

THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS): CHALLENGE OF SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN THE SUB-REGION: THE JOURNEY SO FAR



BY
Hakeem Olayiwola Sarki

A THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL COMPLETION OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF
The Certificate-of-Training in United Nations Peace Support Operations



Peace Operations Training Institute®

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REGION-The Journey So Far**

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NIGERIAN AIR FORCE

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- The Journey So Far**

A Thesis

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**Presented in Partial Completion of the Requirement of
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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memories of those who laid down their lives towards the pursuit of sustainable peace and to all efforts at building peace in the twenty first century.

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First, I would like to thank the Almighty God whose love and protection sustained me through the entire period of this study. Also, for giving me the strength and motivation to undertake and accomplish the 3 components leading to the award of COTIPSO. My heartfelt gratitude to the members of my family for their support and immeasurable contributions to my success in my life. My parents – Alhaji and Alhaja R I Sarki, my Siblings – Lukman, 'sumbo, Razaq, Azeez, Ebun and my adorable Nephew and Niece –'sorefunmi and 'tofunmi. Thank you for being there for me all the way.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The heritage, human diversity and natural resources of West Africa should be a source of pride and asset to the Sub region. Instead, West Africa has endured many years of atrocities and wars that have left millions dead and more internally and externally displaced. Minority rule and fight for power and wealth have led to the disruption of the traditional societal relations. These past grievances continue to influence West African affairs today.

In view of the foregoing, since its establishment in May 1975, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has consistently strived to integrate West African economies towards rapid growth and development in order to enhance the living standards of its citizenry. These efforts were originally promised on an assumption of a stable and secure environment for economic integration. The economic goals have, however, proved extremely difficult to realize as a result of continuous instability and the recurrent outbreak of intra-state conflicts in response to bad governance among other

issues.

Following the end of the cold war; the Mano River basin experienced unprecedented violent domestic conflicts that threatened the entire West African sub-region. The civil conflicts which broke out in Liberia sent ripples across the region. The unstable nature of the sub-region compelled ECOWAS to move beyond its economic aims and objective, to include stability and security as a priority for the community and to institutionalize conflict prevention, management and resolution as a core activity.

However, subsequent ECOWAS peacekeeping efforts and interventions in Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire were executed. Consequently, various operational, political and diplomatic challenges were faced.

Amongst the major findings the study made were that corruption and bad governance are the major hindrances to political stability. Based on these findings, the study proffered strategies and made recommendations that would enhance sustainable peace in the community. These include engaging

Armed Forces of ECOWAS member nations in productive ventures in order to avoid military incursion, and that West African leaders should invest in good governance through transparency and accountability.

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ACRONYMS

AU - African Union

COMESA – Common Market for East and Southern Africa

CPLP – Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries

DDR – Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration

DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo

EAT – Emergency Autonomous Transfusion

EBID – ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development

ECA – Economic Commission of Africa

ECOMICI – ECOWAS Mission in Cote d’Ivoire

ECOMIL – ECOWAS Mission in Liberia

ECOMOG – ECOWAS Cease Fire and Monitoring Observer Group

ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States

ESF – ECOWAS Standby Force Concept

EU – European Union

FAANCI – *Forces Armees Nationales de la Cote d’Ivoire*

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

ICJ – International Court of Justice

IRIN – Integrated Regional Information Network

ISP – Internet Service Provider

ISS – Institute of Security Studies

MEND – Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta

MJP – Movement for Justice and Peace

MPCI – *Patriotic Movement of Cote d’Ivoire*

MPIGO - *Movement of Great West*

MPMC – Mission Planning and Management Cell

MRU – Mano River Union

NAFTA – North American Free Trade Area

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NEPAD – New Partnership for Africa’s Development

NJIA – Nigeria Journal of International Affairs

OAU – Organization for African Unity

OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

PMAD – Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defence

RUF – Revolutionary United Front

SADC – South African Development Community

SHIRBIG – Standby High Readiness Brigade

SMC – Standing Mediation Committee

SRES – Special Representative of the Executive Secretary

TCC – Troop Contributing Country

UEOMA – West Africa Economic and Monetary Union

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

USA – United States of America

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

WAMZ – West African Monetary Zone

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background. The termination of the Cold War between the erstwhile super power, former Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and the United States of America (USA) with their allies, ushered in relative peace and global stability; the world was spared from the specter of a full-scale nuclear war. The ensuing calm has enabled increased economic and technological advancement in most nations of the world. As these other regions were basking in the dividend of newly found post-cold war peace; paradoxically, this encouraged series of armed conflicts within the Third World especially in the West African Sub region. The main causes of these conflicts could be attributed to poor governance, ethnicity, boundary dispute, military incursion in governance and economic deprivations. West Africa had to deal with different kinds of challenges, some of which took violent forms and in

some cases posed a serious threat to the very existence of the states concerned. The failure by some of these countries to reach a peaceful resolution to their domestic pressures often led to violent outbursts with serious security implications for the Sub region. The chaotic and brutal nature of the conflicts coupled with the inaction of the big powers reinforced the need for an African solution to what was largely perceived an African problem. The first of these moves came on 25 August 1990 when the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) decided that an intervention force (the ECOWAS cease-fire monitoring and observer group- ECOMOG), be inserted into Liberia in a bid to put a stop to the mayhem and mass murder that gripped that unfortunate country.¹

On Christmas Eve 1989, exiled Liberian dissidents launched a series of attacks on their country heralding the beginning of one of the most brutal violent conflicts in West Africa in the post-cold war era.² The mass exodus of refugees with its destabilizing effects and the general indifference of the international community to the plight of the victims of the

conflicts compelled some regional leaders into action. These left the political leaders of West Africa with no option but to take matters into their own hands. On 17 August 1990, Sir Dauda Jawara, then president of Gambia and Chairman of ECOWAS convened an emergency summit of Heads of State and Governments of ECOWAS to discuss the Liberian conflicts and its wider implications for regional security. Following the emergency meeting in Banjul, the Gambian capital, ECOWAS established a Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) comprising Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Togo. The decision to create the SMC provides that *"where there is a dispute, the chairman of the Authority shall convene the other members of the committee as early as practicable and inform the members of the state involved in the dispute or conflict of the preparedness of the committee to initiate procedures"*.³ The SMC in turn decided that *"ECOWAS shall establish, under the authority of the Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS member states, a cease – fire monitoring observer Group (ECOMOG) to be composed of*

military contingents drawn from the member states of the ECOWAS SMC as well as Guinea and Sierra Leone."⁴ The force was mandated to intervene and separate the warring parties. Supporters of ECOMOG saw it as a bold attempt by West Africans to address problems in their own backyard. From its inception, the ECOWAS intervention was dogged by controversy ranging from, amongst other things, its lack of UN Security Council authorization to the fact that there was no peace to keep.⁵ In spite of the controversy surrounding the intervention, there was an emerging consensus that in the face of superpower disengagement, the Sub region needs to harness its resources to address the plethora of crises that have erupted in the last decade of the Twentieth century. This feeling was reinforced by the international community's failure to stop the Rwandan genocide in 1994 in which almost one million people were massacred within the space of three months.⁶

The ECOMOG initiative stands today as one of the novel developments in the post-Cold War world. The ECOWAS

intervention in Liberia and Sierra Leone is considered innovative for the following reasons: first, it was the first time that a regional organization set up for economic integration had undertaken such a bold and controversial step; second, it challenged the sacrosanct notions of sovereignty and non intervention; third, it involved a humanitarian rationale- something unthinkable a few years earlier; fourth, it attempted to draw a direct link between development and security issues, and finally, it saw a championing role played by Nigeria, asserting its influence as the regional hegemon. As a result of its experience in Liberia and Sierra Leone, ECOWAS has thus broadened its focus from purely economic integration to accommodate the need for a widened approach to security.⁷

ECOMOG has been hailed, with some justification, as a landmark in sub regional peacekeeping in West Africa, if not a pointer to the changes in peacekeeping trend (traditional to multidimensional) in the post cold war era. The international community has been slow to recognize these changes and, since Somalia, reluctant to get involved, assuming (rightly or

wrongly) that the intervention of the international community would have limited efficacy.⁸ Given this situation, marginal countries, particularly those in West Africa, had no option but to design their own collective security system. The ECOMOG operation in Liberia is an often painful example of the transition between the old and 'new' modes of peacekeeping, which tend to be sub regionally based.

Although the United Nations has contributed significantly to the emergency relief and humanitarian aid that have gone to Liberia, the UN did not address the Liberian crisis in political terms until November 1992, almost three years after the crisis erupted. All indications are that the UN considered Liberia a regional problem best dealt with by ECOWAS, the regional body.⁹

This seemingly grey spots in international relations and the belief that a panacea exists for sustainable peace in West Africa, both served as the impetus to embark on this study. The dilemma is worth investigating because peaceful coexistence within the sub region has a direct relationship with the socio-

political and economical advancement of the people. A sub region that is characterized by political instability is likely to be impoverished as no meaningful technological advancement can take place.

1.2 Statement of the Problem. As it is well known, Conflict as an intrinsic and inevitable aspect of social change, it is a natural phenomenon which is a derivative of human interaction and interrelationship. Societies can seldom exist without political, social, economic or ideological differences. However, the way we deal with conflict is a matter of habit and choice; while it is possible to change habitual responses and exercise intelligent choices, conflict resolutions mechanisms can be always put in place to bring about some durable peace.¹⁰ It is obvious that the political instability in the sub-region has led to insecurity, which has in turn retarded economic development. Like in most of the African continent, for the West African Sub-Region to make any meaningful progress, the issue of political instability must be addressed.¹¹

Consequently, it is imperative to seek answers to the following questions: What are the causes of political instability in the sub-region? To what extent are the inhabitants of West Africa responsible for the instability? And why have these conflicts not been fully resolved?

1.3 Objectives of the Study. As we have so far highlighted, the purpose of this study is to examine the challenges confronting ECOWAS in the West African Sub Region. However, the specific objectives are:

- a. To identify the impact of these challenges on the sub-region.
- b. To determine the prospects of sustainable peace in the sub-region.
- c. To explore ways of combating the constraints by ECOWAS.

1.4 Significance of the Study. The focus of this thesis is the identification of the causes and the possible solutions to the

endemic challenges of political instability in West Africa. This, it is believed, will serve as a basis for an enduring peace in the sub-region and thus create a foundation for sustainable economic growth and technological advancement.¹² Although, the sub-region stands to benefit from the product of the research, and it nevertheless will be of value to the international community. Consequently, the paper will be of benefit to the African continent and the body of knowledge at large.

