**NIGERIANS ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION (CASE STUDY OF ECOWAS)**

**BY**

**EZE CHUKWUNONSO LYDIA**

**GOU/12/1836**

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY UGWUOMU NIKE ENUGU STATE**

**JUNE, 2018**

**TITLE PAGE**

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**A PROJECT REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE**

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES GODFREY OKOYE UNIVERSITY UGWUOMU NIKE ENUGU STATE**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELORS SCIENCE (B.Sc) DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**SUPERVISOR: REV. FR. OGBUKA**

**JUNE, 2018**

**APPROVAL PAGE**

This study “Nigeria’s role in the development of international organization case study of ECOWAS” By Eze Chukwunonso Lydia, meet the regulations governing the award of Bachelors degree in International Relations of Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

**Sign\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_**

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**External Examiner Date**

**DECLARATION**

I, Eze Chukwunonso Lydia hereby declare that this research work was written by me and has been submitted or received anywhere for the purpose of acquiring degree in International Relations or any other program.

……………………… ……………………

Eze Chukwunonso Lydia Date

**DEDICATION**

To Almighty God and my lovely parents Mr. and Mrs Bertrand Eze

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

First of all, I remain indebted and thankful to God Almighty for all his blessings, guidance and mercy for giving me the opportunity to carry out this study. Then I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my Supervisor. Rev. Fr. Ogbuka who read through my work, critised and gave valuable advice on the study. To my amiable lecturers, my big dady Mr. Okonkwo. W.O., Mr. Nathy Mbaeze, Mr. Rowland Okolie, Rev. Fr Fr. Ogbuka, Dr Agbo., Mrs Iyanda. Mrs. Anigbo, Mr. Young, I say a bigger thank you. To my immediate family, no amount of words can effectively convey my gratitude to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Bertrand Eze, my best friends Declan Uchechukwu .O. I say thank you for being there for me at all times and for making this ambition a dream come true. My sincere greetings to my mother in school Rev. Sir. Lucy Umeh you were my guardian sent from God he will continue to bless you for me, sisters, Mrs Chinelo Ogbu, Mrs Chizoba Japhet, and Mrs Ifunanya Onyekachi and my brothers Mater Onyedikachi Eze, John Ani and Mary Martins Eze for standing by me from beginning to the end thank you. family, I want all the lecturers in the department of political Science/International relations, and my Department in Godfrey Okoye University who have molded me intellectually to attain this level of academic endeavor and to myself, I say well done and to God. I plead please do not give up on me now.

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**ABSTRACT**

*This research discussed the role of Nigeria in the formation of Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS). Nigeria’s role in the process of forming ECOWAS is of interest for two reasons. First, it is probable that variables which explain the initiation of integration also explain its maintenance, in which case the role Nigeria played may give some insights into future behavior and the probable fate of the new institution. Secondary, Nigeria’s role is interesting in itself and offers some insights into the African diplomacy of a country said to be “on its way to becoming the first major black power in modern international politics”. This research is concerned with both issues. Nigeria’s commitment to West African economic integration goes back to the early 1960’s, the heyday of efforts to institutionalize the concept of Pan-Africanism. One proposal for institutionalizing this concept was Nkrumah’s continental Union government or, at the very least, a political union of West African states. This proposal failed largely because Nigeria opposed it, while succeeding in getting a coalition of African states to support its stand.*

**CHAPTER ONE**

**BACKGROUND**

International organization is a membership group that operates across national borders for specific purposes. Scholars of international relations consider international organizations to be of growing importance in world politics. Examples of international organizations include the United Nations (UN), African Union, European Union, and (EU). Then League of Nations can be seen as the first international organization that was formed. Its first meeting was held in Geneva conference in 15 November 1920 with 42 nations present. The last meeting was held in April 8 1946. Then later UN superseded the league when it failed. UN was founded after World War II which ended in 1945. United Nations mission was to maintain World peace, develop good relations between countries, promote cooperation in solving the World’s problems and encourage respect for human right. Then league had many functions. As UN is an international organization in the global level we equally have regional organizations like AU, EU, and NATO and so on, so then we have sub regional organization, in sub regional we have ECOWAS, for West African states only.

International organizations according to Goldstein and Pevehouse (2009:232) is concrete, tangible, structure, with specific functions and missions. International organization can be define them as transnational organization most usually setup by charter, with mission and vision transcending one state and geared towards performing specific functions. In love with this Palmer (1985:298), argued that one of the promising developments of the nineteenth century in interstate relations has been the proliferation of international organizations. Archer (1983:35), added that every international organization must have hat is called irreducible characteristics which are broadly grouped into three, First, it must have a membership which must consist of two or more sovereign states Secondly, every international organization pursues the common interest of the members” and every organization must have its aims and objectives spelt out in its Constitution or Charter. Lastly, an international organization should have its own formal structure of a continuous nature established by an agreement such as a treaty or constituent documents. It is important to note that these organizations are created by sovereign states and can only do what these states empower them to do.. AN international organization is said to be supranational organization if it has an authority to make regulations that are binding on its member state.

According to Nwankwo (2002), international organization falls into two categories: IGO’S and NGO’S. Intergovernmental organizations (IGO’s), have national government as members. Apparently hundreds of IGO’s functions all over the world because member nations have created each of these organizations to serve a purpose that those nations find useful. The UN, OPEC, WTO, NATO are good example of’ IGO’s. The organization and political groupings, such as the Arab League and African Union, are also IGO’s. In general, regional IGO’s have experienced more success than global ones, and those with specific purpose have worked better than those with broad aim. Another type of international organization identified by Nwankwo is nongovernmental organizations (NGO’s). NGO’s are private organizations whose membership and activities are international oriented. NG’s do not possess the legal status of national governments. However, the UN and other international forums, recognize many NGO’s as important political institutions. Examples of NGO’s are Roman, Catholic Church, Greenpeace, the international Olympic committee. According to Abba (2010) the ECOWAS is an economic bloc formed to address the issue of economic exploitation of the West African states by the imperial and neo-imperial powers. The sub region (West Africa) was seen by the economic world power as a place where cheap raw materials could be sourced, after which they ‘dump their finished goods at exorbitant prices. ECOWAS was established to control these excesses, and to ensure strong and unfettered economic trade relations among member states. And it was championed by Yakubu Gowon (Nigeria) and the late Gnassiigbe Eyaderna (Togo). Article 2 of ECOWAS charter says that;

*It shall be the aim of the community to promote cooperation, and development in all fields of economic activities particularly in the fields of industry, transportation, telecommunication, energy, agriculture natural resources, monetary arid financial questions and in social and cultural, matters for the purpose of raising the standard of flying of its people, of increasing and maintaining economic stability, of fostering the closer relations among its members, and of contributing to the progress and development of the African continent.*

The main provision of ECOWAS treaty relate to the gradual abolition of customs duties among members the guarantee of free movement of persons and capital within the community This means that existing artificial economic barriers and preferential tariffs for local manufactures within the member states would gradually disappear. ECOWAS implies an integration of the economic policies and programs of the members and also a gradual indigenization of the ownership and control of capital in the sub-region. Toward this end, firms which are not both indigenously owned and controlled will be subjected to tariff discrimination in West African market. The goal is to ensure that West Africa control the economy of sub-region. The persistence search for an economic• union which will foster economic cooperation and provide a base for countries especially the former French colonies made the representatives of 15 West African countries to converge in Lagos and sign the treaty establishing the (ECOWAS) on May 27 1975. All the West Africa countries except Cape Verde Island signed the treaty which actually came into force on June 24, 1954 with the administrative and Economic (financial) headquarters in Lagos and Lorne respectively. Presently all the 16 West African countries of Benin(Dahomey) Burkina Faso(upper Volta) Cape Verde Island, Gambia, Ghana(Gold Coast) Guinea, Guinea —Bissau(Portuguese Guinea) Cote Devoir (Ivory coast) Liberia, Mali,( Sudan), Mauritanian, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo are members of this community.

**1.2 Statement of Problem**

The Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS), was formed on the 28 of May, 1954 in Lagos Nigeria. It was a sub-regional group of fifteen countries, formed with the aim of promoting cooperation’s and integrations that turn the political and cultural and economic growth and developments among African state. Unfortunately alter many years of formation, ECOWAS member countries still see each other as strangers and they have never acted with one voice. Economically there has river been free flow of trade across borders in the sub-regional talk less of unilateral trade co-operations amongst member countries. It is very appalling that even at present, Nigeria can’t transact business Iii other West African countries like Ghana, Togo, ivory coast and so others without being harassed with stringent conditions /measures, and intimidated by official of these west African countries.

Also socio politically, it is heart rending that after many years of ECOWAS existence west-African unity and integration, still West African and their leaders have never really spoken with one voice. It is the, incessant political conflict and wars bedeviling most West African countries. With the above problem the researcher was faced with this questions

1. Did Nigeria dominant role in ECOWAS enhance its Economic growth in Africa?

2. Has ECOWAS contributed in the ‘development and security of member states?

**1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The broad objective is to discuss if the effective roles Nigeria played in the development of international organizations, helped in the. Growth of its Economy.

**And its specific objectives are**

1. To investigate if the dominant role of Nigeria in forming ECOWAS enhanced its political and Economic position in West Africa

2. To ascertain whether ECOWAS has contributed 1:0 the develprnen1: of member states.

3. And lastly to proffer solution to problems o1 socio-political and Economic situation that is rising in Africa and especially in ECOWAS countries.

**1.4 Hypotheses**

1. Nigerian’s dominant role didn’t enhance its Economic position in Africa.

2. ECOWAS contributed to the security and development: o1 some member states and African nations

**1.5 Significance of the Study**

The study will serve as available materials for the sub-regional organizations and the international community at large. It will equally be of help to the international political analysts in general, Presidents and heads of states in African countries as they appreciate the need for African nations to stay strong, as well as the obstacles to its successful advancement, both within the ECOWAS sub-region and Africa in general. This study will help West Africa to appreciate the need to form sub-regional organization in order to address economic exploitation by imperialism and it will add to the existing knowledge to the field of economic relations

among member states. It will equally add to the existing knowledge in the field of international relations and African in general.

**1.5 Scope of the Study**

The basic aim of the study is to undertake an in depth study of ECOWAS and Nigeria. It will help us to ascertain the challenges Nigeria faced in developing international organizations.

However the study is delimited to ECOWAS, a West. African sub-regional organization within the years 2010-2015 as its major lime frame.

**CHAPTER TWO**

**2.0 Review of Related Literature**

Nigeria role in establishment and development of international organization cannot be underestimated Nigeria is one of the leading nations in developing fragment of the international system. She has provided assistance to needy countries covering several sectors of the economy. It is therefore not surprising that she is one of countries eyeing a seat in the Security Council as a permanent member of United Nations. Nigeria’s membership, involvement and commitment to United Nations for instance, clearly indicate that, as a component of the country national interests, support for the UN and utilization of the institutional capacity it offers for foreign policy projection and pursuit cuts across the three measures established by Robinson. The very fact that seeking the membership.

