms, crop pests, crop disease, and environmental degradation
- habits and conventions based upon superstition and myths giving rise to anti social behaviour
- the lack of capacity of the poor to influence social processes, public policy choices and resource allocations
- the disadvantage position of women in society
- other factors leading to vulnerability and exclusion

(Source: GPRS 2003-2005, p.3)

However, with all this good intension and comprehensive acknowledgement of issues on poverty, the country has not been quite successful on its aim of reducing poverty within it stipulated time period. Moreover it’s heavily dependency on it foreign donor is quite problematic.
4.5 The impact of the Global Economic crisis on Ghana

Deducing from the country’s long history of unstable economy for over a period of 30 years, after the first over throw of it first democratic elected government, and looking at it gradual road to recovery since the 1983s, it is natural for one to assume that the current global economic crisis may have a sort of negative impact on Ghana’s socioeconomic development. Ghana since the pre–crisis period had enjoyed a period of relatively stable growth of about 5% per year, as a result of its enhancement in political and macroeconomic stability. This stability contributed to the substantial inflows of external financing into the country (Ackah et al 2009, p.4). But as with many developing countries, foreign aid has been a major source of external finance for the country. It accounts for over 50% of Ghana’s development budget and about 12% of its gross national income (GNI). Since the year 2000, the country has been receiving aid that support it poverty reduction strategy (GPRS I and II). This strategy is also hopeful in realising the country’s dream of achieving middle–income status by 2015, which will essence; fulfil the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). But records from the previous chapter show that the global economic crisis which occurs in 2007 has not affected the inflow of development aid to the country, even though the crisis has really affected the country’s financial and trading sectors. But on the other hand, it is during this period of the crisis that the country has seen an increase in the flow of development aid from it major donors of which the EU is among.

However, it is also important to acknowledge that even though total aid disbursement are positively correlated with donors output, and given the severity of the crisis in the developed economies, there is a possibility that there can be a potential reduction of aid into the country in the future, but so far nothing of that sort has happen yet, but should in case this happen it will inflict severe hardship on the people of Ghana, as the government of Ghana depends much on it external assistance in the form of grants and loans to facilitate it developmental budget (Ackah et al 2009,p.15). But till date this has not yet happened, and the future is still unknown to the fragile country.

4.6 The New Security Agenda (Human Security): The Economic Security

The concept of economic security is controversial and highly politicized (Buzan 1998, p.95). This is what makes it discussion more worthy and interesting. Economic security is mainly concern with access to resources finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of
welfare and state power (Sheehan 2005, p.66). The idea of economic security is located in the unresolved and highly politicalizes debates about international political economy concerning the nature of the relationship between the political structure of anarchy and the economic structure of the market (ibid). In Liberalism, it is argued that the economy should be at the root of the social fabric (by social fabric I meant economic activities, such as production, consumption, trading etc) and that the market should be left to operate as freely as possible without interference by the state. Rather the state should concentrate on the provision of law as well as the politico-military security while at the same time safeguarding the social fabric in areas where the market fails to do so (ibid). Prominent economist like Sir Adam Smith tells us that economics and national security are linked to some extent. This is because the relationship between economics and security has been a case whereby the former is seen as a subordinate to the latter (Sheehan 2005, p.65).

It is also worth knowing that economic security as with all security sectors is not free-standing (ibid, p.73). It overlaps with other sectors of security as well as one of the methods of reducing insecurity. International interdependence or globalisation per say have the tendency to threaten national security in variable ways that are indirect and are not easily countered by military force (ibid). Complex international interdependence has contributed to the increase in economic security policy debates within our international systems. This is because policy-oriented debates on security tend to look more on states in terms of their ability to marshal resources to encounter specific military threats. As a result debates on economic security tends to dwell much on how economic security will help increase international cooperation and stability as well as reducing potential threats (ibid, p.74). And from my accounts on the EU aid activities in Ghana, we can see clearly that the aim of the EU falls in line with ideology. More so, the creation of the international systems by states was done with the aim of assisting states to better their trade relations. The rules and procedures provides by the same international systems will be that which will encourage the notion of reciprocity as it will also ensure a convergence of expectations that can lead to a compromise among states (ibid), and this is really what the international bodies are responsible for. It is this notion of reciprocity that I will say has encouraged the European Union in assisting developing countries in the quest to develop.