1.5 Methodology. The following methods are adopted:

- a. **Source of Data:** The study relies mainly on Secondary data which are sourced from published (and un-published) materials, such as: books, journals, and newspapers. These data are collected from existing documentation on the subject matter from Libraries, lecture notes, internet and verbal discussions and interviews with experts on the subject matter.

b. **Method of Data Analysis:** Data gathered are analyzed through the qualitative method by sequential reasoning and logical presentation of existing views of various schools of thought on the subject with the aim of adopting a pragmatic position.

1.6 Scope. The study will identify the causes and effects of the challenges faced by ECOWAS since its inception in May 1975 till date and articulate ways of overcoming these challenges.

In order to realize these lofty objectives, this paper assumes that some reasonable principles of democratic governance, rule of law and political stability would prevail in the Sub region. There is optimism that the international community/organizations would be inclined to assist both the AU and ECOWAS to develop their domestic, political and economic institutional framework and provide adequate funding and logistical support when the need arises.

And finally, it is our desired hope that the command, control, and logistical aspects of ECOMOG standby forces would

have been well developed and capable of rapid intervention in all manner of mandated roles, including disaster relieves.

1.7 Limitations. An interview with the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas would have been useful for this study. However, all efforts to secure an interview with the executive secretary have been fruitless due to his other engagements. This limitation are however, compensated for by interviews with the military liaison officers and other staff of ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja, where most of our primary data are gathered. The facts and opinions of the staff will be analyzed on their objective merits. Another limitation of the study is the inability of the author to visit any of the affected countries in the sub-region involved in one form of conflict or the other. These are compensated for from our primary and secondary data, including eye witness's accounts.

In the chapters that follow, we shall look into the overview of West African Sub Region, the creation, structure,

objectives and antecedents of ECOWAS, including other prominent examples of regional organizations from across the world.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 ECOWAS AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

2.1 Overview Of The West African Sub-Region



Source: www.un.org/dept/cartographic/map/profile/westafrica

West Africa is oriented west of an imagined North-South axis lying close to 10⁰ East longitudes. The Atlantic Ocean forms the western and southern borders of the region. The northern border is the Sahara Desert with the Niger bend generally considered the northern-most part of the region. The eastern border is less precise, with some placing it at the Benue trough,

and others on a line running from Mount Cameroon to Lake Chad.¹³ West Africa is vast and comprises of 15 (English and French) Speaking countries which form ECOWAS states namely: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Niger and Togo. There are distinct group of eight countries, which form a monetary and customs union known as the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA). The currency of these countries is the CFA Franc and is pegged to the Euro. The other group is made up of 7 non-UEMOA countries each with its own national currency. This second group accounts for about 65 percent of the regional Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 70 percent of the population.¹⁴

The debt stock of ECOWAS member states was estimated at 68 billion US dollars in 2002. This represents a level of indebtedness of 71 percent of the GDP. External debt servicing took about 17 percent of export earning in the sub region.¹⁵ The creditors are members of Paris Club, London Club and other multilateral organizations. The implication of this debt burden is that most West African States are tied to the dictates of the lending institutions and a large percentage of their resources are devoted to debt servicing.

Politically, most states of West Africa are evolving

democratic regimes. Elections are often characterized by violence and some have led to tensions in states such as Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Ghana has however, evolved from a mature democratic governance within the sub region. To ensure good governance, the Authority of Heads of States and Governments has developed a peer review mechanism. Learning from the Ghanaian example, member states can thus, hopefully develop a stable political system.

In 2006, the West Africa's population was estimated at 320 million or 29 percent of the entire African population. About 60 percent of the populations are illiterate and over 70 percent lack access to safe drinking water and medical facilities.¹⁶ A large part of the population is unemployed. This is because the socio- economic development level is low. It must therefore be underscored that the generality of the West African Sub Region is a Third World region with a lot of resources that are yet to be harnessed. Most of the citizens live in abject poverty and the countries are highly indebted to western lending institutions. Integration is therefore crucial to achieve development in the sub region. This ra'son detre largely informed the formation of ECOWAS.

2.2 Creation of ECOWAS. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) like similar sub regional bodies around the world, was not envisioned at its inception as a collective security institution. It was seen at the onset purely as a mechanism for promoting regional economic integration. This explains why the issue of regional security, perceived purely in military terms, found little expression in the ECOWAS treaty.

ECOWAS was formed for mainly economic cooperation amongst its members. It was formed on the initiatives of late President Gnesingba Eyadema and General Yakubu Gowon (then rulers of Togo and Nigeria respectively.) The ECOWAS Treaty was signed in Lagos in May, 1975. The objectives of ECOWAS are to provide forum for pan West African economic cooperation and to eliminate distrusts between Anglo-phone and Franco-phone states. In the 33 years of its existence, ECOWAS has made efforts to achieve integration in political, economic, social, security and other areas.¹⁷One of the notable efforts is the formation of ECOWAS cease-fire monitoring and observer Group (ECOMOG) in 1989, to restore peace in Liberia and other troubled States in the Community.

2.3 Structure of ECOWAS. The mission of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is to promote

economic integration in *“all fields of economic activity, particularly industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions ,social and cultural matters.”*

The Institutions of ECOWAS are as follows:

- The Commission
- The Community Parliament
- The Community Court of Justice
- The ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID)

The Commission and ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development, more often called the fund are its two main institutions designed to implement policies, pursue a number of programs and carry out development projects in member states. Such projects include intra-community road construction and telecommunications; and development of agricultural, energy and water resources.

The Community Parliament is a forum for dialogue, consultation and consensus for representatives of the people of West Africa with the aim of promoting integration. It was established under Articles 6 and 13 of the ECOWAS Revised Treaty of 1993. The protocol relating to the parliament was signed in Abuja on 6th August, 1994 and entered into force on 14th March, 2002. It provides for the structure, composition,

competence and other matters.¹⁸The Community Court of Justice was established in 1991 and the Revised Treaty of the Community came into existence in 1993. The Community Court of Justice is fourth after the Authority of Heads of State and Government and before the Executive Secretariat.

The functions of the Court are as ascribed by Article 76 of the Revised Treaty which may be specific, thus: *“Any dispute regarding the interpretation or the application of the provisions of this Treaty shall be amicably settled through direct agreement without prejudice to the provision of this Treaty and relevant protocols”*. The decision of the Court shall be binding on member states, the institutions of the Community and on individuals and corporate bodies.¹⁹

2.4 Aims and Objectives of ECOWAS. It is crucial to consider the aims and objectives of ECOWAS upon which various integration effort are based. ECOWAS founding fathers held the vision of “attainment of the collective self-reliance through the transformation of the fifteen national economies of the region into an economic community characterized by a common market and a monetary union.” Article 2 of the ECOWAS Treaty states the aims of the community as:

“To promote cooperation and development in all field of economic activity particularly in the field of industry, transport,

*telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its people, of increasing and maintaining economic stability, of fostering closer relations among its members and of contributing to the progress and development of the African continent."*²⁰

Various measures were outlined to achieve this aim; some of which include gradual elimination of customs duties, and abolition of restriction on trade within the community. The body equally agreed to establish a common customs tariff and commercial policy towards Third World countries. It also agreed to abolish all obstacles to the free movement of persons, services and capital; harmonize economic policies and promote joint developmental projects.

According to Ambassador Olu Adeniji, "at the time ECOWAS was created, economic development and state security were considered as 2 distinct issues."²¹ Consequently, the ECOWAS Committee of Elders was mandated in 1991, to identify the lapses in the treaty of Lagos and recommend ways of addressing them. In its report, the Committee of Elders recommended political, economic, social and security measures to strengthen cooperation and integration in the Sub region.

Following the recommendation of the Committee, the Authority of Heads of State and Government adopted the Declaration of ECOWAS political principle on 6 July, 1991. The principle promotes political pluralism, observance of fundamental human rights, promoting good neighborliness and ensuring peace and security. The Eminent Persons Committee, also recommended the establishment of ECOWAS Parliament, Court of Justice, Social and Economic Council and the Council of Elders.²²

2.5 Integration in West Africa. According to the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas: *“Integration enables us to share experiences, to lean on each other. Many of the problems relating to peace and security involve a situation where a particular country is unable by itself to build condition of peace and stability for its people. In the context of the wider sub region, the support mechanism is there for neighbors to help because if neighbors stand aloof, the problems of one country become theirs, become the problems of the sub region. Its conflict will spread, people will become refugees, and have to take care of them, provide for their education, provide for their support, so I believe the integration process is one way in which we can in fact help to deal with the problems of insecurity faced in various countries. Also, through this wider form of regional integration, peer pressure comes to bear when certain norms are set, community*

standards, minimum norms for governance, respect for the rights of citizens, their right to participate in government. As you know, in West Africa and all of Africa, we have set clear standards for constitution, violent means will not be recognized, will simply not be admitted to the club (Paris club). I think that a raise accepting democratic norms and that in turn, in my estimation, builds the pre conditions for peace and stability in our respective countries.”²³

Subscribing to these facts, it is observed that in the last 2 decades, most writings on West Africa have been overshadowed by conflicts. The tragedy of the global condemnation of these crises in the region can be understood being at a time many parts of the world are engaged in developmental efforts.

The need for greater integration among the states of West Africa arose mainly from the perceived economic potentials of a sub region bedeviled by the problems of insecurity and underdevelopment. Many notable regions, the world over, have applied such an integration approach to achieve development and security, thus, contributing to global peace. A typical example of a successful regional bloc is the European Union (EU).

In West Africa, the integration process has tentatively been broadening to cover political, economic, social, cultural,

security and other issues. ECOWAS increased from 15 member states in 1975 to 16 in 1976, though it now has 15 members due to the withdrawal of Mauritania from the body on 15 December, 2000. The Sub-Regional body has equally deepened in its intensity, having established a parliament, judiciary and the evolving of the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ).²⁴ Integrative processes are thus a continuum and each strand of the illustrative concept can be found in the ECOWAS grouping. This chapter will review the concepts and theories that would be useful for studying ECOWAS and its challenges. These concepts include ECOWAS, regional integration and challenges. It will equally highlight the rationale for effective integration in the sub region.