ECOWAS is a sub-regional organization that was created by the treaty of Lagos in Lagos, Nigeria on May 1975 it was created to promote economic trade, national cooperation and monetary union for growth and development throughout West Africa. Then a revised treaty intended to accelerate integration of Economic policy and improve political cooperation it was signed in 1993 it sets the goal of a common economic market, a single currency, creation of West African parliament, economic and socio council, and a court of justice, which primarily interpret and mandates dispute over ECOWAS policies and relation but has the power to investigate alleged human rights abuses in member countries. According to Anyikwa (2008)”it then became obvious that the only panacea to African structural, economical cultural and social development problems j’ I he integration and unification of African states. This because African and their leaders, later saw the need to tackle their development problem harmoniously to at least unify the divers ethnic, social, cultural and political groups that made up their continent and thereafter, utilize such unification to bring or achieve economic development for the continent. Hence this need integration saw, the emergency of some African sub-regional organizations.

According to Igboeli (2006) regional integration is a process in which states enter into a regional agreement in order to enhance regional cooperation through regional institutions and rules. The objective of the agreement could range from political to economical, although it: has become political economic initiative were commercial purpose are the means to achieve broader socio political and security objectives.

The Economic Community of West African States came into being in 1975 when its charter was endorsed by its members. The organization has its headquarters at Abuja the capital of Nigeria. According ABBA (2010), ECOWAS is an economic bloc formed to address the problem of economic exploitation of West African states by the imperial and neo-imperial powers. The sub-region (West Africa) was seen by the economic world power as a place where cheap raw materials could be sourced, after which they dumped their finished goods at the exorbitant prices. Persons and capital within the community. This means that existing artificial economic barriers and preferential tariffs for local manufactures within the member states would gradually disappear. ECOWAS implies an integration of the economic policies and programs o1 the members and also a gradual indigenization of the ownership and control or capital in the sub region. Toward this end, firms which are not both indigenously owned and controlled will be subjected to tariff discrimination in West African market. The goal is to ensure that West Africa control the economy of sub-region. The persistence search for an economic union which will foster economic cooperation and provide a base for countries especially the former French colonies made the representatives of 15 West African countries to converge in Lagos and sign the treaty establishing the (ECOWAS) on May 27 1975. All the West Africa countries except Cape Verde Island signed the treaty which actually came into force on June 24, 1954 with the administrative and Economic (financial) headquarters in Lagos and Lome respectively. Presently all the 16 West African countries of Benin(Dahomey) Burkina Faso(upper Volta) Cape Verde Island, Gambia, Ghana(Gold Coast) Guinea, Guinea —Bissau(Portuguese Guinea) Cote c1voire (Ivory coast) Liberia, Mali,( Sudan), Mauritanian, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo are members of this community.

**1.2 Statement of Problem**

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To actualize her foreign policy objectives which include the promotion of world peace with special emphasis and focus on Africa continent, According to Adepoju (2005) The increase in the level of awareness for sub-regional integration was a bold attempt to stimulate the kind of homogeneous society which existed. The success attaining the goals and objectives of ECOWAS is hinged on free movement of persons, goods and capital within the sub- region. This explains why Viner (195O) opines that the effectiveness of any integration is seen in terms of its relative size.

The Nigeria role is interesting in itself and offers some insight into the African diplomacy of a country said to be “on its way to becoming the first major black power in modern international politics”. Nigerian commitment to West African integration goes back 10 early 1960’s, the heyday of efforts to institutionalizing this concept of Pan Africanism, One was Nkurumah’s continental union government or, at. The very least, a political union of West Africa states. But the Nkururnah’s proposal fail because Nigeria opposed it, while succeeding in getting coalition of African states to support its stand.

The role Nigeria has been playing in the Economic Community of ‘Nest African States (ECOWAS) cannot be overemphasized. Nigeria was in the forefront of the formation of Evolution of the sub region rqanizaI1on known as ECOWAS with the full aim of Economic integration within the sub-region and other as the case may be. It was because of the Nigeria’s great efforts by the past government under the leadership 01 General Yakubu Gowon, that the Economic Community of West: African State was established in May 28th, 1975. Nigeria, in the first place found IL very difficult when contacting some sister countries, only at last, Togo under the leadership of the former president then showed interest in the matter. That was why in turn the headquarters was situated in Nigeria, Lagos now moved .to Abuja; while the funds headquarters was located in Toga. As the principal actor in the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States, Nigeria has played so many uncountable roles, ranging from defense and security to Economic Political, Social and Cultural roles.

**2.2. The Role of Nigeria in the Formation of Economic Community of West Africa States**

In the first place, West Africa is an area of great contrast and diversity. A fairly accurate description of the physical location of region of West A1hca would invariably include the area laying west of the boundary between Nigeria and Cameroon precisely, it is the area bounded by Mauritania in the East, although it has been suggested that West Africa should operationally extend beyond the unit marked by Senegal and Cameroon to include the area stretching from the Spanish Sahara to Angola. 1 lie region pin of varying wealth, with alternating ranges of swaps, lagoons and sandy beaches. The swampy and almost impenetrable forests and heavy rain in the southern parts of the region gradually diminish in intercity and eventually disappeared into the dry and even expand 5ahara desert in the North. The reverse effect of the desert on production is indisputable. Between the North and South at the Steppe and Savanna, reasonably good for agriculture.

**2.3 Genesis of ECOWAS**

Although the Organization Council Africa (OCAM) and Conenose Ecobonque de’ Africa de Lowest (ECAO) and the comment of the estate had remained natively integrated Economic organizations among the French West African States, on economic country representing a broader spread of interest in West Africa had survived the test of time the Lagos conference on industrial co-ordination in West Africa held in November, 1963 which could have been a prelude to an economic community led to nothing fruit after the meeting. Four major regional attempts to create an economic community that cut across language boundaries and discern able.

**These are: -**

a. The Liberian initiative that set up the interim organization for West African Economic Co-operation.

b. The ECA-FAO sponsored Bamako Conference on co-ordination of industries that would have led to the establishment, of a region iron and steel industry.

c. The ECA sponsored Nigeria Conference in Niger Republic, that: was largely aimed at enlarging the CEAO and

d.. The Nigeria- Togo initiative that led to the creation of economic Community of West African States in 1975.

**2.4 The Nigeria -Togo Initiative**

Historically, when in November, 1974, one highly placed civil servant at; ‘the Nigeria ministry of External Affairs now (Foreign Affairs) was asked of [he endeavor to create a West African Economic Community should go to Nigeria’s praise and Great, he explained his country role with impeccable understatement. That is., the effort to great ECOWAS was jointly initiated’ between Nigeria and Togo in 1975. Although Nigeria did most of the grass roots work in promoting the principle of Westsuper-nationality, never the less it needed the confidence of all West African States including, the French speaking states to succeed. The choice of Telephone Togo is companion in this intimation gave the attempt the broader basenecessary for regional legitimacy. The support between Nigeria and logo dates back many years. Sylawal Olympic, the Togolese Head of State had a great understanding with his Nigeria counterpart then, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, when in 1963, Olympia was assassinated iii the African coup ‘ne tat, his family found in Nigeria not only a resources of good will, but, also a Comfortable home. Three years after Abubakar Tafawa Belewa unstressed similar fate. For the above narration, we can understand that the role played by Nigeria in the formation of Economic Community of West African State dates back to 1963, 1974 and only realized in May 28th with full support, assistance and cooperation of Togo.

**2.5 Reasons for Nigeria’s Role in the Formation of ECOWAS**

Domestically, it’s the country’s (Nigeria) desire to become the understanding heart of west Africa with all the political OVVCL A concomitant of this is the desire to undermine or ci ode French economic and political influence which has sometime inimical (a Nigeria’s interest in the sub-region. To help a friend whose political power was being challenged, i.e. Liberia, Guinea Bissau, etc. rescheduling of United States $50 million Liberia debt with the African Development: Bank. And section 20 of 1989 of the Nigeria constitution vested to the power of Nigeria government to promote African unity, as well as total political economical social and cultural liberation of the continent which (ECOWAS) fall within. Also Nigeria with other ECOWAS member states, participated actively in re- instating the Sierra-Leone president.

**2.6 The Role of Nigeria in Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS)**

From the time in memorial, Nigeria has been playing a great role in the Economic Community of West Africa States’ since its establishment I 1975 under the joint initiative between Nigeria and Toga. The advent of democracy in Nigeria, the formal President Chief Olusegun Obasanjo who incidentally was the head of State in Nigeria, during the early clays of ECOWAS, has in concert with his brother Heads of State and government particularly President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana taken steps to ensure that the organization is reviewed, and given greater impetus to enable it realize ‘the progress made towards ECOWAS integration within [lie past: years o has been very encouraging and if the momentum is kept, there is no doubt, that the goal of the total integration of the sub- region could be achieved. At the 22nd ordinary session of the Authority of Heads of State and government, which took place, in Lone, Togo, from 8th — 10th December, 1999, Nigeria came up with proposal on modalities and strategies for accelerating the sub regional integration process. The President of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo seized the opportunity of the session to propose a new strategy for accelerating the regional economic integration process, through the adoption of a two tract approach, which allows two or more member states to jointly implement approved integration programme at a faster pace. This proposal was warmly received and unanimously adopted by the authority. The following were also proposed and accepted by the submit all under the able Nigeria’s leadership / initiative.

i. Free movement of Regions

ii. ECOWAS free trade pool

iii. Second West African Regional Currency by 2004

iv. West African Power Pool

v. The West African Gas Pipeline Project

vi. Regional Food Security

vii. Conflict Management and Collative Security.