In addition to this, governments are aware that as a result of globalisation, multinational companies tend to invests more in areas where the cost of production are cheap for them. As a
result of this and with many Western Nations nationals being the owners of major multinational companies; assisting developing countries by helping them to stabilize their economy, and democracy is a way of securing a place for a future investment for their people when the need arise, this is because their humanitarian assistance to these countries now will assure them of stable environment for their investments while at the same time enjoying cheap productivity which will in the long run help increase their profits margins, while at the same time developed the less developed countries. However, the notion of poverty and the problem of global development can be seen as a security issue because it might be the root cause of many conflicts. This is because most conflicts in this post modern time tend to take place within states instead of happening between states. This makes it legitimate to understand economic security in terms of basic human needs. This is because human survival and development crucially depends on the provision of certain basic needs for sustaining life. Examples of these needs are food, shelter, health care, water, clothing and education (ibid, p.76). So in this essence it will be safe to say that Human Security requires both freedom from fear and that from want. The IMF and the world Bank tends to respond with policies and structural adjustments that encourage developing countries to open up for foreign investors as well as assisting them with their development policies.

More so, Buzan and the Copenhagen School advocacy on economic security categories it into three main groups namely; Mercantilist, Liberals and the socialist. On the mercantilist view, politics is prioritized and the state is seen as the key actor providing the necessary security for the operation of firms and markets. The liberals also prioritize the economy and insist that the market should be left to operate freely without any interference from the state. The state in this respect is only required to provide law and external military protection and to support the social fabric in a strictly number of areas where the market fails to do so. The final group, which is the socialist argues that economics underpins the entire social and political reality and that there is the need for the states to interfere and organise the economic system in order to direct it results toward the achievements of the social and political goal of equality and justice (Sheehan 2005,p.66-67). This point here makes the discussion of economic security worth it in this paper as it conforms to both Ghana and the EU ideologies for the society; with Ghana’s ambition of providing equality, justice and welfare for it people and the EU’s ideology of spreading Western liberal democratic values to the rest of world, as this is what this paper mainly discusses.
CHAPTER FOUR

Summary

Chapter four was introduced by presenting the research findings on Ghana’s developmental policies and projects as well as providing the involvement of other foreign donors of which the EU was of paramount concern. Also the nature of the Human Security or the New Security Agenda in it economic sectors was also presented. From the information gathered, it can be deduced that, almost all of Ghana’s developmental ambitions depends on the donations it received from it foreign donors of which the EU is a major contributor. It was ascertained from Ghana’s Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy papers that most of the country’s developmental plans are finance by the EU development funds.

More so, the government of Ghana cooperation with governmental and non-governmental consultants from the EU in planning and drafting their strategy papers gives them the chance to base their developmental path on the various strands of Western social, political and philosophical ideologies which has proven to be successful. This also makes it easier for them to be able to emphasize their views on the developmental framework while at the same time reflecting on the nature and purpose of their quest and also tries to reveal both the obvious subtle forms of injustice and domination in the contemporary society. This here conforms to the teachings of Critical theory. (see, p.15).

From the 10th EDF budget allocation support for Ghana alone, it was gathered that with the help of expect from the EU the country was able to present a concrete standard budget to the European Commission of which it was accepted and approved. More so, from the budget you can see that the country’s poverty reduction strategy aims towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals that was set up by the United Nations. Also the action of the EU which is a liberal institution conforms to that of the doctrine of social liberalism which advocates for governments intervention in the economy to provide full employment and protection of individual human rights. The EU as I see it aims to shape the actions of developing country, it sort of acts like a guarding light to their path.

One might at first think that, the turns of events will reduced the flow of aid to Ghana, but it was surprising to find out that it did not. From the funds allocated to the country, it is easily
ascertained that the funds allocated to the 10th EDF budget for Ghana surpasses all the previous ones. This brings me to the conclusion that, the EU as a liberal institution really adheres to its principles of liberalism, which mandate them to seek for the good of all no matter what. Also, as the global economic melt-down has badly affected the Western nations, couple with the current environmental problems alongside with so many terrorist threats and attacks, one would have thought that the EU will be much more concerned with securing it territory, rather than spending millions of their money on developing nations. But fortunately that is not the case; the European Union is still much committed with its quest to help developing countries in achieving the MDG’s while at the same time caring for their problems. More so, the MDGs in itself are also part of the New Security Agenda so in essence they still falls under one umbrella. More so, if we look at from the New Security Agenda in the economic sector, it can be seen that as a result of governments awareness of globalisation, multinational companies tend to invest more in areas where the cost of production are cheap.