The theory of international integration will be a useful guide in explaining the concept of regional institutions. Joshua Goldstein, an American scholar of international Relations, contends that integration is "*a process by which supranational institutions replace national ones.*" Similarly, Lindbergh sees it as, "the process whereby nations forgo the desire and ability to conduct other, seeking joint decisions or delegate decision – making process to a new central organ."²⁵ The view of Goldstein and Lindbergh are extreme as they refer to finding a sub-regional government in West Africa. It is difficult for the nations to "*fore –go*" decision – making in State-matters to

other bodies, especially as they are at formative stages. Indeed, one of the initial problems of the organization of African Unity (OAU) now (AU) was Dr Kwame Nkrumah's call for a United States of Africa. Many smaller African States rejected the idea for fear of domination. Studies of the EU Further shows that member states did not cede sovereignty in totality, but collaborate in specific aspects of state activity like trade .The process of integration thus involves a partial sharing of power between the State and the supernatural bodies. The unwillingness of States to surrender their sovereignty to a larger body leads to 'modest integration', as this form of integration does not challenge the territorial integrity or political sovereignty of states.²⁶ Modest integration, however promotes regional coherence and identity. Examples of such integrations are the EU, the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) and ECOWAS. These unions typify regional and sub-regional organizations.

Doctor Bolaji Akinyemi, a one time External Affairs Minister of Nigeria observed that "*....regional integration occurs when countries come together or cooperate under conditions which do not appear to permit the satisfaction of their national system needs in any other way. They merge to form a larger unit that may maintain some aspects of their stated identity or satisfy some of the old needs or values.*"²⁷

The Integrating Mechanism (centripetal forces) must outweigh the Disintegrating Mechanism (centrifugal forces), for integration to be successful. The integrating mechanisms in ECOWAS are geographical contiguity, common historical experience of colonialism, economic underdevelopment, political and cultural ties. However, the disintegrating mechanisms of ECOWAS are language, history, poverty, lack of political will and others. The centrifugal forces have so far outweighed the centripetal forces forces.²⁸

2.6 The Challenges to Sub Regional Integration Challenge is defined by the Concise Oxford English dictionary as “a demanding or difficult task.”²⁹ This definition explains the work in relation to given tasks. However, the definition differs from the requirements of this research work. Challenge will henceforth be viewed in respect of constraints to the realization of ECOWAS objectives. Louis Achi quoted Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, erstwhile president of Nigeria as saying that the challenges in the sub region are “...*undemarcated and porous borders degenerate into serious security problems.*”³⁰ This view is narrow, focusing only on security threats emanating from porous borders. Explaining challenges to ECOWAS from threats at the borders ignore the political, economic and other human concerns that abound in the sub region. Therefore, Chief Obasanjo’s definition though useful cannot be used for this

research.

Dr Yakubu Gowon, also a former Nigerian Head of State, observed that the greatest challenge to ECOWAS is “the reluctance of political leaders to give consent in area of mutual interest.”³¹

Although lack of adequate political cooperation and will are constraints to ECOWAS, there are also challenges of poverty, diseases, unemployment and insecurity. Dr Gowon’s position ignores these human concerns in ECOWAS integration. Thus, the validity of Dr Gowon’s definition cannot also be accepted as the working explanation of the concept of challenge in this study.

According to Dr Aboubakar Diaby-Quattara, the extraordinary challenge facing the African continent is how to cross over into the 21st century when it is trapped in the 19th century.³² He remarked further that while a sizeable part of the world is making the transitions from the industrial era of knowledge, information and computerization, the region is not following suit; Dr Quattara noted that economic and political obstacles to ECOWAS ought to be overcome to achieve effective integration. The economic obstacles are problems of recession, the gap between rapid population growth and technological advancement and promoting education at all

levels. Similarly, the political constraints are achieving national cohesion and leadership problems. This treatise actually brought economic issues that hinder integration, additional to political factors. However, Dr Quattara left out the social challenges. Accepting Quattara's view would amount to yielding to the pressures of globalization without overcoming the problems of underdevelopment that is overwhelming the sub region. His views are therefore unsuitable as well, to define the challenges of ECOWAS integration in this work.

On the other hand, Dr Mohammed Ibn Chambas, the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS see challenges to the organization from a multi-dimensional perspective. He identifies the challenges in the sub-region to include "wide spread and increasing poverty, globalization and the marginalization of the region." Other identified issues are the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other diseases as well as the eruption of conflicts that create the image of instability in the sub-region.³³ Dr Chambas' definition captures the social, political, economic and human imperatives that frustrate effective unity in the sub-region and is therefore accepted for this study.

Highlighted above are thus reviews of some of the challenges to ECOWAS sub regional integration. However, obvious obstacles will be fully addressed in chapter 4 of this

paper.

2.7 The Rationale for Effective Integration in the West African Sub Region.

There are several reasons why the concept of integration is desirable for the West African States. The first is the narrow internal markets in member states. These markets have common problems of poor currency values. All these cannot be solved by individual states due to their economic and financial constraints but may be resolved through an integrated sub regional effort.

The second reason is the increasing globalization of the economy. The forces of globalization “are forcing even the richest countries to form regional groupings in Europe, America and Asia.” The ECOWAS member States could therefore, sustain the union to derive the benefits of globalization.

Thirdly, there is the emergence in West Africa of new forms of convergence at three levels. At the political level, therefore are the emergence of democratic governments and the rule of law. On the economic sphere, there is generalization towards regionally established systems. And there is the more structural single currency in the region. These convergences when effectively achieved would lead to a focused and integrated approach to development in the community and

need to be intensified.

The fourth issue is the increasing approach to integration, based on proximity, concrete interests and existing solidarities. These forces led to the establishment of regional bodies such as the South African Development Community (SADC) and Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA). In West Africa, the Mano River Union (MRU) was formed for mutual security and assistance to its members, but has little success. ECOWAS member states need to exploit their existing solidarity interest to achieve effective integration in the sub region.

The fifth rationale is related to the population involved in the integration process, which demand transparency and delegation of power.³⁴ The need for transfer of sovereignty to the supranational body and, also, that decisions of the regional body will succeed only when the populations concerned are well informed. In view of the growing trends of transparency and delegation of power in the international community, integration provides a forum for West Africa to pursue its goal with one voice. Equally the citizens would enjoy relative peace and security.

In summary, the concepts of regional integration and

challenges are accepted as useful tools in understanding the obstacles to a strong union in West Africa. It is observed that despite several efforts made by members of the Community to achieve effective integration in the West African Sub-Region, not much has been achieved. Therefore, this study would analyze the challenges facing these efforts in the sub region as the focus of this research effort in subsequent chapters.

2.8 Role Models TO ECOWAS; the European Union and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

The European Union (EU) is a political and economic union of twenty-seven member states, located primarily in Europe. Over the years, it has undergone a lot of restructuring and was formally established on 1 November, 1993. Notable amongst its achievement is the adoption of Euro in 2002 by most of the member states. Considered as a single economy, the EU generated an estimated nominal Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of US 16,830 billion in 2007, amounting to 31% of the world's total economy by nominal GDP and the second largest trade bloc economy in the world by PPP valuation of GDP.

The EU has adopted a role in foreign policy, representing its members in the World Trade Organization, at G8 Summits and at the United Nations. Twenty-one EU countries are

members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The European body has also developed a role in justice and home affairs, including the abolition of passport control between many member states under the Schengen Agreement. There are a number of structural funds and cohesion funds to support development of underdeveloped regions of the EU. Such regions are primarily located in the new member states of Eastern Europe. Several funds provide emergency aid, support for candidate members to transform their country to conform to the EU's standard.

The organization for economic cooperation and Development (OECD) provides a setting in which governments can compare policy experiences, seek answers to common problems, identify good practices, and co-ordinate domestic and international policies. The mandate of the OECD is broad, covering economic, environmental, and social issues. It is a forum where peer pressure can act as a powerful incentive to improve policy and implement "soft law" -non binding - instruments that can occasionally lead to binding treaties.³⁵

Over the past decade, the OECD has tackled a range of economic, social and environmental issues while further deepening its engagement with business, trade unions and other representatives of civil society. Negotiations at the OECD on taxation and transfer pricing, for example, have paved the

way for bilateral tax treaties around the world.

Among other issues, the OECD has taken a role in coordinating international action on corruption and bribery, creating the OECD Anti Bribery Convention, which recently came into effect in practices for (Internet Service Providers) ISPs and email marketers etc. Its activities cover the virtual economy of the information technology and the future of the internet economy.

The EU and OECD can be said to be a family of democratic countries, committed to working together on peace and prosperity of its member states. These can be emulated by ECOWAS for the achievement of sustainable peace and economic development of the sub region.

2.9 New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) As a Basis for Political Stability in the Sub Region. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) shows a lot of promise for political stability. It is a strategic framework for Africa's renewal.³⁶The five core principles on which NEPAD seeks to predicate Africa's development are: good governance, entrenchment of democracy, peace and security, sound economic policy making and execution; productive partnership

and domestic ownership and leadership. NEPAD seeks to position Africa to attract investors and improve on the economy. This may directly translate to political stability.

NEPAD's emphasis on good governance as a precondition for development, will be supervised by a planned "peer review" of performance in governance. This would give confidence to investors and reduce unemployment. Regional task forces have been put in place to ensure execution of these ideas. The sub-region can apply these ideals executively by way of sanctioning erring members to embrace the practice of good governance and rule of law.

2.10 Nigeria As a Stabilizing Factor in West Africa. Nigeria has made tremendous efforts towards establishing peace and security in West Africa in particular and Africa in general. Since the early 1990s, the Country has participated in peacemaking efforts in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Nigeria has consistently been the major provider of troops, logistics and finance in ECOMOG operations. During the Liberian crisis, for instance, Nigeria contributed 75 percent of the troops and 90 per cent of the funding for ECOMOG operations. In addition; the government of Nigeria has followed the peace process in DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, Sudan, Cote d'Ivoire, and the continent in general.

The concept of hegemony is that a state must have the capability to act as hegemony. Other states that fall within the jurisdiction of such a state will either accept the leadership or oppose it.

It is now almost certain that no major decision can be taken in the sub region without the input of Nigeria. The country's influential status and overbearing influence on ECOWAS provides the status to give the sub-region the desired leadership role. Critics of hegemony have always referred to hegemony as new colonialists. They frown at the idea of turning sovereign nations into new colonies by the so-called hegemony. This may not be valid, as hegemony has provided positive direction to many nations all over the world. The United States still remains a major guide to Mexico and all the surrounding states with a desire to set standards that control most of the transactions in the region. Economic concessions are granted when necessary to stabilize the region.

On August 14 2008, Nigeria formally handed over the Bakassi Peninsula to Cameroon to end a 15-year dispute over territory believed to be rich in oil and gas reserves as well as rich fishing grounds. After a drawn out legal battle, the ICJ ruled in October 2002 that the Peninsula be handed over to Cameroon. This is no doubt a welcome development and an

exemplary show of maturity to other States in the sub region. This leaves room for some other existing border differences where there are large amount of natural resources.