In line with the above development, member countries have recently establishment separate ministry, charged among other things, with the sole responsibility of pursuing the larger objectives of regional economic cooperation and integration. It is a clear fact that 7 countries, namely, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Liheila and Ghana have earlier established Ministry of co-operation and integration in Africa. So the state of affair is a positive and most encouraging development among the role of Nigeria to ECOWAS. In order to get me right: 1mm the fast tract initiated by both Nigeria and Ghana in December, 1999, Lome summit, mentioned earlier on. The following statistics will vividly illustrate the reasons why the two countries should naturally serve as the Pivot for the eventual integration and goals of ECOWAS. The two countries (Nigeria and Ghana).

i. 59% of the total population of the West African sub-region

ii. 67% ECOWAS Gross Domestic Production (GDP)

Iii. 62% ECOWAS experts and 5O% of total ECOWAS imports. The relevant statistics on ECOW AS has been outlined in the previous chapters. More importantly, it’s in line with guiding principles of Nigeria Foreign policy, that it’s generally agreed that a nation’s foreign policy is a reflection of its domestic pre-occupation and its perception of the international affairs. Although there have been varieties in steeple and diffusion over the years, Nigeria’s foreign policy considerations have remained Firmly constant, The persistent concern and principles, which have guided it since independence, include the followings in relation to the subject of discussion:

The protection of the Sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Nigeria state.

ii. The promotion of the economic, and social well-being of Nigeria

iii. Enhancing Nigeria’s image and status in the world at large

iv. Promoting of the unity as well as the total political, social, economic and cultural liberation of Africa.

v. Promotion of international cooperation conducive of the consideration of world peace and security, mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and states.

vi. Enhances the dignity and promoting the welfare of Africans a id people of descent all over the world of which West Africa sub-region inclusive, With reference to the above, that was why Nigeria is everywhere to see that it contributed fully, and seriously to the development of [ECONAS. the most serious and important role of Nigeria to ECOWAS are regard to one of its guiding principle on foreign policy above, its initiative and full super financially, mutually and materially to the establishment of the sub-regional peace keeping force known as ECOMOG CECOWAS Monitoring group. To date, West Africa is the only sub-region in African to successfully mount a fully operational peace keeping operations, successful elections were held which brought to power a democratically elected government in Liberia In Sierra Leone, ECOMOG also effectively merged the conflict in that country, heading to the return of the civilian Heads of State in 1998. This peace keeping force, continue to monitor and mid-wife events in Sierra Leone until it was compelled to withdraw that theatre of operation because of financial constraint. Additionally, Guinea Bissau following the outbreak of violence in the state in 1998 benefited from the intervention of COMCG. The result was the organization and holding of general and presidential elections in Guinea - Bissau and restoration of peace and stability in that country. Also recently within the year 2002 the crises Cote d’vore witnessed the presence of ECOMOG troupes, but later the citizens of We country demonstrated against it. Another important and very vital role of Nigeria to ECOW AS is the major funding member states. Nigeria is also in the forefront of all the member states to allow free of movement goods and people from its bounders. It has removed tariff barriers in unprocessed goods in implementation of her trade liberalization scheme but not on industrial products. On monetary cooperation programme, all barriers of a monetary nature have been eliminated in Nigeria. Payment of Hotel bills, port and import charges. There is the harmonization of economic k Finances and Policies. ECOWAS is currently reviewing the situation in the Light of the new ECOWAS Macro Economic convergence criteria. Another inspect: of Nigeria’s role to ECOWAS, is the protocol relating to community levy. Nigeria has rectified the protocol on the community levy and incorporate it into its appropriation Bill for 2002. It has also geared efforts towards the enlighten or the general public and Economic operations on ECOVVAS programme. Technical Aid Groups Scheme (TAGS) has also served as one of the contributing factors to the ECOW AS progress. The programme was established by the former Nigeria leader, General Ibrahim Babangida 1987 to mark a new development in Nigeria’s foreign policy and represented an innovation trend in the country’s drive inwards U: efficient institutionalization of Aid! Assistance to sustain West African Countries in particular and the African continent in general. The scheme was created to provide Technical Assistance by sending on request, Nigeria’s professionals in different fields to West African Countries to assist them hi their development programme. Prior to the establishment of TACS, Nigeria has been involved actively in the provision of Aid to oilier sister West Africa and third world countries. Among the West African countries that benefited from the TACS are:

1. Cape Verde 8 Coups
2. Sierra- Leone 14 Coups

So, in main aim of the scheme was directed at projecting a positive image for Nigeria among West African Countries in particular and the world in general. The recipient states will, have an opportunity 1:0 view Nigeria, and. Nigerian in positive height. Also to become a tool o1 promoting Nigeria’s interest in the West African States and Global Arena cannot: be separated from Nigeria’s fortunes. The scheme also allow the Participant of have cultural and agricultural exchanges when they return home as new fashion, crops and even language. It is because of the Nigeria’s effort to the development of African Commandment and the West African Nation in particular, that so many prominent personalities in the world have made the following comments about Nigeria:

1. Former President Ronald Reagan of United States in a letter that stated, that, “I want you to know that, I view Nigeria as a leader among African Nations which shows the US desire for peace throughout the world’’ To Shagari.
2. In December, 1978, the former Polish Ambassador of Nigeria, Dr. Withhold Tirash, commended Nigeria for the numerous role she played during the establishment of. ECOWAS. He added that, “Because the role played by Nigeria in West Africa, the future of the sub-region in integration in that part of the world basically depends on the attitude by Nigeria and her policies”.
3. Significantly even the major super power recognize Nigeria’s leadership role in West Africa and Africa at large, example profession, Anatoly Crophyko, representing Soviet in a meeting with Nigeria, stated that ‘the soviet union and Nigeria are the largest countries in their respective regions”. And still Nigeria remain influenced in the West African politics.
4. The United States of America recognizes and acknowledges t: e special role of Nigeria in African politics.
5. In the case of British it has this to say, the fact is that in January, 2001, the British Government conversed their common wealth conference in Nigeria and this was intended actually to expose Nigeria as the leading African country and not Ghana which has repeated in December, .003.
6. It is because of the Nigeria leadership role in West Africa, that France does see Nigeria as the major threat to her interests in the West African sub, region. Olajide Aluko (198 1-99).
7. Also the former President of Niger Republics, Mr. Hussaini Dome in June, 1973 was evaded as saying that, “any economic arrangement inSecretary, who is, elected for a four-year term which may be renewed once only. The secretariat’s function includes the day to day running of the secretariat. The Executive Secretary serves as the Chief Administrative Officer of .the organization. There are the existence of other specialized commissions as follows:

i. Trade, customs, immigration, monetary and payments

ii. Industry, agriculture and natural resources

iii. Transport, communication and energy

iv. Social and cultural affairs

v. Ecology

The organization for Economic Community o1 West African States (ECOWAS) consisted of sixteen states initially, but later Mauritania is pulled out, so, the community is left with only fifteen member states. Among the states, one has its origin from America i.e. Liberia. While Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia were colonized by the British Government. And Guinea Bussau was ruled by Portugal. And lastly. Mauritian, Toqo, Senegal, Niger, Burkina Faso, Cote D’ivore Republic of Cape Vade, Mail and republic of Benin were ruled by France. The evolution of economic community of West African States (ECOWAS) was principally introduced by the Nigerian Government then. The then Nigeria Military Head of State General Yakubu Gowon conceived the idea of Economic community of West African States in 1970, immediately after the civil war which engulfed Nigeria from 1967 to 1970. General Gowon expressed the desire to see the African Unity expressed in concrete terms and not: only in Organization of African Unity (OAU) resolution. He could like to start: with economic integration in West Africa. He thereafter raised the issue several 1mn with President Leopold Seghor of Senegal, who did not. Show sufficient enthusiasm to the idea, because to him the proposed community could turn out to be a greatest Nigeria because of the country’s size. In 1972, General Gowon decided to seek the, cooperation of Togo, and during a state visit to Togo in the same year, the suggestion was made for both Nigeria and Togo to join hands iii drafting a proposal for the formation of a common market which .eventually became Economic Community of west. African States (ECOWAS).. On 28th May, 1975 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established, when the sixteen heads of States in the, sub region signed treaty in Lagos, with the subject of promoting trade, cooperation and self-reliance in west Africa. Outstanding protocols bringing certain key features of the treaty into effect were rectified in November 1976, Cape Verde joined in 1977. The sixteen states are:

i. Republic of Benin

ii. Burkina Faso

iii. Cape Verde

iv. Cote D’ivore

v. The Gambia

vi. Ghana

vii. Guinea Bissau

viii. Liberia

ix. Guinea

x. Mali

Countries, increase and maintain economic stability, improve relations among member countries and to generally contribute to the progress Find development of Africa. The treaty also contains a commitment to abolish all obstacles to the free movement of people, services and capital, and to promote harmonization of agricultural policies, common project making, research and the agriculturally based industries joint development of economic and industrial policies and elimination of disparities in lev2I of development and common monetary policies. The structural the ECOWAS is the authority of Head of State and government in the highest authority, in the organization. The authority meets only once in a year. The Chairman is drawn from the Member States in turn.

Then we have the Council Ministers, which is the second, The ECOWAS treaty provides for a country or state to have two ministers to represent each country, also a Chairman is drawn from each in turn. This council meets twice a year, and is responsible for the running of the community. They prepare proposals and other relevant activities for the meeting of the Heads of State and Government. There is also the existence of tribunal. The treaty provides for a community tribunal whose composition and competence are determined by the authority of Head of state and government. It interprets the provisions of the treaty and settles dispute between member states that are referred to it. Another important organ of ECOWAS is the secretariat. The headquarters of the secretariats now in Abuja. The community had staff strength of about i’1() in 1986 which was increased to more than 1000 staff working in the headquarter derived from member states. The headquarters is headed by an executive West Africa that excluded Nigeria would be unrealistic”. (oieijde Aluko1981- 1999).And even former civilian president of the 2nd and 3rd Repulic Aihaji Shehu Usman Aliyu. Shagari said “our whole foreign policy “has been meticulously geared towards promoting good neighborliness and a healthy respect for the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of’ others. I am also conscious that, Nigeria like most other regional powers, most learn to content with. Problems associated with leadership and the attendant responsibility. This is the classic constraint which Nigeria will increasingly be called upon to line with, Annual Foreign policy Address (NIIA 1981 Lagos). The above are only some of the major roles Nigeria has played and still played in the ECOWAS, equally there are so many commendations i.e. support of the Nigeria role to ECOWAS. In July (2003) Nigeria was able to play a great role in an attempt to settle the Liberian crises by agreeing to send 1,300 of its soldiers. In order to answer its name as the giant of Africa, when there was a coup in Sao- Tome Nigeria was the one opposed to the coup and promised to reinstate the leadership and which it did. Also in order to see to the end of the Liberian crises, General (Rtd) President Obasanjo visited Liberia on 6th July, 200: arid met with President Charles Taylor with the aim of giving him political asyiurn in Nigeria. The Economic Community of West African States is’ an organization formed by the West African Heads of State and government for the purpose of economic integration. In addition to that, ECOWA aims to promote cooperation and development in economic, social and cultural activities with particular objectives of raising the people of the member.

xi. Mauritania

xii. Nigeria

xiii. Nigeria

xiv. Senegal

xv. Sierra Leone

xvi. Togo

Mauritania has since withdrawal from the organization, leaving ECOVVAS with a membership. of 15. The 16 member states which belong to ECOWAS cover an area of about 6.1million kilometers, and have a population of more than 210 million people, with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) totaling more than 107 billion dollars. The founding fathers has their envisaged a situation where the community that was being created Could have a common market where goods and services from the West Africa sub-region, would freely circulate, devoid of all tariff and non — tariff barriers. The community envisions a common monetary union with a Regional Central Bank, and a single common currency for all the member states. The treaty also made allowances for free and easy movement of goods, services and persons in the sub-region, indeed this aspect of the treaty was made a priority as it were. Perhaps, what influences the establishment of ECOWAS, was the signing of the 1958 Treaty 3f Rome, which. Eventually led to the formation of European Economic Community (EEC). In appreciation of the initiative of the two countries, especially Nigeria, the Headquarters of the secretariat is located in Nigeria, Lagos, now Abuja, while fund Headquarters in Togo’(Lome).