As a result of this and with many Western Nations nationals being owners of major multinational companies they rather tend to help in assisting developing countries by helping them to stabilize their economy, and democracy so that if they invest there in the future, they will be assured of stable environment for their investment while at the same time enjoying cheap productivity which will in the long run help increase their profits margins, and developed the less developed countries. This kind of thinking can be found under the notions of liberalism, which seeks for the good of all. I am saying this because we can see here that all the parties involve will in one way or the other experience some significant gains in the long run.

The doctrine of constructivism advocates for constructive thinking in international relations, the EU development assistant to Ghana, can be said to be constructive. This is because if Multi-National Companies (MNCs) rather see helping developing countries as a security and profit increasing approach for their investments in the future, then their actions can be justified under the notion of constructive thinking. In addition to this critical theory tells us that whatever causes any change in the contemporary society brings with it an alternative possibility which has remained immanent in history. So in this case, the current global problems which ranges from all the sectors of the level of analysis (thus: political, military, economic, environment, to societal) will surely be accompanied by an alternative possibility. This I can say is somehow happening now, as the gradual falling of the US as an economic
hegemonic power of world is happening at a time when china is also on a rampant rise to
economic hegemonic power, what will happen in the future will be an imminent history.

**Conclusion**

The objective of this paper was to investigate and analyze the flow of EU aid for development
particular to Ghana and specifically on the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Policy
(GPRS II) and the Medium Term Development Framework Policy (for the period 1998 -
2010). The Study also focused on the effectiveness of the aid in helping the Ghanaian
government achieve some of its development ambitions and also to find out if the new security
agenda in the sense of securing the economy has affected the EU’s aid to developing countries
as a result of the global crisis. In order to achieve this aim, I did investigate and presented
some important official documents that is concerned with both Ghana and the European Union
on it budget funding support for Ghana. These documents include the Ghana EU Country
Strategy Papers, Ghana’s GPRS papers, the Cotonou Agreement, as well as the EU strategy for
Africa’s Documents. My intention here was to establish the effectiveness of the aid to Ghana
to which I believed I did.

In line with my objective, I presented documentation that established that the Ghanaian
economy as it can be seen depends heavily on foreign donations to fund it developmental
projects; and that it would have been very problematic for the country if the EU had withdrawn
its funding support from the country as a result of the New Security Agenda. More so, from the
findings of the research it was ascertained that not only does the country depends on it foreign
donors funding but it also seek their expertise which in my opinion is a good step for a
developing country. However, a country like Ghana seeking to developed should be able to set
up certain mechanism that will on its own help facilitate it development projects rather than
laying a major part of their budget on their donors. This is because should in case the donor
countries fails to respond to their needs they might find themselves wanting.

Again working along the line of my objective, the results of my investigation and analysis has
established that Ghana as a country heavily depends on foreign donors to which the European
Union is among when it comes to funding for their developmental projects. From the
theoretical framework presented in this paper it can be seen that most of the activities of the
European Union conforms to the doctrines of these theories. What this implies is that the
activities of the EU before and after the global economic melt-down, as well as other pertinent occurrences can all be found within the framework of liberalism, constructivism and critical theory. One can deduced from the beginning of this paper that it was feared that the European Union might have reduced its aid to Ghana as a result of the New Security Agenda, but the research findings have proved it to be otherwise. Rather, it is during this time of the New Security Agenda that the country has seen the flow of large sums of money for its development project. The discursive presentation and analysis of the official documents has shown that the New Security Agenda in respect to its economic sector as well as development is concerned is centred on achieving the eradication of poverty and sustainable development. So in essence the employment of the EU development policy in developing countries do however serves as a means of addressing some of the issues of the New Security Agenda and it is also beneficial for the developing countries as well.
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