2.11 Averting Military Intervention in Governance. According to Ali Mazuri, boredom in the barracks has been responsible for a lot of military incursion into politics in Africa. When the government of Philippines successfully suppressed a military revolt; U.S President George Bush advised the country to keep her military busy. According to him, " the democratic infrastructure in the third world are too fragile to allow the custodians of the means of destruction to remain idle".³⁷This advice applies to most countries in the sub region. Indeed, the majorities of African countries have long been affected by instability arising from military adventurism and should heed this warning.

The Armed forces of member states should be utilized in certain specialist duties. Most technological break through started as defence projects. The internet, for example, which has become the information super highway started as a military project in the United States.

The Emergency Autonomous Transfusion (EAT) set is basically a device for recycling a patient's blood for re-use

during a surgical operation. Gen Ovadje of the Nigerian Army invented this when he took into account the peculiar situations soldiers find themselves. The device is particularly useful as the individual's blood is replaced for reuse in this era of HIV/AIDS.

The Army Corps of Engineers can actively involve in civil construction works while vibrant result oriented research and development could be encouraged just the way the United States used her army for complex projects for the civil populace. This wonderful practice could gainfully occupy African forces and thus forestall the dreaded practice of truncating constitutional governments through coups and counter coups, if the U.S concept can be well planned and implemented.

CHAPTE THREE

3.0 ECOWAS AND WEST AFRICAN SECURITY IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA

3.1 Introduction. Although West Africa was not as hotly contested as Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa by the Superpowers and their allies, the end of the Cold War had far reaching political and security consequences in the Sub Region. The rise to prominence of sub-regional organizations such as ECOWAS in managing conflicts in their backyards is one of the most significant developments during this period of the superpower competition for allies .³⁸

The resurgence of regionalism in sub Saharan Africa especially West Africa, has been more in the area of security than economics. The ECOWAS intervention marked a turning point in the resurgence of regionalism in West Africa, since it was followed by the development of a sub-regional mechanism for the management of both inter and intra-state conflicts. A major feature of the conflicts that erupted during this period was that they were mostly internal - a radical departure from

the inter – state wars during the cold war period. The massive humanitarian crises caused by these internal conflicts created serious security and refugee problems. These developments led to a reawakening of the decade over sovereignty and non-intervention. On 24 August 1990, some 3,500 West African soldieries, led by Nigeria, deployed in Liberia. They represented the initial department of the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring and Observer Group (ECOMOG). Their mission was to halt the progress of an armed rebellion that threatened to topple Liberia’s president Samuel Doe. Given their hostile reception by the rebel army, their mandate was formally changed from peacekeeping to peace enforcement operation on 20 September 1990. This intervention was a watershed in several respects. It was the first peace enforcement operation launched by an African Sub-regional organization. It was internationally recognized as a test case for regional conflict management. It has served as model, for other African organization considering regional peace enforcement operations. And it prompted a spurt of institutional development within ECOWAS that transformed the organization into Africa’s most advanced conflict management organization.³⁹

3.2 The Concept of ECOMOG Operations. The ECOMOG initiative has led to the establishment of a security regime

which presents opportunity for the enhancement of human security in West Africa. The military missions that ECOMOG has carried out since it came into existence in 1999 may be categorized as Intervention, Peace Enforcement and Peacekeeping.

In its intervention operations, ECOMOG has usually been deployed at the request of a legal government to stop a situation from degenerating further into anarchy. ECOMOG intervention missions have involved combat action against insurgents or factions which resist the authority of the *de jure* government.⁴⁰ Such intervention missions are aimed at securing a cease fire, creating a conducive atmosphere for negotiations and the protection of non-combatants through establishment of safe havens where civilians can escape from the savagery of the conflict and live a normal life under direct ECOMOG protection.⁴¹

All ECOMOG intervention operations have so far been successful. They have forced armed groups to accept negotiations that in most cases, led to a cease fire. ECOMOG is normally asked to monitor and enforce the provision of such cease-fires. Peace enforcement operations of ECOMOG have always led to a widening of the initial safe havens established for non-combatants. This compels armed groups to realize that they cannot achieve their political objectives by military actions.

To force them to such a position, extensive logistic support and troop reinforcement are required.⁴²

ECOMOG peacekeeping missions normally start off on a very difficult footing, as it takes considerable effort, time and diplomacy to persuade the parties that fought ECOMOG that the force is now neutral. However; ECOMOG has successfully overcome these difficulties and can rapidly transform itself from a fighting force to a peacekeeping outfit that enjoys the confidence and respect of the very insurgents it initially set out to oppose.

3.3 Significance of ECOMOG Operations. If ECOMOG is any indication, however, the path to regional peacekeeping is not an easy one. The weaker states in the sub region had difficulty mobilizing the resources required to deal decisively with the Liberian crises, becoming overwhelmingly dependent upon other regional powers to sustain the operation. The ECOMOG operation occurred at a difficult time for the states in the region, when they themselves were involved in painful economic reforms and their own legitimacy, in most cases, was subject to internal criticism and pressures. The intervention was also complicated by linguistic and geographical rivalries and by cleavages within ECOMOG itself, and undermined by

debilitating arguments about its legitimacy and organization.⁴³

The ECOMOG experience also demonstrates the necessity to go beyond traditional peacekeeping narratives - with their almost elusive focus on the 'intervention sites' - to new broader fields of investigation, in particular in understanding how involvement in peacekeeping influence political processes in those states which are themselves engaged in these operations.⁴⁴

3.4 ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF) Concept. In Article 28 of the protocol on the mechanism, ECOWAS member states agreed to make available to ECOWAS all military, police and civilian resources for the accomplishment of multifunctional peace missions. The protocol also clearly defines the multifunctional peace missions as well as the role of the Special Representative of the Executive Secretary (SRES) as head of all ECOWAS missions. Despite this acknowledgement of the primacy of civilian political leadership, the post protocol missions in Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire were essentially military operations. By April 2004, both ECOWAS missions in Liberia (ECOMIL) and Cote d'Ivoire (ECOMICI) had transitioned to UN operations and ECOWAS military planners were able to concentrate on developing a standby capability for peacekeeping operations.

The ECOWAS military component will comprise predetermined regional standby formations that are highly trained, equipped and prepared to deploy as directed in response to a crisis or threat to peace and security. The ECOWAS Task force will comprise 1,500 soldiers within pre determined units and upon order be prepared to deploy within 30 days and be self sustaining for 90 days and the ECOWAS main Brigade will comprise 5,000 soldiers within pre determined units and upon order be prepared to deploy within 90 days and be fully self sustaining in 90 days. In total, the ECOWAS Standby Force is to consist 6,500 troops, pledged by contributing nations, and coordinated through the Mission Planning and Management Cell (MPMC). The idea is for the task force to have the capacity to deploy rapidly to meet initial contingency requirements. If the military effort requires an expanded force, the main brigade will be deployed.⁴⁵

It is expected that all forces committed to the Standby Force will meet the criteria and standards set out in an ECOWAS Memorandum of Understanding. A further Planning assumption is that the ECOWAS Standby Force task force will have the capability to deploy for up to 90 days, after which one of the following options will be implemented:

a. The Task Force elements will return to the Troop

Contributing Countries (TCCS).

- b. The Task Force will remain deployed as an element of the ECOWAS Standby Force main Brigade.
- c. The Task Force will become an element of an AU or UN mission.
- d. The Task Force will hand over to a UN or AU force.

An operations framework for the ECOWAS Standby Force was developed by the ECOWAS Secretariat (specifically the Mission Planning and Management Cell, in conjunction with military advisors from donor nations, in late January /early February 2005 .The operational framework aims to specify all the activity strands and benchmarks for the establishment of the ESF. The purpose of the document is to assist ECOWAS in the sequence and coordination of activities, while providing a coordination tool for donors to identify and target assistance to support the early and efficient establishment of the Standby Force.

3.5 Sub Regional Peace and Security Observation

- The Early Warning System

The early warning system is a mechanism through which a process is undertaken to explain why conflicts occur and how they can be prevented.⁴⁶It was a qualitative and quantitative data drawn from historical experiences in the eruption of

conflicts to build a model for framework for the development of a construct that is capable of:

- a. Anticipating conflicts before their actual occurrences.
- b. Providing clearly discernable warning signals about impending conflict, and
- c. Simulating on the basis of simple early warning parameters and /or identifiable indicators, the occurrence of a conflict and approach to its resolution.

The requirements for effective early warning system are:

- a. Up-to-date data bank to facilitate predictive capacity for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict.
- b. Adequate skilled manpower.
- c. Research and effective networking.
- d. Effective communication channels to transmit relevant information to policy makers.⁴⁷

In the case of the Liberia and Sierra Leonean crises, the ECOWAS failed to address the import of early warning system. Thus, the result was a late reaction with attendant bloody consequences.

The early warning system will consist of an Observation and Monitoring Centre located at the Secretariat and an Observation and Monitoring Zones in the sub region.

For efficient and effective monitoring of development in the respective member states, the sub region is divided into four bureaus (see table below). The Zonal divisions are based on factors such as proximity, language and ease of communication.⁴⁸

ZONE NO	COUNTRIES	ZONAL CAPITAL
1	Cape Verde Gambia Guinea-Bissau Senegal	Banjul
2	Burkina Faso Cote d'Ivoire Mali Niger	Ouagadougou
3	Ghana Guinea Liberia Sierra Leone	Monrovia
4	Benin Nigeria Togo	Cotonou

Source: ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja, Nigeria.

3.6 Concept of Conflict Resolution Mechanism. As stated earlier, conflict is an inevitable and yet desirable aspect of human life. In situation of conflict, incompatible forces are exerted in opposite directions. Most conflicts over the years had taken place in developing nations and is economic, political and

social in nature. The way a conflict is handled determines the outcome. Most scholars believe that though, conflict is a part of human interaction in the society; its outcome could be peaceful or violent. In the west-African sub region, conflict emerges mostly due to bad governance, little disregard for equity and rule of law.

Conflict resolution mechanism refers to all judicial resources and alternative dispute resolution techniques, negotiation, mediation, arbitration as well as consensus building, diplomacy, analytical problem solving and peace-making. In short, it involves all non-violent means of solving inter-organizational problems.⁴⁹

From whichever angle it is looked at, the intervention by ECOWAS in the Liberian and Sierra Leonean crises brought to fore the need for conflict management in place of the principle of non-interference in internal affairs of African nations.