**Problems and Prospect of ECOWAS**

It is rather sad that after 34years of existence, ECOWAS has still not been able to fulfill most of its dreams due to some uncountable problems affecting it. Among these problems are:

1. The first problem and perhaps the most is the problem of political Instability in the region and civil structure. Until peace and stability are restored in the sub-region, the ECOWAS dream may take a long time to realize.“It is only in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility that cbuntrie3 and indeed, the organization can develop”. The present situation in the sub region, viz, war in Liberia, Sierra lone, Guinea Bissau, and Cote d’ivore makes cooperation among countries of the sub-region difficult.
2. The Lack OF Political Will on the part of the leaders to subordinate part of their authority to a larger ECOWAS, will not lead to early integration of the sub region. Except member countries totally commit 1: lien selves to the goal and aspiration of total integration of the sub region, the expected benefits of ECOWAS may be illusionary.
3. The State of the Economics of the member states of ECOWAS to some. Extent makes co-operation among them unattractive in an atmosphere of economic depression, which has been the lot of counties in West Africa, regional cooperation may prove difficult to achieve.
4. The Disparity in the Size, Population and economic resources of member states is another problem for sub-regional integration. Smaller and less endowed countries in the sub-region look on bigger and relatively better endowed countries, with fear, envy and suspicious. This state ofaffairs has the• potential of making the process of integration a little difficult. It is important to restate that Nigeria does not have any territorial ambition. It had never sought and will never seek to dominate any country/nation. And it will continue to make sacrifices toward the achievement of peace, and economic up liftmen of the sub-region. And ‘it will continue to deal with member states on the sovereign rights.
5. The Colonial Heritage and historical antecedent: of member countries of the organization also affect their level of co-operation and integration. A situation where countries group into francophone, Anglophone and Lusophone does not make for every integration.
6. The Inadequate funding of the organization (ECOVVAS).secretariat is another big problem area, for the organization. There is a need, to strengthen the secretariat through adequate funding to enable it: carryout the mandate assigned to it by member states. The refusal of sonic member ‘states to contribute their annual subscription is a reflection of the poor commitment of these members of ECOWAS ideas. The areas of member states contribution to the community currently stands at over 47,570, 391 US Dollars. Asat 1st January, 2010 only Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali arid Nigeria were up to date in the payment of their contributions.
7. It is the research’s opinion that a latitude should be given to the ECOWAS secretariat to be able to promptly and confidently respond ‘to the challenges of the ever increasing responsibilities and to report later ‘to the member states. If it will take the recruitment of more experts to achieve this, it will be a wise investment. A careful study of the setup of Secretariats of similar organizations will make the suggested review imperative.
8. Another problem is the fear being entertained by some countries that the opening of •borders could inevitable enhance cross-border crises. Fortunately, decision had been taken to Establish ECOWAS Criminal Intelligence Bureau (ECIB) to ensure that while honest: and good people none across the borders unhindered, criminals are not allowed to take advanta.ge of such opportunity. In spite of the catalogue of problems earlier enumerated, there is no doubt that ECOWAS as a sub-regional organization holds lots of prospects.
9. It is a well-established fact that no .one country can be alone. The emphasis now is on regional co-operation and integration, as a means of serving the present vicissitude of the present world order. It is only through integration of our small and fragile economics that exist in the sub-region that we can survive the challenges and effects of globalization. Sub-regional economic organization like the ECOWAS, will facilitatetheir eventual integration into a large African market, in concert with existing sub-regional groups such as (UEMOA.) Union Economic Montiare Quest Africa-dine, Economic Country, and Central African State (EECAS), Mano River Union, South Africa Development and Cooperation Council (SAAC), so as to benel1t from -globalization. In fact’ economy of scale makes it imperative that member states of ECOWAS work towards the progress of the country. Also member states of ECOWAS, must either by their conviction or Survival instilment, support cooperate with one another. ‘The alternative is marginalization in this era of globalization, with its adverse consequences for their people and economics.
10. However, there is no doubt that ECOWAS despite the formidable obstacles, has managed to make strides towards achieving the West Africa Country. We therefore have great hopes that more with be achieved within the next few years. One glaring prospectthat is easily discussable is that there is more growing conviction among member states about the need for regional integration. This conviction and commitment cult across government, Institutions, the private sector, NGO’s and even the ordinary citizens. More and more are becoming actively involved in the integration process. Thus the stigma and earlier perceived fears of domination have given way to reality and understanding.
11. Another prospect is the sustenance of the momentum established by the fast tract approach championed by Ghana and Nigeria and Liter joined by Guinea, Mali, Gambia, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Within a short time 01 3 years the fast tract approach achieved tremendous result. The speed with which the tract and monetary arrangements were magic is to say the least unprecedented in the history of ECOWAS. The vigor with which the realization of the monetary union objective is being pursued given one on doubt that it will be realized by set date of January, 2000.
12. Also, it is evident that ECOWAS is making effort towards the lull application of the community levy. This is autonomous financing mechanism that will contribute immensely in the reduction of the EGO WAS financial burden. The current momentum of commitment will ensure timely application of the mechanism.
13. Yet another prospect towards achieving the West African Country is the conscious efforts already being executed to nationalize ‘he Inter governmental organizations to make them manageable. This can be seen in the current close working relationship between the three integration ‘bodies in the region namely: Main River Union, (between Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia). The ECOWAS and the Union Economique’et monetair’e. Quest-African (UEMOA). The need to harmonize the programmes of these and other such bodies in the sub-region is being felt by member states.
14. A cluster of achievements by ECOWAS can rightly be seen as good prospect for realization of the West African, Country. Some practical achievements of ECOWAS lend great credence to the need as such undertakings yield direct benefits to member states. Some of the programmes have been redesigned in such a way to give priority attention to some pressing problems of member states. For instance, energy implementation to the regional energy cooperation programme has to be re-designed to give priority attention to the previous energy situation in Ghana, Togo and Republic of Benin via the West African GES Pipeline Project (WAGPP). The interconnection of National electricity grid networks of some member states is another. In the telecommunication field the launching of the first phase of the ECOWAS Communication Project (FOP 1) has greatly facilitated the communication between member states. The second phase (INTERCOME 11) will assist’ the member states cope with and draw maximum advantage from ever growing telecommunication industry. The role of ECOWAS in Liberia and Sierra Leone is leg ending and universally acknowledged. The successful operation and spread of theECOWAS Bank (ECOBANK) is another tangible achievement: of the ECOWAS. There is also the introduction and use of the ECOWAS travelers’ cheques.
15. These laudable achievements and many others serve as prospects in themselves because the purpose for which they were established will in the final analysis ensure economic integration among the member states.
16. Finally, the most important prospect for ECOWAS is the fact: that the ECOWAS citizens are becoming more and more aware of the importance of ECOWAS and have started to develop some attachment to it. IL is evident that the public enlightment nominated by member states through the broadcast, and other related organization(s) have the great potential f sensitizing the citizens about the need for the West African Country. More and more people are getting involved in ECOWAS programme implementation. A larger member of the ordinary citizens in the sub-region now talk about ECOWAS with a reasonable degree of understanding and infirmity. The more the ordinary citizens become aware of ECOWAS and become committed, the more the organization will succeed in realizing its aims and objectives. As mostly the tradition in any meaningful writings conclusion most be drawn. So also in this write-up from the above in this chapter three of the research works. It deals with the Economic Community of West of African States (ECOWAS) in general. It dealswith the introduction about the subject matter, and then later it highlighted the historical background on the evolution of ECOWAS. All the process involved were mentioned in this chapter of which, Nigeria and Toga were the greatest counties that initiated and later gave birth to establishment ofECOWAS on 28th May, 1973, in Lagos. That was why the headquarters of the secretariat was given to Nigeria and that of the funds, Headquarters was situated in Togo. Also from the above the writer was able to mention some of the short coming of ECOWAS and suggested remedy for meaningful connections, also some achievements in the chapter. So briefly this chapter has been categorized in three phases. The introductorypart the historical background on the ECOWAS and lastly the problems and prospects of ECOWAS.

**CHAPTER THREE**

**METHODOLOGY**

**1.1 Methodology**

The source used in the collection of data in this work is the secondary data, whereby updates and information about this study were gotten from various textbooks, journals, magazines, newspaper, bulleting, internet directions and other publications and documents both from private and government.

**3.2 Theoretical Frame Work**

Globalization has forced Nations into interpenetration, interdependence and global integration. Hence, so predicate my analysis on the complex interdependence theory as developed by Robert Keohane and Joseph. Nye. Essentially, Keohane and Nye enunciated three basic characteristic of complex interdependence as outlined below:

1. There exist multiple channels that connect societies. These channels can be in the form of interstate, trans-governmental and transnational relations;
2. The agenda of interstate relationships consist of multiply issues that are not arranged in a clear or consistence hierarchy. This means inter alia, that military security does not consistently dominate the agenda, distinction between domestic and foreign issues becomes blurred while inadequate policy coordination on ‘this issues involves, significant.
3. Military forces plays a relatively minor role in international relations mainly because “it is not used by government toward other governments within the region, or on the issues, when complex his interdependence prevails”.

The global order is bound on thrive of inequality and exploitation. In view of this the theory introduced the concept of ‘regime’ to mitigate anarchy and enhance mutual cooperation (Keohane & Nyc, 1987). This theory therefore, analytically germane to my research because it facilities comprehensive of the inevitable interdependence and inter-relationship among states. It brings to light the inherent inequality and lopsided benefits of this inextricable Interdependence. Financial globalization acts as a centripetal uniting all countries into the global financial system, at the regional level, it is centrifugal force undermining regional economic unit The challenges posed by globalization to regional integration in West Africa are thus, better appreciated and explained in this context.

**3.4 Research design**

The study will adopt expose facto after the fact research design. Cohen, Manion and Morison(2000) noted that instead of taking groups that are equivalent and subjecting them to different treatments to determine differences in the dependent variables ,an expos facto experiments begins with groups that are already different in some respect and searches in respect for factors that brought about those differences. In expose factor, the test of hypotheses involves observing the independent variables at the same time because the effects of the former on the later have already taken place before the investigation.

In testing the hypotheses which states that “ECOWAS has contributed to the economical development of member states”(x), will be seen as ECOWAS contributions and (y), the economic development of member states. The empirical references of (x), is the control of excess dumping of finished goods at exorbitant, price by the westerners. And the empirical references of (y), is the rising of its peoples living, increasing and. maintaining economic stability, fostering strong and unfettered economic trade relation among its member states.

**3. 5 Method of Data collection**

The ‘study will use quantitative method to obtain in depth information so as to facilitate instrument designed.

Obikeze cited in Nnabugwu (2006:372) argued that the advantage ci quantitative methods lies in the fact that it is able to gain access to organizational structures, bureaucratic discovery of unexpected phenomenon.

Quantitative method is vital when used to interpret, arid obtain essential information’s from available evidence to reach conclusion.

**3.6 Method of Data Analysis**

Based on the nature of this study, content analysis of secondary document on Nigerian’s role in development of international organizations such as ECOWAS. The documents to be used will be based on analytical approach on development of ECOWAS and newspaper, magazines, book, transcripts of conversations, annual reports’ and websites. Usually written documents are analyzed with some form of content analysis

This: approach will enable the• researcher to carry out systematic analysis of these documents which will enable the researcher to place methods of event in the historical context.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**4.1 Nigeria dominant role in development of ECOWAS didn’t enhance its economic growth**

The Federal Republic of Nigeria, commonly referred to as Nigeria, is a federal constitutional republic in West Arica, bordering Benin in the west, Chad and Cameroon in the east, and Niger in the North. Its coast. In the south lies on the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean. It comprises 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, where the capital, Abuja is located. Nigeria is officially a democratic secular country.

Modern-day Nigeria has been the site of numerous kingdoms and tribal states overthe millennia. The modern state originated from British colonial rule beginning in the 19th century, and the merging of the Southern Nigeria Protectorate and Northern Nigeria Protectorate in 1914. The British set up administrative and legal structures whilst practicing indirect rule through traditional chiefdoms. Nigeria became a formally independent federation in 1960, and plunged into a civil war from 1967 to 1970. It has since alternated between democratically-elected civilian governments and military dictatorships, until it achieved a’ stable democracy in 1999 with the 2011 presidential elections considered the first to be reasonably free and fair.

Nigeria is often referred to as the “Giant of Africa, owing to its large population and economy. With, approximately 1811 million inhabitants, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and the seventh most populous country in the world. Nigeria has one of the largest populations of youth in the world. The country is viewed as a multinational state, as it is inhabited ‘by over 500 ethnic groups, of which the three largest are the Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba; these ethnic groups speak over 50 different languages, and are identified with wide variety of cultures. The official language is English. Nigeria is divided roughly in half between Christians, who live mostly in the southern part of the country, and Muslims in the northern part. A minority of the population practice religions indigenous to Nigeria, such as those native to Igbo and Yoruba peoples.

As of 2015, Nigeria is the world’s 20th largest economy, Worth more than $500 billion and $1 trillion in terms of nominal GDP and purchasing power parity respectively. It overtook South Africa to become Africa’s largest economy in 2014. Also, the ‘debt-to-GDP ratio is only ii percent, which is 8’ percent below the .2012 ratio. Nigeria is considered to be an emerging market by the World Bank. It has been identified as a regional power on the African continent, a middle power in international affairs, and has also been identified as an emerging global power. Nigeria is a member of the MINT group of countries, which are widely seen as the globe’s next “BRIC-like” economies. It is also listed among the “Next Eleven” economies set to become among the biggest in the world. Nigeria is a Rounding member of the Commonwealth of Nations, the Africa in Union, OPEC, and the United Nations amongst other international organizations

In the 2014 Ebola outbreak, Nigeria was the first country to effectively contain and eliminate the Ebola threat that was ravaging three other countries in the West African region, as its unique method of contact tracing became, an effective method later used by other countries, such as the United States, when Ebola threats were discovered.

Since 2002, the North East of the country has seen sectarian violence by Boko Hararn, an Islamist movement that seeks to abolish the secular system of government and: establish Sharia law. Nigerian President Good luck Jonathan in ‘May 2014 claimed that Boko Harm attacks have left at least 12,000 people dead and 8,000 people crippled. At 1:he same time, neighboring countries, Benin, Chad, Cameroon and Niger joined Niger in a united effort to combat Boko Haram in the aftermath of a world med highlighted kidnapping , of 276 schoolgirls and the spread of Boko Haram attacks to these countries.

Nigeria has been playing ‘the big brother, role up till date. It formed an organization that will bring the African nations together called organization ‘f African Unity. (OAU), and later called African Union (AU). It: createdanother sub-regional organization known as Economic community of West African state (ECOWAS) and this regional organization was created when they saw the need for integration in Africa.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was created by the Treaty of Lagos in Lagos, Nigeria, on 28 May ‘1975. H; was created to promote ‘economic trade, national cooperation, and monetary union, for growth and development throughout West Africa.

A revised treaty intended to accelerate integration of economic policy and improve political cooperation was signed on 24 July 1993. II: sets out the goals of ‘a common economic market, a single currency, the creation of aWest African parliament, economic and social councils, and a court of justice, which primarily interprets and mediates disputes over ECOWAS policies, and relations, but has the power to investigate alleged human rights abuses in member countries.

**Membership:** There are currently 15 member countries in the Economic Community of West African States. The, founding members of LCOWAS were: Ben.in, Côte’ d’Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-[3issau. Liberia, Mali, Mauritania (left 2002), Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, logo, and Burkina Faso (which joined as Upper Volta).

Cape Verde joined in 1977. . .

**Structure:** The structure of the Economic Community has changed several times over the years.’ As of 2015, ECOWAS listed seven active institutions: the Authority of’ Heads of State. and Government (which is the leading body), the Council of Ministers, the Executive Commission (\Which is sub divided into 16 departments), the Community Parliament;, t:he Community Court of Justice, ,a body of Specialized Technical Committees, and the ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID, also known as the Fund). The treaties ‘also provide for an advisory Economic and Social Council, but ECOWAS does not list this as part of its current structure.

In addition to these seven institutions, the Economic Community includes three specialized institutions (the West African Health Organization, West African Monetary Agency, and, the Inter-governmental Action group against Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing in West Africa) and three specialized agencies (ECOWAS Gender and Development Centre, Youth and Sports Development Centre, and Water Resources Coordination Centre).

**Peacekeeping Efforts:** The 1993 treaty also lays the burden of settling regional conflicts on: the treaty members, and subsequent: policies have established and defined the parameters of ECOWAS peacekeeping forces. These forces are called ECOMOG, but the ECOWAS ceasefire Monitoring Group (or ECOMOG) was created as a peacekeeping force for the civil wars in Liberia .and Sierra Leone and was disbanded at their cessation. ECOWAS does not have a standing force; each force raised is known by the mission for which it is created.

The peacekeeping efforts undertaken by ECOWAS are just one indication of the increasingly multifaceted nature of the economic community’s efforts to ensure the prosperity and development of West Africa and the well-being of its people.

**4.2 ECOWAS contributed to the security and growth of some member states**

**ECO WAS and the Sub regional Peacekeeping in Liberia**

On 7 August 1990, the Economic Community of West African States’ (ECOWAS) Standing Mediation Committee established a Military Observer Group (ECOMOG), to help resolve an armed internal conflict which had broken out in Liberia the previous year. This was not the first: time that an African multinational force had been deployed on the continent. In 1981, the Organization of African Union (OAU) Pan-African Peacekeeping Force in Chad was established as a response to the civil war in that country. The aim and objective of this paper is the presentation of only the second major involvement of an African regional organization in the internal affairs of a member state. The civil war in Liberia is significant for two reasons. First, it served as an important example of a new type of external intervention — intervention by a sub-regional organization. Second, it has led to a re-examination by African leaders, of the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of states. Non-intervention in the internal affairs of states is one, of ‘the principles underlying the OAU. African leaders are, however, far more aware of the ‘threat to regional security posed by internal conflicts. This was reflected in the second principle of the 1991 ‘Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa which stated that. The security, stability and development of every African country is inseparably linked with those of other African countries. Consequently, instability in one African country reduces the stability of all other countries. It argues that due to the lack of a credible security structure within Liberia, the humanitarian community has been unable to help the number of displaced people and refugees of Liberia. On the other’ hand, a strong case can be made that the presence of ECOWAS in Liberia has adverted a humanitarian catastrophe from taking place in that region. What has been of growing concern has been the predominance of child soldiers in different warring factions.

As the conflict continued, over half the country’s population of 2.6 million was displaced internally (for example the population in Monrovia grew from 600,000 in 1991 to approximately one million at the height of the crisis)and externally (as Liberians who took refuge in neighboring countries were estimated at 700,000). The rupture of civil administration through many areas of Liberia, especially the Gbarnga divisions, Buchanan town and areas of Grand Bassa and cessation of most forms of social services, and the disruption of economic activities, have resulted in considerable dependence on humanitarian assistance provided by the United Nations and non-governmental organizations.

Several attempts at mediation were made by Liberian groups, including Christian and Muslim leaders under the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee. At the beginning of the conflict the member states of the United Nations and the OAU took no collective action. International concerns were the Gulf and later conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and Somalia. The OAU for its part was hindered by a lack of resources and political with reinterred by vivid memories of its perceived failure in Chad in 1981. It only went as far as hailing ‘the laudable efforts deployed by ECOVVAS and expressed its total support for its initiatives.’ There was an expectation that the United States would intervene in what has often been described as its unofficial colony. But the US initially showed little concern for what: it considered would be a brief disruption. The United States’ government tasted that ‘the resolution of this civil war is a Liberian responsibility. A solution to Liberia’s current difficulties will be viable if it is worked out by Liberians themselves and has broad internal support’ Senior Liberian and interest groups called for the US marines to stop the fighting or at least 10 create a safe haven for the civilians. The only response came with the use of 20 (US marines to rescue at least 300 US nationals on 5 August 1990.

The events taking place in Liberia came under the scrutiny of the 131 summit of .the Heads of States of ECOWAS countries which was held in Banjul, Gambia on 30 May 1990, under the chairmanship of Sir Dawila Jawara of Gambia. The member states decided to set: up the five members Standing Mediation Committee 18with the task of achieving a peace settlement to the Liberian civil war. On 6 July 1990 at summit meeting in Banjul, Gambia, the five members of the SMC took an unprecedented step in deciding to send a multinational peacekeeping force into Monrovia. The mandate for the peacekeeping force stated that they were to, ‘keep peace, and restore law and order, and ensure that a cease-Fire agreed to by the warring factions in Liberia was respected. On the 25th August: 1990, 3,000 troops from ECOMOG landed in Monrovia.