Conflict is inherently a problem of bargaining and problem-solving, involving distribution and shared values. For peace to endure, the parties previously in conflict must perceive that solutions are based on the satisfaction of needs, (at least to some level), a sense of fairness and an acknowledgement of an

intrinsic right to participate in decisions about one's fate. Solutions to conflict must be based on actors ready to lose ground somewhere while gaining ground elsewhere but not winner takes –all (hard-bargainer) stances.

3.7 Resolution of Liberian Crisis As a Case Study. The Liberian crisis started in 1989 during the regime of President Samuel Doe. At the may 1990, 13th summit meeting on the authority of ECOWAS , after expressing its concern over rising incidences of disputes and conflict within the region, it established a Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) of five members. The SMC was to look into disputes and conflicts in the region which could have disruptive effort on normal life within member states and on the smooth functioning of the Community. The SMC was to act for and on behalf of the Community while it singled out the Liberian conflict for immediate attention. But rather than achieve a quick result this anodyne statement by the ECOWAS authority almost atrophied in the face of objection by some member countries who opined that the events in Liberia were matters of internal affairs.

The armed conflict in Liberia had already caused hundreds of thousands of nationals and foreigners alike to be displaced and turned into refugees in neighboring member states of ECOWAS. There were then growing threats of the hostilities

spilling into neighboring countries. It eventually spilled into Sierra Leone on 12 March 1991. The SMC was thus obliged to launch its peace initiative. It however failed to get Charles Taylor's ground to attend its meeting. This failure made the ECOWAS Executive Secretary to formulate a peace plan which was implemented when the late president Doe of Liberia in July 1990 wrote to invite an intervention force from ECOWAS. It was based on the provision of the 1982 Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defense (PMAD) matters, upon which the President wrote his invitation to ECOWAS. The mediation committees decided to implement the peace plan with the following essential elements, which were:

- a. The warring factions observed an immediate cease fire.
- b. That an ECOWAS Cease Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) be set up to monitor and supervise the cease fire, restore law and order so as to create the necessary environment for free and fair elections to be held.
- c. That a national conference of Liberia warring factions, political parties and other interest groups be held to establish a broad interim government acceptable to people of Liberia.
- d. That a general and presidential election be held within 12 months.
- e. That ECOWAS and other international bodies should

observe the elections to ensure that they are free and fair, and

- f. That no leader of a warring fraction should head the interim government and whoever heads it should not be eligible to contest the ensuing presidential or parliamentary election.⁵⁰

The Liberian situation falls under the first pre-condition, hence the adoption of current ECOWAS as a peacekeeping and peace enforcement force in Liberia. The activities of ECOWAS have been commended so far as they have been able to restore peace to Liberia.

3.8 Resolution of Sierra Leonean Crisis As a Case Study. The conflict in Sierra Leone commenced in March 1991. However, the international community did not become seriously involved in it until December 1994, when the UN sent a preliminary fact-finding mission to the country. The OAU's (now AU) efforts began in February 1995 and it has worked closely with individual countries of the region and ECOWAS in particular. It also worked well with the UN and the international community at large, to find a lasting solution the conflict. In July 1999, a third peace agreement on Sierra Leone, the Lome Agreement, was signed following negotiations between the parties in which the OAU participated. Like the Abidjan agreement, the OAU was

designated as one of the Moral Guarantors in the implementation of the Lome agreement. Accordingly, the OAU continued to:

- a. Monitor, on a daily basis, the ongoing development in Sierra-Leone especially as the impact on the implementation of the Lome Agreement, through maintaining contacts, liaising with leaders of the parties to the conflict and with key countries of the sub region. It also liaised with the ECOWAS secretariat, the UN, the Commonwealth, and undertaking fact finding and /or mediation missions to Freetown, Abuja, Lome, Abidjan, Accra, Monrovia, where appropriate.
- b. Attend regularly, the statutory meeting of the joint implementation committee and the ECOWAS ministerial committee of seven. OAU was key members of both and are the lead international bodies in the implementation of the Lome agreement.
- c. Advice, on the basis of the program to be developed together with the ECA/UNDP/ECOWAS on integrated post conflict peace building in the Mano River Basin countries of Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea. The OAU envisaged that the program would build on its own initiative to

dispatch an OAU/ECA needs assessment mission in Sierra Leone.

- d. Work closely with the OAU Commission for Human and People's Rights on human rights issues arising from the implementation of the Lome Agreement. This included in particular the establishments of an internal inquiry by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) – the main rebel group - on atrocities committed during the war, as well as the establishment of a new Sierra Leone Human Rights Commission and a Truth and Reconciliation Commission as prescribed by the Lome agreement.
- e. Focus on the organization of the elections in Sierra Leone, which could lead to a consolidation of the peace process.
- f. Mobilize International donors to provide funds for the post conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation of Sierra Leone.⁵¹

3.9 Crises in Guinea Bissau and Interventions

In January 1998, Brigadier General Ansumane Mane, the Armed Forces Chief of Staff of Guinea Bissau was accused of negligence in connection with arms trafficking and suspended from his post. This led to increased tension within the armed

forces, many of whom were already dissatisfied about low wages and poor conditions of service. Mane denied the allegations and publicly accused senior government and military officials of involvement in arms trafficking. He was dismissed on June 6, 1998.⁵² Mane's dismissal ignited a military revolt. The revolt by the self styled *junta militar* (military junta) gained the support of most of the 10,000 strong armed forces, embittered by long standing grievances over poor conditions and low pay. The military junta was also reinforced by veterans of the armed struggle for national liberation. On 7 June, 1998, rebel soldiers seized military bases in Bissau, the capital cutting it off from the rest of the country.⁵³

On 4 August 1998, West African ministers meeting in Accra agreed to travel to Guinea-Bissau to meet President Vieira and the leaders of the military rebellion in a bid to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict. The foreign ministers of the ECOWAS Committee of Seven reaffirmed their support for Guinea and Senegal, and commended these countries for sending in troops to back pro-government forces in their bid to quell the mutiny. In a statement issued after the meeting, the foreign minister of Guinea-Bissau (Delfim da Silva) stated that the crisis required a regional solution and ECOWAS had to play a key role in the conflict resolution process. He also welcomed the mediation efforts of the Community of Portuguese Speaking

Countries (CPLP).⁵⁴

ECOWAS and the CPLP jointly brokered a reaffirmation of the cease-fire, which was signed by the belligerents on 26 August 1998 in Praia, Capital of Cape Verde Islands. A broad based government was to be formed under the agreement, which bound all parties to respect the country's institutions and constitutional legality, while the belligerent were to stick to the military positions they held up to 26 August. Under the Accord, the main airport in Guinea Bissau was reopened so that humanitarian aid could be flown in and logistical support could reach a buffer force that was agreed to monitor the cease fire. The composition of the force would be defined by the two sides (the government and the military junta) .⁵⁵

Fighting resumed on 18 October 1998, forcing citizens of Bissau to again flee the capital. On 29 October, Junta leader Ansumane Mane and President Vieira met face to face, in the Gambia for the first time since the conflict began. Their talks continued in Abuja, Nigeria, culminating in the signing, on the aegis of ECOWAS of a peace accord on 1 Nov 1998.⁵⁶

ECOMOG with only some 600 troops deployed, attempted to initiate a disarmament process, following an agreement between President Vieira and General Mane in Lome on 17

February 1999, in which they “reiterated the need for the parties to begin the disarmament and encampment of troops.”

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However, progress was very slow and no sooner had plans been laid and funding solicited for reforming the security sector, than the armed forces again intervened in the political process. On 6 May 1999, Ansumane mane sent forces to attack Vieira’s presidential guard and removed him from office.

The UN Security Council on 3 March 1999, had also approved the establishment of a UN Post-Conflict Peace Building Support Office in Guinea Bissau (UNOGBIS) to provide the political framework and leadership for harmonizing and integrating the activities of the UN in the country during the period leading up to the election and to facilitate the implementation of the Abuja agreement. The election was however postponed until 28 November 1999, after which president Kumba Yala was elected president.

The 1998 – 1999 civil war and ensuring peace process presented a window of opportunity to set Guinea Bissau on a new course, through the deployment of a multifunctional peace mission that could address a broad spectrum of root and proximate causes of conflict in a coordinated manner, and

perhaps lay the foundations for a transition to sustainable democracy and rule of law. However, regional and international engagement was at a much lower level than in Sierra Leone, Liberia or Cote d'Ivoire.

A major lesson is that poor peace agreements make for poor implementation plans and seldom hold. The Abuja agreement of 1 November 1998, for example, is painfully thin on detail, and must compete for first place as the shortest "comprehensive peace agreement" ever brokered to end a civil war.⁵⁸

3.10 Crises in Cote D'Ivoire And Interventions

Cote d'Ivoire's political problems intensified after the death of its founding president, Houphouet Boigny, on 7 December 1993. Prior to his death, the country enjoyed relative stability and economic prosperity in a general unstable West African region over a period of three decades after its independence in 1960. The vibrant economy attracted a large number of foreign workers, mainly from Burkina Faso, Mali and Ghana, as well as investors.

Lacking any political institutional structure, the passing of Houphouet Boigny, plunged the country into a period of

protracted power struggle, owing to its long one-party rule (despite the presence of his protégé, Konan Bedie). Former president Konan Bedie, who replaced the country long term leader, enunciated the policy of *Ivoirite* and succeeded in eliminating his key political opponents, including Alassane Ouattara of the Rally of Republicans (RDR). The power struggle centered on nationality laws and eligibility criteria for elections which favored, mainly, inhabitants from the Southern Cote d'Ivoire to the detriment of the northerners. The interplay of complex political issues related to the identity and citizenship, the quest for power and the eventual political exclusion of political opponents from elections led to an unconstitutional change in government by the late General Robert Guei in 1999. These undercurrents include a revolt from the ranks of the General's loyalists - specifically about 800 men who were demobilized from the national army known as *Forces Armees nationales de la cote d'Ivoire* (FAANCI) in September 2002.

The bloody revolt led to the death of General Guei and some members of his family in the process. An ill-equipped and ill-prepared Ivorian army eventually mobilized its rank and file, and in a few days of fighting repelled the rebels from Abidjan but lost the northern cities of Bouake and Korhogo. The conflict has since grown in scope and intensity with the emergence of three different rebel groups: the Patriotic Movement of Cote

d'Ivoire (MPCI), the Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP), and the Movement of Great West (MPIGO) which are, collectively known as the 'New forces'.