**The Decision to Intervene and Sub regional Politics**

The decision taken by ECOWAS to intervene can be seen as a novel move. ECOWAS was initially designed in 1975 by a joint initiative of Nigeria and Togo to promote economic and social cooperation within the West: African region. Why then should a multilateral organization established for economic integration assume the responsibility for collective security and the management of conflicts in the sub region? Neither in the aims of the Community nor in the modalities for achieving them is there any mention of interposition of force, armed or unarmed. This is not: to say that the Community cannot address political or security issues which could ailed economic stability within the region. In Africa, the dominance of security issues and concerns in regional politics make it more imperative that economic relations be harnessed on a sound political and security foundation as the collapse of law and order render the pursuit of the objectives of economic integration difficult, if not impossible. The convergence between economic and political matters informed the signing in 1978 of the Protocol, on Non-Aggression, adopted at the Third Conference of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS held in Dakar, Senegal on 2 April 1978 and the Protocol on Mutual Assistance on

Defense adopted in Freetown, Sierra Leone, on 29 May 1981. The Protocol on Non-Aggression states that the Community ‘cannot attain its objectives save in an atmosphere of’ peace and harmonious understanding among Member States’. It affirms the non-use of force contained in Article 2 of the United Nations Charter and respect for the sovereignty of each member state. The Protocol however adds ‘that each member state shall refrain from committing, encouraging or condoning acts of subversion, hostility or aggression against the territorial integrity or political independence of the other member states’ At the same time member states were ‘to prevent non-resident foreigners from using its territory as a base for committing these act’ While the 1978 Protocol upholds the principle of non-intervention, it. Neither rules outs the right of individual or collective self- defense nor the possibility of enforcement under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Although valuable the Protocol was limited to only addressing aggression between member states It made no reference to aggression coming from outside the Community or the problem of internal conflicts, The Protocol subsequently became supplemented by the Protocol relating to Mutual Assistance on Defense and dealt with these omissions. Here member states were ‘firmly resolve to safeguard and consolidate the independence and sovereignty of member states against foreign intervention’ Members also declared that any ‘armed threat or aggression’ directed against fellow members shall constitute a threat or aggression against the entire Community. In the case. of ‘internal armed conflict within any member state engineered and: supported from the outside’ and which is ‘likely to endanger the peace and security’ in the region, [he Protocol empowers ECOWAS to initiate armed or collective intervention Where armed intervention (Article 9) is to. occur, the Protocol. empowers the Authority (Head of ECOWAS) to decide on the expediency of military action (Article 6(3). If necessary, the Authority, shall interpose the Allied Armed Force of the Community between the troops engaged in the conflict, (Article 17). Article 13(12) allows for the creation of a Community army made up to troops earmarked from national units. This Protocol has been cited by its proponents as providing the basis for the ECOMOG intervention in Liberia.

In its first decision, the Standing Mediation Committee, referring to the Protocol on Mutual Assistance and Defense and ‘acting on behalf of the Authority of Heads of States and Government’, called for ‘the parties to observe an immediate ceasefire;

An ECOWAS ceasefire monitoring group (ECOMOG) to be set up for the purpose of keeping the peace, and restoring law and order and ensuring respect for the ceasefire;

A broad-based interim government in Liberia set up through a National Conference of political parties and other interest groups Free and fair elections within 12 months leading to the establishment of a democratically elected government;

The exclusion of all leaders of the various warring Factions to the Liberian conflict from the Interim Government; and

The creation of a Special Emergency Fund for the ECOMOG operation in Liberia

42 Member states of ECOWAS had advanced several reasons for their decision to intervene. First, was the argument that regional instability was inevitable due to the overflow and displacement of refugees in neighboring countries? General Erskine of ECOMOG stated that, ‘w1:h the crisis in Liberia creating unbearable refugee problems for Sierra Leone, Ghana, the Gambia, Guinea, Nigeria and the Ivory Coast, it is obvious that the situation in Liberia has gone beyond the boundaries of the country and. ceases to be an exclusive Liberian question.’ A further threat to the sub region’s peace and security can be found in the argument that the current crisis in Sierra Leone is as of a direct consequence of the Liberian civil war. Elements of NPFL are said to have joined, the Sierra Leone rebel group, the Revolutionary United Front in the overthrow of government forces and Joseph Momoh in March 1991. Second, the decision of some West African leaders to get involved in the Liberian crisis was said to be humanitarian. In its Final Communiqué, the Standing Committee gave a strongly humanitarian rationale for its decisions, adding that, ‘presently, there is a government in Liberia which cannot govern and contending Factions which are holding the entire population as hostage, depriving them of food, health facilities and other basic necessities of life.’ A subsequent ECOVVAS statement in August 1990 was more explicit in stating a humanitarian objective: ‘stopping the senseless killing of innocent civilian’s nationals and foreigners, and to help the Liberian ‘people to restore their democratic institutions.’ It is hard to escape the conclusion that ECOV\/AS had strengthened its overall case by increasing the humanitarian justification post facto. The’ third justification given for the intervention was based on the 1981 ECOWAS Protocol ‘relating to Mutual Assistance in Delense. According to Article 16 of the Protocol, ‘the Head of State of a member country, under attack may request action or assistance from the community. General Doe did request assistance in a letter addressed to the chairman and members of a Ministerial meeting of the SMC when he indicated that, ‘it would seem most expedient at this time to introduce on ECOWAS Peace-keeping Force into Liberia to forestall increasing terror and tension, and to assure a peaceful transitional environment YV’ There is however some’ concern over this letter. Specifically, there is the question of whether Doe could still be regarded as the ‘legal’ authority in the Country. By July 1990, at the time the letter was Written, Liberia was in a state of anarchy with Doe trapped within the Executive Mansion, the seat of the government. At least one of the warring factions, the NPFL, effectively controlled large parts of the country and the capital city.

Aside from the above justifications given for the interventions, individual member states harbored different reasons for wanting to intervene and assist the various warring parties to the conflict. Burkina Faso and Côte d’Ivoire (along with Libya) were said to have given Charles Taylor some support. At the beginning of the conflict, Doe sup porters alleged that the Charles Taylor forces had been trained in Burkina Paso (and Libya) arid had entered the country from Côte d’ Ivory a claim which was denied by the states concerned. Burkina Faso’s Head of State, Blaise Campaore is said to have provided the NPFL with a ‘strategic planning ground’ and acted as ‘a major source of: arms supply for Charles Taylor, while Libya became a training ground for the NPFL. Both the Burkinabe leader and President Houphouët Boigny of Côte d’Ivoire are said to have personal reasons for intervention. For example, in the case of Côte d’ivoire, Doe had killed President Tolbert and arrested his eldest son, Adolphus Tolbert, the soninlaw of Houphouet-Boigny, who was subsequently killed in jail. IL was against this background that the Ivorian leader was believed to have encouraged, another of his sons-in-law, Blaise Compaore to support the rebel cause. Compare in turn is believed to have introduced Taylor to the Libyan leader Colonel Ghadaffi, but it is difficult to assess the motives of the Libyan leader. Ghadaffi had been involved in several projects with the intention Of creating and supporting an ‘anti-imperialist coalition against the West and the United States in particular, and to extend his influence in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Charles Taylor was not however the only one receiving external support. Doe visited countries within the sub-region of West Africa, namely Sierra Leone and Nigeria. The Nigerian leader, President Ibrahim l3abangida, ‘was seen by some as Doe’s sub-regional god-father, and the Liberian leader.- named a Graduate School of International Relations and a major road after him. Nigeria was also partly motivated to intervene because of the attacks on foreigners, especially Nigerians in Liberia. In July 1990 shooting is said to have taken place at the Nigerian Embassy in Monrovia by. Charles Taylor’s forces. Similarly, on 8 August 1.990, NPFL force sreportedly killed 700 to 1,000 Nigerians inside the Nigerian Embassy. Beyond the concerns for its nationals, the Liberian conflict has provided Nigeria with U opportunity to establish itself as the most influential mediator in the sub region. Nigeria has been a major contributor especially in tile composition and finance of. ECOMOG contributing at least 70% of the troops its role in the conflict and the perception that It is using Liberia as a means of exacting her dominance in the sub-region has been a source of contention among the member states, in particular the francophone states. Sierra Leone’s position is more difficult to assess. The only plausible explanation is that Joseph Momoh and Ibrahim Babangida have a close relationship that was first established while they were both attending the Nigerian Defense Academy at Kaduna. Sierra Leone had received economic assistance from Babangida and Momoh’s support ion Doe was seen as a repayment of this assistance.

The decision to intervene was reportedly unwelcome by Charles Taylor who saw the initiatives as an attempt to prevent him from taking power. He subsequently went on to denounce the intervention by ECOMOG calling it; a ‘flagrant act of aggression’ and stating that he did not; consider the (ECOMOG) force to be a peace force. Charles Taylor was however not alone in criticizing the decision to intervene. Some members of FCOVVAS were opposed to the idea of sending in a peacekeeping force into Liberia. Strong opposition for the deployment of ECOMOG came from the francophone countries, in particular Burkina Faso and Côte d’Ivoire, The Burkinabe Head of State and Government, Lt Blaise Cornpaore, was reported by Radio Burkina to have sent a message to the JECOWAS Chairman Dawda Jawara of Gambia, declaring his country’s ‘tot disagreement’ with the operation and adding that: ECOMOG had ‘no competence to interfere in member states’ internal conflicts, but: only in conflicts breaking out between member countries. Côte d’Voire too was believed to be opposed to the initiative, which they saw as being largely advanced by Nigeria. Both countries were suspicious of Nigeria’s intention, the more so when it was believed that the country was supporting Doe. Togo, a member of the SMC, initially announced that it would ‘refrain from intervening’ and making troops available for ECOMOG until the three factions agreed to the mediatory mission. The opposition to the deployment of ECOMOG has raised fears that the age old rivalry between the Anglo and francophone countries would be rekindled in an attempt: to reduce the tension, Nigeria initially conceded the leadership of the force to Lt. Genera! A. Quainoo of Ghana in order to avoid giving any impression that they wanted to dominate the ECOMOG operation

**ECOWAS and ECOMOG intervention in Liberia**

The Liberian conflict, has exposed most of the classical problems of peacekeeping operations, especially in internal security situations. What happens when’ a peacekeeping force itself becomes a party to the conflict and assumes a combative role? ECOMOG’s deployment in Liberia has raised significant questions about its legitimacy, neutrality, and effectiveness, although subsequently referred to as a peacekeeping force, the consistent denial by NPFL of ECOMOG’s compromised neutrality undermined its authority in Liberia. As early as October 1990, the neutrality and peacekeeping nature. Of ECOMOG was in question especially when it was seen as assuming a combative role in alliance with the INPFLI and AFL. The ECOMOG force which landed in Monrovia on 24 August 1990 was met with Charles Taylor’s promise to intensify his attack in order for undermine their advancement. Taylor’s policy however had implications for ECOMOG. Within a month of landing ECOMOG’s strategy had evolved into a conventional offensive, with the aim of driving Taylor’s troops out of Monrovia and creating a protected buffer zone around the capital city. Although styled as a peacekeeping force, ECOMOG’s actual mission bordered on peace-making and peace-enforcement, ‘a major departure from the original mandate. ECOMOG remained as an enforcement: unit: for at least six to eight months after its deployment By November 1990, ECOMOG controlled Monrovia and a ceasefire was subsequently established. During this period, President Doe had been tortured and killed by Prince Johnson’s men on his way to the ECOMOG headquarters. In justifying the position taken by ECOMOG, the chairman of: ECOWAS stated that ‘the strategy being pursued was one of peacekeeping, but one which they (ECOMOG) are obliged to fire back and attack’ given the NPFL’s refusal to accept a ceasefire.