The outbreak of the Ivorian Crisis in September 2002 led initially to the signing of two peace agreements under the auspices of ECOWAS. These are the 18 October cease – fire agreement signed in Abidjan and the Lome Agreement, signed on 1 November 2002 in Lome, Togo. The peace effort leading to the brokering of both agreements were led by Cheikh Tidiane Gadio, Foreign Minister of Senegal, and Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo respectively. The Abidjan cease-fire agreement paved the way for further negotiations and the signing of the Lome peace agreement. Other accords and cease fire agreements brokered, included the Linas-Marcoussis accord (January 2003), Accra (March 2003), Accra (July 2004), Pretoria (April 2005), and Pretoria (June 2005).

President Gbagbo's original mandate as president expired on October 30 2005, but due to lack of disarmament it was deemed impossible to hold an election and therefore his term in office was extended for a maximum of one year according to a plan worked out by the African Union; this plan was endorsed by the United Nations Security Council. With the late October deadline approaching in 2006, it was regarded as very unlikely

that the election would be held by that time, and the opposition and the rebels rejected the possibility of another term extension of Gbagbo. The UN Security Council endorsed another one year extension of Gbagbo's term on November 1, 2006, however, the resolution provided for the strengthening of Prime Minister Charles Konan Banny's powers. Gbagbo said the next day that elements of the resolution deemed to be constitutional violations would not be applied.

A peace deal between the government and the rebels, or 'New Forces' was signed on March 4 2007 and subsequently Guillaume Soro, leader of the 'New Forces', became Prime Minister. These events have been seen by some observers as substantially strengthening Gbagbo's position.⁵⁹

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 CHALLENGES TO ECOWAS, MEMBER STATES, AND PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS IN THE SUB REGION – The Way Forward

4.1 Introduction. It has been clearly brought out that West Africa is a Third World region with lots of resources that are yet to be harnessed. The states are highly indebted to western lending institutions. Its inherent weakness led to the formation of ECOWAS to achieve development in the sub region. The regional body was engaged in various activities to achieve its objectives. Some of the integration efforts are in the fields of agriculture, environment, infrastructural development, communications, rural development and monetary cooperation. These integration efforts to achieve a strong union has however, been hampered by negative tendencies. Also, ECOMOG and its glaring deficiency notwithstanding, is an important example of the emerging modes of sub regionally-based peacekeeping body. Yet, the ECOMOG operation also demonstrates the difficulties and pitfalls of such sub regional peace keeping. In a geographically fissured sub region like West Africa, regionalism proved to be a problematic vehicle for intervention. On the other hand many of the challenges faced by ECOWAS / ECOMOG were also

inherent in the very nature of post-cold war conflict and peace keeping. These challenges and their impact on member states will be the focus of this chapter.

4.2 The Challenges of ECOWAS and its Member

States. The West African community embraced integration to overcome its weakness as a Third World region. These integration efforts have been frustrated by numerous challenges that abound in the sub region.

4.2.1 Poor Democratic Governance. Peaceful power succession has been described as the highest index of human development and civilization. Whereas it takes a simple process to institute, elect or replace a leader in the developed nations of the world, such processes require guns and tanks in many underdeveloped countries.⁶⁰ This may partly explain the inability of peaceful power succession in the sub region, which has always led to political crises. The perennial economic crises of the sub region are a consequence of political crises which manifests itself in dictatorship, lack of accountability and poor governance.

Political leadership in the sub region is characterized by disregard of the yearnings of the people and a violation of the constitution they swear to defend. The sub-regional leaders have come to mistake the state as personal property. In the quest to

remain in power at all cost, all forms of manipulations are employed. This may include manipulation of ethnic differences, religious and political yearnings. In pursuance of selfish agenda, nothing is spared as long as the aim is achieved. The art of self succession is the name of the game in the sub region except for some isolated cases. Though examples abound, few scenarios can be as apt as the manipulation of power in the sub region by the late Gnesingba Eyadema of Togo. After a successful coup in January 1967 he assumed power as the president and minister of defence in April of the same year. In December 1979, he promulgated a new constitution that gave him undue advantage over his political opponents and he was unanimously reelected. The populace fought back in vain. French forces suppressed coup attempts against him, and he was reelected for another seven years in December 1986. Eventually, Eyadema died in early 2005, as the longest serving leader in Africa after being president for 38 years.⁶¹

4.2.2. Corruption. Since their inception, West Africa states have been facing corruption as a major problem. In some cases, it has attained levels of egregious theft, for which no possible or moral historical justification can be advanced, and which have played a major role, both in the improvement of the sub region as a whole and specifically in the alienation of its people from their rulers. The existence of widespread corruption, especially in the societies beset by mass poverty and very high level of unemployment has a deeply

corrosive effect on trust in government and contributes to crime and political disorder. In the political realm, corruption undermines democracy and good governance by flouting or even subverting formal processes. Corruption in legislative bodies reduces accountability and distorts representation in policy making; corruption in the judiciary compromises the rule of law; and corruption in public administration results in the unequal distribution of services. More generally, corruption erodes the institutional capacity of government as procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off, and public offices are bought and sold. At the extreme, unbridled corruption can lead to state fragility and destructive conflict, and plunge a state into “unremitting cycle of institutional anarchy and violence”.⁶²

For the past two decades, internal conflicts with spillover effects have severely disrupted West African social and economic developments. The states of the Mano River Union (MRU) – Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone have been embroiled in civil wars that have had negative impact on their neighbours. Low intensity conflict in the Casamance region of Senegal has intermittently engaged the Gambia, Guinea Bissau, and Senegal for the past decades; unlike the oil rich Bakassi peninsula which has been the source of conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria, until recently. More often than not, corruption has played a key role in fermenting and prolonging these conflicts by serving as the basis for grievance against political leaders and violent political change. Internal conflict in west Africa are

commonly financed by the illegal sales of arms or the illicit extraction of high value natural resources such as diamond, gold, and timber. Corruption also represents a threat to peace building in post conflict states in West Africa.⁶³

4.2.3 The Influence of Neo-Colonialism. The different colonial experience of member states is another political issue that affects ECOWAS / ECOMOG operations. Francophone member states see the security goal of the sub region differently from Anglophone member states. They regard ECOWAS more in terms of economic corporation and trade. They are not comfortable with the level of political integration which ECOMOG of necessity entails. Consequently the French speaking members see ECOMOG more as a military force designed to solve security problems of Anglophone member states, using the collective economic resources of the entire community. This attitude, coupled with their very close political, economic and security relationship with the former imperial metropolitan state see them adopting a lukewarm attitude to all ECOMOG operations. Indeed many of the insurgent leaders enjoy very close relations with leaders of francophone member states and have considerable economic investment in these countries.⁶⁴ In addition , francophone countries tend to seek advice and assistance from their past colonial master (France), relatively affects the operation of ECOMOG and Anglophone countries tend to seek similar favours from their past colonial power (Britain).

4.2.4 Conflicts (Intra and Inter State). Intra – and - inter state conflicts have been West Africa’s most common source of insecurity and loss of lives for several decades. The pattern of intra - state boundaries, ethno linguistic difference, religious intolerance and a winner – takes - all political culture are responsible for the various conflicts in the sub region. Notable conflicts in the sub region are the Liberian civil war (1989 – 1997) and the Sierra Leonean crises (1990 – 2001). At present, there are varying degrees of disturbances in parts of Senegal, Nigeria, and Niger. These conflicts have led to death, wanton destruction of property, displacement of entire populations and dislocation of social groups, thereby hampering sustainable peace in the sub region.

4.2.5 Poverty. One of the serious hindrances of effective integration in West Africa is poverty. The assessment of poverty is based on human indicators of longevity and good health, learning, economic means and participation of social life. According to the 2001 World Human Development Report, poverty ranges from 3.9 percent level of the Uruguayan population to the 64.7 percent of the population in Niger. The states of Mali, Guinea Bissau, Burkina Faso, Niger and Sierra Leone are the world’s poorest countries. More than half of the West African populations live in abject poverty. In the 1980s, many Ghanaian migrated to Nigeria in search of jobs but were forced to return home by the then Nigerian government. That act

affected bilateral relations between the two nations and hindered cooperation in the community. This poverty situation needs to be redressed for integration to be effective.⁶⁵

4.2.6. Military Incursion. Unconstitutional governments in West Africa started in 1963 when Hubert Maga of Dahomey, (now Benin) was removed from power through a coup de'tat. As at 2002 nearly all countries in the sub region had gone through this experience with Ghana, Nigeria and Benin topping the list with five successful coup attempts each. On the whole, not less than 25 violent successful coup de'tats have taken place in the sub region in 1963.⁶⁶ Coups have only added to the economic woes of the sub region, as investors are not prepared to invest money where there is no rule of law and their investment cannot be guaranteed or secured. The military leaders themselves pay no attention to the development of their countries as precious time is spent chasing imagined enemies of government at the expense of development. Military incursion in politics has thus led to under development and loss of precious human resources. Leaders of previous regimes who could serve as opinion leaders and elder statesmen are some times killed on a large scale after the fall of a particular regime. The mass killings in Ghana and Liberia after the successful coup de'tats of Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings and Master Sergeant Samuel Doe respectively, still hunt the sub region.

The gradual return to constitutional rule may become a source of respite for West Africa. However, the legacy of the military culture may remain a serious issue to contend with. Understandably, many arrangements of constitutional governments were put in place to satisfy the demands of the international community. This process that became popular in the mid – eighties saw Liberia and Ghana transiting to civil rule. The transformation by these countries was not without problems, as many of them were stage-managed, and Liberia, for example, gradually crept back into anarchy.

4.2.7 Small Arms and Proliferation. Small arms are weapons that can be carried by an individual, or fired by small crew. It includes automatic rifles, sub machine guns, rocket propelled grenades, small mortars and shoulder fired anti- aircraft missiles. There has been a large scale proliferation of small arms in the West African sub region of recent. It is now estimated about 80 million are circulating within the community through illicit trade.⁶⁷ The weapons are used for criminal activities like smuggling, armed robbery and terrorism. This figure is as staggering as it is alarming. When Charles Taylor formed the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) to oust Samuel Doe, very little would have been achieved but for the abundant weapon readily available. The escalation of the crises into various factions can also be attributed to the availability of illegal weapons. The ease with which the Sierra Leone rebels were able to conduct their operations shows how arms could easily be acquired in

the sub region. This underscores the UN's insistence that until there is a total disarmament of all warring factions in the sub region there can be no lasting peace.