On the diplomatic front, ECOWAS had to begin a long and slow search for the elusive formula that would unify the country under free and fair elections. The first attempt came with peace talks in Bamako, Mali on 27 November 1990 and the swearing in of the Interim Government of National Unity under Amos Sawyer, with ECOMOG providing a security zone for it around Monrovia. Two other peace talks were held at Lome1 in Togo on 12 February 1991, and Monrovia, Liberia 15 March 1991). However, all three talks were largely Unsuccessful due in part to Charles Taylor’s refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy; of the interim government and his claim that he should be president since he controlled over 90% O1 Liberia. As a consequences Taylor established an alternative government for the bulk bi Greater Liberia in his own capital city of Gbargna, Bong County with the NPFL and its civilian counterpart, the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly (NPFA). This, effectively led to a partitioned state. During this period and largely because of the political and military stalemate the Liberia, the peace process was halted and thrown into a state of confusion by the emergence, of a new warring faction, the United Liberation movement. of Liberia for Democracy :(ULIMO) on 29 May 1991.

ULIMO was founded in Sierra Leone and in Conakry, the capital of Guinea from four existing components. One group, the Liberian. Peace Council (LPC) was headed by George Boley, former advisor to President Doe. The second group, the Liberian United Defense Force was headed by an exfunctionary in the Doe government, General Albert Karpoh. The third group, the Movement for the Redemption of Liberian Moslems (MRLM), was founded in February 1990 and based in Guinea. This group was headed by Doe’s former Minister for Information, Alhaji Kromah. The fourth group contained elements of Samuel Doe’s army, the AFL soldiers who fled to Sierra Leone. The AFL wants to be viewed as the legitimate government army, and not just a warring faction, but its position is some whatambiguous. The AFL was regarded as the army of the Iterirm Government (IGNU) , as illustrated by the fact that the IGNU minister 01 defense was ostensibly in charge of the. AFL. ULIMO is generally believed to be ‘a mixed bag of people most of whom are members of the Krahn (rice’s) tribe and former. Officials of the Doe government. According to official ULIMO documents its ‘aims and objectives’ are said to be ‘to liberate Liberia from Taylor’s NPFL occupation and to support and cooperate with legitimate national and sub-regional authorities in. the search for lasting peace, harmony, security and genuine democracy in Liberia.

Despite the emergence: of ULIMO in the conflict, ECOWAS continued its attempts to solve the conflict through mediation during 1991. This period also, saw attempts to prevent a’ division within the organization from emerging between the Franco-phones who saw the Anglophones as extending their dominance in the peace process in responding to this dominance, francophone countries were brought into the critical stages of the conflict and the leadership of the negotiating process was transferred from Nigeria to Côte d’Ivoire. Under this new initiative, ‘a francophone Committee of Five (Burkina-Faso, Senegal, Guinea-l3issau, Togo and Cote d’Ivoire) was established under the chairmanship of President HouphouetBoigny. Four meetings were hosted by Houphouet-l3oigny at his country retreat in Yamoussoukro, in Cote d’Ivoire culminating on 3O October 1991 with the Yamoussoukro IV Accord. This Accord which was agreed by the warring factions is said to have specified the steps to be taken together to constitute a framework for the settlement of the crisis. Specifically, these steps included the encampment and disarmament of warring factions under .the supervision of an expanded ECOMOG by January ,1)92; the creation of a buffer zone. along the Sierra Leone-Liberia border in order to insulate Sierra Leone from further attacks from NPFL forces and the opening of all roads into Monrovia. Taylor agreed to disarm his troops under the supervision of an expanded peacekeeping force and to confine his fighters (‘encamp them’) as part ‘of the ongoing peace process However Taylor made his commitment to ECOMOG, provided that ‘the composition of the contingent was changed to add troops from Senegal and reduce the Nigerian contingency. Until then, Nigerians had made up approximately 90% of the’ ECOMOG force, ‘arid Taylor had always considered them, to be particularly hostile to NPFL.

Despite the apparent willingness of the warring factions to participate and cooperate in the peace process, the Yamoussoukro IV Accord ran into difficulty at the implementation stage. Attempts by ECOMOG to implement the Accord were undermined by the continued fighting between themselves and the NPFL on the one hand and later by ULIMO and NPFL. Impatient, with the progress being made with the implementation and largely frustrated by Taylor’s forces, the Heads of State of ECOWAS issued a communiqué warning that ‘unless he and the NPFL comply fully with the implementation, the Authority shall impose comprehensive sanctions against him and the NPFL’ within 30 days from the conclusion of the fifteenth session. Charles Taylor accused ECOMOG of liarbo1ng support: for ULIMO and refused to disarm thus “effectively undermining the Yamoussoukro agreement. A group of at least 500 ECOMOG troops sent into NPFL territory’ to prepare for the programme of disarmament and encampment were subsequently captured and held Under surveillance by NPFL. Finally, onl5 October 1992, while fighting ULIMO and AFL elements, NPFL forces launched ‘Operation Octopus,’ attacking ECOMOG forces near Bremervile thus precipitating a collapse of the fragile cease-fire and a two- month siege in Monrovia. ECOMOG is said to have pursued an offensive operation, using aircrafts to bomb NPFL positions which led to large civilian’s deaths. ECOMOG eventually regained Monrovia in December 1992. During this period, Prince Johnson’s INPFL collapsed with some former members rejoining the NPFL. Johnson himself left the country to live in Nigeria. Once again, ECOMOG found itself fighting alongside two warring factions, ULIMO and, AFL, against the third, NPFL.

ECOMOG’s continued attacks on NPFL, whether in concert with or independent of ULIMO and the AFL left many in doubt about its competence to continue as a peacekeeping force. Former President of the United States, Jimmy Carter questioned the size of the ECOMOG contingent, its neutrality and the level of armaments available to it. Carter also stated that a small UN contingent of unarmed observers be sent to Liberia to help restore confidence in the peacekeeping operation and oversee the encampment and disarmament process. Within ECOWAS there were divisions on the future role of ECOMOG and policy of the organization in Liberia. There was growing uneasiness among member states about the inability of ECOMOG to implement the imposition of a comprehensive economic sanction against the NPFL leader. Blaise Campaore of Burkina Faso had criticized ECOMOG for instigating the continued attacks on NPFL. In a special message said to come from President Campaore, one of his ministers, Salif Diallo stated that ECOMOG had become a force of aggression and must leave Liberia:‘(ECOMOG) had forgotten its role as a peacekeeping force because it is fighting against one of the factions. In so doing, it has become one of the belligerents in Liberia. At; the First Joint Meeting of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five held on 20 October at Cotonou, Berlin, member states decided to create a monitoring committee of nine comprising Benin, ‘Burkina Faso,. Côte d’ivoire, Gambia, Ghana,. Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal and Togo to monitor the strict implementation of Yamoussoukro Accord IV which was to begin within 15 days from the declaration of the cease-lire.

The joint meeting also reaffirmed its commitment to the imposition of sanctions by the 5 November 1992 against the NPFL and other warring factions which failed to comply with the provisions outlined in the Yamoussoukro IV Accords. A special appeal was also made to the three countries bordering Liberia for their cooperation to ensure the strictest application of the sanctions decision. This latter point was made in light of accusations that Côte d’Ivoire and Burkina Faso were supplying Charles Taylor forces with arms. At a subsequent meeting of 7 November held at the ECOWAS headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria, the First Meeting of the Committee of. Nine condemned NPFL for its attacks against ECOMOG and ‘reaffirmed the right of ECOMOG, as a peace-keeping force to defend itself decisively against armed attacks from any quarter’. It also called for a ceasefire to be effective from 10 November, midnight and ‘invited the Secretary-General of the United Nations to appoint a Special representative to co-operate with ECOWAS in the implementation of the ECOWAS peaceplan. The latter decision can be seen as part of a compromise ‘package’ aimed at healing the growing differences, and the absence or consensus in policy between the francophone countries led by Côte d’Ivoire who preferred a more mediatory approach and the Anglophone countries, led by’ Nigeria and Sierra Leone who favored a major military offensive against the NPFL. .. .

In early November 1992. ECOWAS made a representation ‘to the UN security Council, followed bya Security Council meeting on 19 November1992. The discussion within the Council is notable for its appeal to a regional solution to the conflict and its approval, if somewhat guarded of ECQWAS decisions. The Security Council meeting formed the basis of Resolution 9788 which reaffirmed ‘its belief that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord offered the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict’. Resolution 788 also condemned NPFL for its attacks against ECOMOG, requested that the Secretary-General dispatch a Special Representative to Liberia to evaluate the situation and imposed ‘a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia. The arms embargo did not however extend to ECOMOG Significantly, the Resolution and subsequent meetings within the Security Council never drew attention to or criticized ECOMOG’s use of force, its reported alliancewith other warring factions, or its indiscriminate attacks on civilians, especially during ‘Operation Octopus’. Rather’ the Council praised ECOMOG’s performance and condemned the continued armed attacks against the, peacekeeping force. A strong case can be made that this outward approval from the Council encouraged ECOMOG to continue its attacks against the NPFL even when Taylor had earlier indicated that he would cooperate with the UN embargo. Taylor, who had previously lobbied for a UN presence, released a ‘conciliatory’ statement declaring that his forces would implement the provisions of Yamoussoukro IV Accords, This however did little to end the fighting which continued until April 1993. During the renewed attacks, ECOMOG recaptured significant territories from NPFL including Harbel, Kakata, Voinjama and Buchanan by April 1993.

On the night of 5 and 6 June 1993, as peace negotiations were taking place, nearly 600 Liberians, mainly displaced men, women, children and elderly, were killedin an armed attack near Harbel, Liberia an inquiry into the massacred was called for by ECOWAS arid Charles Taylor. On 9 June, the President of the. Security Coundi asked the Secretary-General to ‘begin immediately a thorough and full investigation of the (Harbel) massacre, including any allegations as to the perpetrators, and report as soon as possible. In an inquiry by Dr. Amos Wako for the United Nations, AFL. troops, which were supposed to be guarding the refugees, responsible for the massacre? The inquiry also revealed that evidence pointing to the complicity of Taylor’s forces was actually laid as ‘part of a scheme of deception. The inquiry added, however, that this finding did not mitigate or diminish the responsibility of NPFL, ULIMO and others alleged to have engaged in similar atrocities against unarmed, innocent: civilians throughout the conflict. The inquiry concluded that while ‘no evidence (exists) that ECOMOG personnel had advance knowledge of the rnassacre, ECOMOG may have suspected soon after learning of the incident what had actually happened and treated the matter as if it were not its direct responsibility

The Harbel Massacre heightened the pressure upon ECOWAS and the international community to try to bring together the rival fac1ons in order to resume negotiations and find a consensus to the crisis. Peace-talks were conducted in the summer of 1993 with the assistance of the UN and the OAU. These talks resulted in the Cotonou Agreement which was signed by the IGNU, NPFL and ULIMO. The Agreement, which contained both a military and political, component, laid out a continuum action, from ceasefire through disarmament and demobilization to the holding of national elections. The, parties agreed• to establish a Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee (JCMC), comprising representatives of the three warring factions, ECOMOG and an advance team of 30 UN observes, Eventually this Committee was to be replaced by a monitoring group composed of an expanded ECOMOG (with additional troops from outside the West African’ region) and a UN Observer Mission. The Agreement assigned the primary responsibility for ensuring its implementation to ECOMOG, and called upon the United Nations to verily the impartiality of its various implementation procedures.