4.2.8 HIV/AIDS Epidemic. Another major issue facing ECOWAS today is the dreaded HIV/AIDS. The incidence of infection varies from "10 percent in Cote d' Ivoire to less than one percent in Senegal" most of the people infected are aged between 0 – 49 years. A large percentage of this group makes up the labour force in the community. It is projected that HIV will reduce the average life expectancy of West Africans by 20 years and reduce economic growth by 2 percent. The stigma associated with HIV/ AIDS affect interaction and capital flow. This phenomenon poses a great challenge to the sub region.⁶⁸

4.2.9. Trans Border Crime. There is a high level of trans-border crime in the sub region. Some of the most threatening criminal activities include smuggling, armed robbery, human and drugs trafficking. In 2003 alone, the Nigeria crime police report revealed that "over 10,000 vehicles were snatched from Nigeria yearly by trans border criminals, while only 300 of such vehicles were recovered from Benin Republic by Jan – Dec 2003. The Guinea – Sierra Leone border also witness crime like smuggling, illegal mining of diamond and arm banditry. Similarly, there have also been cases

of trans border raids by arm bandits at the Nigerian – Niger border.”⁶⁹

4.2.10. Environmental Degradation. Environmental degradation includes deforestation, lack of access to safe water, and loss of bio diversity and climatic viabilities and vulnerability of West African environment. Degradation of resources reduces productivity of the poor who rely on them and make the poor people susceptible to adverse weather and economic conditions and civil strife. Poverty makes recovery from these events extremely difficult and contributed to lowering social and ecological resistance. In the Nigeria Niger-Delta region, oil spillage has made agricultural activities difficult. The populations of the area are now living in a pitiable situation. To check environmental degradation, ECOWAS leaders need to urgently enhance environmental research and adopt sound environmentally-oriented technological policies. This would gradually improve the achievement of food security through sustainable agricultural development. Intensification of information campaign in this regard is also necessary to speed up general education and awareness, because knowledge that contains such technical know how, mixed with cultural values and diversity are vital for good environmental management.

4.2.11. Terrorism. The use of violent and intimidating methods to influence the government or community for idiosyncratic, criminal

or political reasons, terrorism is one of the security concerns in West Africa. Terrorism can take political, criminal, religious and exotic dimensions in the sub region. Nigeria has recorded 2 aircraft hijacks since independence (1967 and 1993) .⁷⁰ Other threats at the airports in the sub region are illegal immigrants, drug tracking, touting, stealing, pilfering of fuel stores and sabotage of aircraft. These security lapses constitute danger to local and international flights in the sub region, thereby affecting trade and economic activities. In 2002, Air Afrique, an airline belonging to some francophone countries and France folded up because business was not viable in the region among other reasons. The terrorist threats in the sub region need to be fought for integration to be enhanced within the community.

The Niger Delta region of Nigeria is an unstable area where inter - ethnic clashes are common - often access to oil revenue is the trigger for the violence. Pipelines are regularly vandalized by impoverished residents who risk their life to siphon off fuel. There is an inevitable and serious conflict of interest between delta communities that bear the environmental damage of oil extraction and the rest of the nation for which oil money is essentially a free good. As such there is a deep distrust in the Niger delta concerning the federal government and a feeling among local populations that most other Nigerians care little for their problems, as long as the oil flows. Delta populations constantly campaign for a larger share of the "federal cake" most of which originates in their home lands. As a

result of these factors, and because oil companies do make tempting targets, many aggrieved youths in the delta result to direct action to extract compensation for their perceived losses. They invade oil company properties, take employee hostage, and short down facilities. Oil Companies typically negotiate release of captured personnel and properties with relative ease by paying the youth modest ransoms. These unfortunate strategies by the oil companies create a "moral hazard". Generally, the unbridled willingness by most of the companies operating in this under-developed region to pay ransoms serve to stimulate initiators of this nefarious business leading to sustained disruptions; at times to competition among the uneducated and unemployed youths of the area, and to general sense of anarchy in the delta.

In January 2006, a new militant group, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) entered the fray. MEND's first significant act was an attack on Italy's Eni SPA petroleum company. The deaths of nine Eni officials forced the company to evacuate its staff and contractors from that area. Along the further kidnappings and other withdrawal of Shell oil workers, it was estimated that the instability had resulted in a 10 percent drop in Nigerian oil production.⁷¹ Consequently, various terrorist groups have come into lime light to show their grievances and take their fair share of the "federal cake". This has posed and is still posing a serious threat to sustainable peace in Nigeria and the sub region as a whole.

4.3 Constraints to Peace Support Operations in West

Africa. According to the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas: “ At many points in the process of setting up ECOMOG and deploying ECOMOG in the field, the constraints of the sub region were felt , principally in the area of financial and logistical facilities. We could have, and I know many countries (African) wanted to increase the number of troops if they had arrived to participate in ECOMOG. This is one area where the international community can always come in, to supplement, to complement the efforts of the sub region. Some of that happened as I mentioned, in Liberia – the United Nations provided some support, the United Nations was there - and – in Sierra Leone, but the fundamental problems remains – armies are not as resourced as we would want them to be. We are developing countries and we have many other pressing demands on our budgets, so I think for future purposes, the area of cooperation with the international community in defence and security matters would involve certainly (1) more training and (2) logistical support to help us move troops into areas where they are needed, and also financial support to help us maintain the troops when they are in the theater of operation”.⁷²

The challenge of peace operations in West Africa is an immense one, a challenge that will not be met by rhetoric and catchy clichés such as African solutions to African problems. In the same vein, the

present and future peace operations environment in West Africa is and will be anything but moderate. This paragraph aims to contribute to the discourse of peace operations in West Africa by identifying the challenges posed.

4.3.1 Command and Control. Like most multinational peace support forces, ECOMOG has experienced difficulties in trying to operate a unified command. Because of the high level of distrust among member states and the influence of non – regional powers, contingents usually arrive in the mission area with different and sometimes conflicting instructions. The kind of key instructions on rules of engagement, given to various national contingents in a typical ECOMOG operation by their home governments, could vary from contingent to contingent as follows:

- a. to take active part in all military operations, including combat in all parts of the mission area;
- b. to take active part in combat, but only in particular part of the mission area;
- c. to take part in combat only on approval of home government, after assessing the situation:
- d. to avoid taking part in any form of offensive operations, but to defend if the contingent is attacked; or
- e. not to participate in any fighting whatsoever and to refuse deployment in areas where contingent personnel might be exposed to the dangers of combat action.

The command structure of ECOMOG is very simple. At the top is the Force Commander (FC), and below him are the Deputy Force Commanders (DFC), who are also the Contingent Commanders of their countries troops. The FC operates a small planning staff headed by a Chief of Staff, who deals with common problems and coordinates the activities of the various contingents in close co-operation with his deputies. In operations, the Force Commander's mission is given to the contingent commanders, who then task the various units of their contingents. Because of the high level of control by home governments, the Contingent Commanders enjoy considerable autonomy from the control of Force Commanders. There have been instances where contingent units were pulled out of their areas of deployment without the approval or even the knowledge of the force commander, thus endangering the deployment of flanking contingents. Some contingent have also at times refused to come to the aid of other endangered colleagues without clearance from their home governments.

4.3.2 Operational Challenges. Despite these problems of command and control, among others, ECOMOG has achieved more success than expected by its founders and the international community. It has provided clear proof of what is possible if African states pool their resources to address a problem. Though the force has been successful, it would be fool hardy to ignore the considerable

problems that have been identified in the course of its operations.

The most salient of these are as summarized:

- Budgetary implications.
 - Poor sea and air lift capabilities.
 - Absence of vital air- ground assets, particularly ground attack helicopters.
 - Poor coordination and liaison with international relief agencies.
 - Lack of standardization of equipment, arms and ammunition.
 - Lack of logistic support for contingents.
 - Excessive control by home governments.
 - Different training standards, doctrine and staff procedures.
 - Language differences
 - The interpretation of force activities by mercenary organization and the international mass media.

Many of these problems and their implications have been discussed above, and others are common to virtually all multinational peace missions. For example, the problem of language differences is ubiquitous, and is overcome at high command level, either by the use of interpreters and/or the appointment of bilingual (French and English) officers as contingent commanders or staff officers.⁷³

4.4 Significance of the Abuja international seminar on "The Challenges of Peace Support Operations into

the 21st Century”. The National War College (now National Defence College), Nigeria in cooperation with the Nigeria Army, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria and Folke Bernadette Academy of Sweden successfully conducted an international seminar on the challenges of peace support operations into the 21st century at Abuja from 31st may – 4th June 2004. The seminar with the theme “The Regional Dimension of Peace Operations in 21st Century – Arrangements, Relationship and the United Nations Responsibilities for International Peace and Security”; was the fourth under the second phase of the challenges project and the fourteenth since the inception of the project. The challenges project is a joint venture undertaking by a group of leading organizations from around the world that is aimed at fostering and encouraging a culture of cross professional corporation and partnership with a view to making practical recommendations that would enhance the effectiveness and legitimacy of multidisciplinary peace operation. During the 4 day seminar, which was attended by delegates from 16 different countries, papers were presented by very eminent personalities. The discussion on the first day of the seminar included the implications of peace operations under the UN and regional authorities, common doctrine, training and equipment standardization from the UN, African Union (AU) and ECOWAS perspectives.⁷⁴

The second day of the seminar had the topic regional organizations and the challenges of initiating and sustaining peace

operations; Day three had the sub – theme ‘International Support for Capacity Building for Regional Peace Operations’ and was chaired by Major General Tim Ford, former military adviser to the UN and thesis adviser of UN peace operations training institute. The last day was concluded by dwelling on ‘coordination and cooperation between organizations in building capacity for effective peace operation’.

The seminar made far reaching recommendations in the areas of enhanced rapid deployment of sub regional and regional troops, training and education of personnel, strengthening, coordinating and capacity building. The participants also made a strong case for funding for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), particularly the later aspect as well as incorporating local institutions. Other issues were effective corporation and coordinating between the UN and regional organizations, information sharing and development of databases, development of functional structures of planning and management of peacekeeping operations. It also saw the need for coordinating early warning mechanism, development of a process for UN Security Council’s authorization for early support to regional peace support operations as well as adequate support for post conflict peace building as panacea for combating the root causes of conflicts.⁷⁵

4.5. Concept of Logistic Planning and

Implementation. Logistics refers to “the science of planning and carrying the movement and maintenance of forces and those

aspect of military operations that deal with the design and development, acquisition, storage, movement, distribution, maintenance, evacuation, and disposition of material and hospitalization of personnel; acquisition of construction maintenance, operation and disposition of facilities; and acquisition of furnishing of services".⁷⁶ Modern peace support operations has continued to indicate tremendous dependence on logistics. In peace, logistics represent about a quarter of the defence budget of most modern forces. In peace support operations, it is the life blood. In planning for a peace support operations, there are logistic planning considerations common to all missions:

- a. Mission analysis
- b. Logistic planning factors
- c. Determination of logistic requirements
- d. Sources of logistic support
- e. Soliciting member states for logistic contributions
- f. Determination of logistic shortfalls.⁷⁷

Thus, considering the above factors, planning for the logistic requirement of supporting a peacekeeping operation should take into account the following:

- a. Supply capabilities of participating nation's forces and the resources of the host nation should be identified early. It is equally important to locate sources of supply and determine the most effective system of re – supply.

b. Logistic planners should endeavor to integrate resources as much as possible, namely the support capabilities of participating nations, host nations support, contracted services and UN resources.

c. The condition, congestion, security of sea, air and ground lines of communication impact directly on support plans. As such unique communication circumstances may dictate a combination of distribution method which may increase the complexity of the logistic mission as a whole. Therefore, communication factor needs to be assessed thoroughly.

d. Some mission areas may lack infrastructure, for example electrical power, transportation network and port facilities which are required in the provision of logistical support. The planning staff must arrive at solutions that recognize and overcome such shortfalls.

e. The type and quantities of commodities to meet mission requirements should take geographical conditions and cultural diversities into considerations.⁷⁸

4.6 The Standby High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBIG): A Guide to ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF). The SHIRBIG based in Copenhagen, Denmark was established in December 1996 in line with recommendations from the UN Secretary General that

the UN should consider the idea of a rapid deployment force. As of June 2007, 16 nations (Argentina, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Italy, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden) had joined the SHIRBIG and have signed its documents, while 7 more nations (Chile, Croatia, Czech Republic, Egypt, Jordan, Latvia, and Senegal) are participating as observers.⁷⁹ The force consists of units from these member states, trained to the same standard, using the same operating procedures and taking part in combined exercises at regular intervals thereby building their capacity and preparing them for deployment at a short notice. In summary, the SHIRBIG has developed a system that can be adopted as a model for the ECOWAS Standby Force and it provides planning and expert team assistance.

4.7 Future and Prospects of ECOWAS and

Peacekeeping in West Africa. With the end of the Cold War and the official disengagement of Western countries and their unwillingness to be involved in the eradication of Africa's many conflicts, it became clear to the African leaders that more than ever, African problems can be solved by African themselves. The Liberian civil war and the lower attention span of the world powers on the evolution of that conflict provided an indication of the trend of the restructuring occurring within the international system. In view of this, the ECOWAS Defence and Security Commission took the lead in establishing a West African Standby Force of 6,500 soldiers that

could rapidly deploy in response to crisis or threats to peace and security in the West African sub region. The Commission's 9th session in Abuja, Nigeria, in June 2004, effectively replaced ECOMOG with what is to be known as the ECOWAS Task Force. The ECOWAS Secretariat defines the operational requirements of the force; assesses the military capability of member states in terms of equipment and logistics; and determines the infrastructure needed for sub regional logistic depots.⁸⁰

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Major Findings. The study made the following findings:

- a. Sources of conflicts in the West African sub region includes, both inter and intra-states and trans-national sources, such as informal interactions across states.
- b. The West African sub-region lacks the technological base and funds to finance and sustain ECOWAS especially in conflict resolution.
- c. The ECOWAS is constituted by economically weak states.
- d. In resolving the Liberian and Sierra Leonean conflicts, effective use of early warning systems were not made.
- e. ECOMOG was haphazardly deployed without thorough consultations with the other member states.

f. Corruption and bad administration had been the major causes of conflicts in West Africa.

g. Poor logistics, ambiguous mandates, inadequate manpower, and lack of effective planning and preparations adversely affected ECOMOG in Liberia and Sierra Leone.

5.2 CONCLUSION. The end of the cold war with the resultant relative global peace and stability has brought about increased economic and technological advancement in most nations of the world. Paradoxically, most African especially, West African countries are still being affected by Wars even after independence. The sources of conflicts in the sub region reflect their diversity. Political instability in the West African sub region is worrisome as it leads to anarchy with its attendant consequence of stunted growth. Conflict results in dwindling economic resources as the country's resources are utilized to prosecute hostilities rather than on developmental projects.

The fratricidal wars in both Liberia and Sierra Leone partially have their roots in the usual struggle for control over resources. The struggle for scarce resources led to conflict that scuttles the development of the sub region.

The colonial leaders in Africa did not build durable institutions to manage conflicts and to facilitate good and effective governance.

They however appeared to have been carried away in their scramble for Africa's riches. Also, politics in many West African states is often split along ethnic lines with one group monopolizing power at the expense of others. Such situations have led to severe economic underdevelopment, undemocratic and often repressive form of government. As a result, competition for scarce resources assumes violent forms especially when the ruling class frustrates the only means of changing governments through electoral malpractices such as rigging. Thus, the masses were left with the option of taking arms to fight the government or particular ethnic group, sometimes violently as was the case in Liberia.

The causes of political instability in the West African sub Region are poor governance, economic problems, military incursion in governance, corruption etc. The perennial economic crisis of the sub region is a consequence of political crisis which manifests dictatorship and lack of accountability. The process of power transition in West Africa is not always smooth. The Sub region leaders always desire to perpetuate themselves in office by employing all forms of manipulations to the distaste of the populace.

Starting from the early decade of the 1990s up till early 2000s, West Africa has witnessed numerous conflicts. ECOWAS mechanisms have been involved directly or indirectly at managing these conflicts. These efforts have transformed ECOWAS into an organization that has more impact, increased visibility and elevated profile in the realm of conflict management.

This increased visibility is due, in part; to the fact that the new mechanism allows for interface in the internal affairs or member states in cases of unconstitutional changes in government, and conflicts that threaten regional security. This has allowed ECOWAS to move from the ad hoc approach to conflict management to a more systematic and institutionalized approach.

West Africa cannot be self sufficient or involve its population in development in a crisis – ridden environment. A country at war not only ceases to produce for development purposes but also retrogresses due to the devastation of infrastructure and industrial facilities, and the diversion of funds from development to war and security.

Military incursion into governance has added to the economic woes of the sub region as investors are not prepared to invest money where there is no rule of law and where their investments cannot be guaranteed. This has led to underdevelopment and loss of precious resources by most West African states. This study however noted that the gradual return to democratic governance by most states in the sub region – the consequence of perpetual pressure largely by donor countries and international aid agencies - maybe a respite for for the future, all things being equal.

Also, the paper posited that the digital age, with the resultant breakthrough in the field of communication has led to a global trend towards expansionism, with the West African Sub Region tending towards integration. It is imperative to put in place effective conflict

resolution machinery for peaceful co-existence. One of such mechanisms is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). ECOWAS was formed for economic advancement of member states but it was discovered that commerce cannot flourish without an enabling, stable and conducive political environment. An objective of peace building is the establishment of state institutions that allow for the provision of public goods. Such public goods legal mechanisms for peaceful dispute resolution, communications and transport infrastructure and public health services. The provision of public goods is associated with democratic governance, policing and enforcement. If peace operations are to be terminal activities, then it is necessary to strengthen state institutions to perform these functions and provide these goods.

The promotion of sustainable peace and the reduction of conflict in West Africa could be achieved through good governance, respect for human rights and the rule of law. Other means include promoting transparency and accountability in governance, enhancing administrative capacity and strengthening democratic governance.

The study thereby establishes that achieving sustainable peace in an unstable region of the world such as West Africa is a process. The multiparty process encourages participation of both local and international organizations and is dependent upon collaboration and cooperation between states, regions and peoples. The process is dynamic and different for each conflict situation. By incorporating the bilateral approach to peace operations into this dynamic process of

conflict resolutions, conflicts in West Africa in the 21st century can be tackled more effectively and eventually resolved.

5.3 Recommendations. The study therefore recommends the following, that:

- a. West African leaders should invest in good governance through transparency and accountability in government.
- b. West Africa's capacity for conflict management and peace support operations should be improved through adequate funding by member states and sufficient technical training and support from the international community.
- c. ECOWAS should coordinate the development of common standards and facilitate the joint training of West African forces for peacekeeping operations and peace building missions.
- d. The Authority of Heads of States and Government should encourage the production of cheap anti-retroviral drugs and research into vaccine or cure for AIDS.
- f. The governments of member states need to subject themselves to the peer review mechanism existing in the community.

- g. The government of member states should also intensify the policing of their borders by deploying adequate and well equipped manpower to man border posts.

- h. The leaders of West African states should engage their armed forces in productive ventures in peace time, generally in aid of their respective civic societies.

- i. The proposed ECOWAS Standby Force should provide intelligence gathering mechanism to provide adequate intelligence/information before troops move to mission area, developing a model that emphasis synergy between the strategic and operational levels for planning and preparations of troops before deployment to mission area.

- j. There should be proper coordination and proper cooperation between the ECOWAS Standby Force, the AU and the UN.

- k. ECOWAS should coordinate the development of common standards and facilitate the joint training of troops for peacekeeping operations and peace building missions.

I. Finally, the study recommends the inclusion of female officers and soldiers in capacity building to meet up with the multi – dimensional roles of the UN.

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Example is the West African Gas Pipeline. Challenges of Integration in West Africa Asante (1999) grouped integration challenges of ECOWAS into political, financial, approach or method and the existence of multiple regional bodies in the sub-region (rationalization). A major challenge of ECOWAS is the lack of essential well-structured institutions and managerial skills especially at the national levels for the formulation and implementation of 7 programmes designed to enhance integration. ECOWAS institutions lack strategies, clarity of vision and viable plans to enhance integration. They also I Mr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas was elected executive secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) by the region's heads of state, and took up his duties in February 2002. At the time, he was a member of parliament in Ghana, after previously holding several cabinet positions, including deputy minister of foreign affairs. He took part in Commonwealth missions to facilitate transitions to constitutional rule in Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and between 1991 and 1996 was centrally involved in ECOWAS mediation efforts in Liberia. In New York for an International Reconst Purpose The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established by the ECOWAS Treaty in May 1975 with the primary objective of promoting economic integration in all fields of economic activity, particularly industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions, social and cultural matters. African continent. Structure ECOWAS is governed by its Authority of Heads of State and Government. The Authority Chairperson is usually elected for a one-year term.