The Agreement, also made provisions for a single Liberian National Transitional ‘Government (LNTG) which was to replace the Interim Government, and run the country for a period of six months under ‘he Constitution of Liberia. The LNTG, which was to be a government of inclusion would have ‘three branches — The Executive, Judiciary and Legislative — and a five member Council of State. The Agreement 3lso provided for general and presidential elections to take place seven months from the signing of the Agreement, and set out the modalities for the elections to be supervised by a reconstituted Electoral Commission,

Finally the UN Security Council established an Observer Mission in Liberia. (UNOMIL) which was to remain unarmed, while ECOMOG troops were to provide their security. This was first joint UN/regional peacekeeping mission ‘undertaken by the United Nations in co-operation with a peacekeeping mission already set up by another organization, in this ECOWAS. By February 1994, UNOMIL was established on the ground with a military, medical, engineering, communication; transportation and electoral component. The signing of the Cotonou Agreement marked a new phase for ECOWAS as it embarked on a peacemaking mission ii cooperation with the UN (and also. the OAU). The UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros Ghali stated that the situation in ‘Liberia represented a good example of systematic cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations as envisaged in Chapter VIII of the Charter. The joint initiative by ECOWAS and the UN should be understood as a reflection of the different but complementary roles that regional and international organizations can play in resolving localized conflicts. What was different about the Cotonou Agreement in view of past agreements was that ECOMOG was to be expanded to include two contingents outside the West African sub-region Tanzania and Uganda and a UN observer mission. Throughout the conflict, Charles Taylor had consistently declared that he would only disarm his troops to UN forces or some international body other than the Nigerian-dominated ECOMOG which he saw as not being impartial.

The progress towards implementing the Cotonou Agreement was however slow with all the options that were outlined being undermined. As with the Yamoussoukro IV Accords, this latest Agreement did not bring peace, but instead a multiplication of warring factions who showed little commitment or political will. More importantly, the command and control structure of the differing warring factions contributed greatly to the instability of the security situation. For example, ULIMO, had spilt into three groups after months of tension and heavy fighting in Western Liberia. The three groups which remain opposed to Charles Taylor are now, U[JMO-K largely consisting of Mandingo fighters and headed by Alhaji Kromoh, ULIMO-J which was made up of Krahns and headed by Roosevelt Johnson and the LPC headed by George Boley. The latter group began attacks in NPFL led areas of the south-east late in 1993. Another group, the Lofa Defense Force (LDF) added to the already complicated political scene. These groups were not signatories of the Cotonou Agreement. The ceasefire was also continually violated by all sides and there was a display of unwillingness by the factions to provide vital information on the number and location of their combatants. Weapons and mines. The growing hostilities and fighting added to the lack of success in the disarmament and demobilization process. By June 1994, a total of only 3,192 combatants had been demobilized. (ULIMO, 739; NPFL, 731, AFL, The Cotonou Agreement was also undermined by the slow progress in establishing the Transitional Government. The factions had failed to reach an agreement; on the disposition of ministerial portfolios, i.e. defense, fiancé, interior and justice. After some delay over its precise composition the LNLG was finally formed on 7 March 1994, under a five-person Council of State. It was also argued that free and fair elections would be held on 2 September 1994.

1994 could therefore be termed as the absence of progress in the peace process in Liberia. The governance of Liberia had been seriously affected by the inability of the five member Council of State to reach consensus on most issues and by the lack of resources available to the government to administer the country. The future of the joint UNOMIL/ECOMOG operation was also in doubt as it became apparent that the continued fighting between the rival factions undermined the implementation process arid the election of September 1994. The UN Representative to Liberia, Trevor Gordon-Somers was reported to have admitted that mistakes were made over the disarmament process that were decided in the Cotonou Agreement: in the Cotonou agreement we all negotiated on the assumption of good faith. And therefore, there are aspects we did not pay sufficient attention to. For one, we did not address the issue of the internal security arrangements in the country.’ Gordon-Somers added that, everything had been left to the African peacekeeping force and no attempt: was made at planning for a future army.

As a number of obstacles continued to impede the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement several meetings were convened leading to the signing of two agreements. These were the Akosombo Agreement (September 1994) which was a supplementary agreement to the Cotonou Agreement, and the Agreement on the Clarification of the Akosombo agreement and The Acceptance and Accession Agreement (hereinafter referred to as the Accra Agreement) in December 1994. However both Agreements became engulfed in controversy thus undermining any chance of reaching an implementation stage. The failure of both Agreements largely rests with the military situation in Liberia towards the end of 1914 which was confused with groups aligning and realigning themselves depending on their short-term interests and the breakdown of command and control within the factions. UN reports stated that the situation had reached the point where warlords, without any particular political agenda but a control of a certain number of soldiers, were seeking territory for the sake of adding to their own claim to power. During this period, the NPFL were attacked by ULIMO-K and the coalition of the [PC, ULIIVIO-J, AFL and breakaway NPFL ministers known as the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL). This attack was said to have been carried out with the clandestine support of some elements within ECOMOG. On 9th September 1994, NPFL elements detained 43 unarmed UNOMIL military observers and6 non-governmental organization personnel at nine sites in the northern and eastern regions, confiscating their transport, communications and most other equipment. The detention of. UN personnel may have been a premeditated action on the part of NPFL to use the observers as a shield against attacks by renegade NPFL forces and rival forces, and to secure reliable communication and transportation facilities from UNOMIL and nongovernmental organizations to further their war e1forts After several negotiations between UNOMIL, NPFL and neighboring ECOWAS countries, all military observers and non-governmental organization personnel were released by 18 September. However, two Tanzanian soldiers were killed, a third later died from his wounds, seven were wounded and four were captured by ULIMO-J when they attempted to rescue six UNOMIL observers and non-governmental organization personnel in the NPFL headquarters of Gbarnga. on is September 1994, an attempted coup led by General Charles Julu, a former adviser to the late President Doe contributed to the failure, of Akosombo. During the COUP attempt, dissidents from AFL seized the Executive Mansion in Monrovia and held out for twelve hours before being routed out by a detachment of the ECOMOG peace-keeping force. ECOMOG went on to partially disarm We AFL in its barracks at the Barclay Training Centre and at Camp Schefflin. It was not until December, after the signing of the Accra Agreement, that the Liberian parties agreed to re-establish the cease-fire at midnight on 28 December 1994 and facilitate the establishment of safe havens and buffer zones throughout Liberia. In addition to ECOMOG, the LTNG was to install an internal security arrangement, including police, customs and immigration. It was also to begin the formation of the AFL so that it could assume its character as a national army.

There have been some successes in the humanitarian arena largely due to ECOMOG’s ability to restore a semblance of order and peace which allowed international humanitarian agencies to return to Liberia. At the same time, a joint operational coordination among relief workers and ECOMOOG throughout ECOMOG-controlled areas has led to the restoration of water supplies within most regions. Alongside this, the coordination has led to the institution of programmes aimed at sanitation and shelter in the camps for internally displaced persons in Buchanan, Grand Bassa and Margibi, where the United Nations agencies, NGOs and national’ organization.; are assisting a growing number of displaced Liberians.

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**5.0 Summary of Findings**

Nigeria as the “GIANT” of African nations has played a great role in the formation of Economic Community of West African State ECOWAS. It was the former Nigerian Military Head of State, General Yakuhu (lowoii who conceived the idea of Economic Community of West African State in 1970. Immediately after the Nigerian civil war from 167 to 1970, the then Head of Site expressed the desire to see the African unity in general expressed in concrete terms and not only in Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) resolution, Instead, lie would like to start with economic integration in West Africa. In view of time above, General (3owon thereafter raised the issue several times with President Leopold Senghor of Senegal who did not show sufficient interest to the idea. It was later learnt that Senghor’s fear was that the proposed community could turn out to be a greater Nigeria because of the country’s size, In 1972, General Gowon decided to seek the cooperation of another French speaking country (Togo) and during a state visit to Togo in the same year (1972), the suggestion was, made for both Nigeria and Togo to join hands in drafting a proposal for the formation of common market, which eventually become ECOWAS. Finally, the Economic (omnmuni1v of West African State was established on the 28th May, 1975, when the I leads or State and Government of the sixteen States in the sub-region signed the ECOWAS Treaty. This gesture was confirmed by the late Head of State General Murtala Ramat Mohammed after Gowon’s regime. And Mauritania has since withdrawn prom the organization, leaving the ECOWAS with only fifteen membersin appreciation of the initiative of Nigeria Togo in this regard, the Headquarters of the ECOWAS secretariat was given to Nigeria and located in Lagos now in Abuja, while the ECOWAS FUND is headquartered in Togo. Nigeria being the major founding father wasn’t given the privilege to do business freely with other West African states. They will be sanctioned and even checked at the border of any West African country they venture into, Nigeria dominant roll didn’t even enhance its economic growth instead it diminished its economy In this cause of study the researcher found out that Nigeria was doing all this just to be relevant in the international arena and SO they can have a permanent seat at the security council in UN and be seen as the giant of all African nations

**5.2 Conclusion**

Going by historical antecedent, the Economic Community of West African state simply referred to as “ECO WAS”, for short, was established on 21li May, 1975 by fifteen sovereign states of West African Sub-region. The community came into existence via a multi-lateral treaty signed in Lagos the then capital city of’ Nigeria. Unfortunately, despite the long life span of the community, it has not been occupying its rightful position among the community ci international organizations. The community has been enmeshed in a number of Lighten problems such as; civil wars, boundary disputes, inability of’ member states to meet their financial obligations and political instability. Others are economic depression disport arity in size, population and host of others however, despite these lighten problems success have been recorded in the areas of free movement of people and services. Telecommunication, keeping of peace in the West African sub-region. Then summary, if the citizen of ECOWAS countries are planted into the background in the developmental process, within the sub-region, not much can be achieved, since they, as the beneficiaries can not only support what they adjudged acceptable to them but be part of the process at the planning and implementation states. Judged from the broad perspectives therefore, the forum of Heads of State of ECO WAS should always carry along the people in their countries so that, the overall objectives of ECOWAS can be attained without further delay as international organization in the West African sub-region.

**5.3 Recommendation**

The current West African Community would be able to emulate the founding fathers of the organization who had their major objective as creating a common market, were goods and services from the West African sub-regional, would freely regulate, devoid of all tariff and non-tariff barriers. The ECOWAS leaders should also try and allow free and easy movement of goods, services and people in the sub-region. The leaders of ECOWAS should try to revive the organization and give greater importance to enable it realize the desire and aspiration of itsfounding fathers. The progress made towards ECOWAS integration within the past eleven years or so has been very encouraging. Also We proposals which took place in Lorne, Togo during the Heads of State and Government, from 9th 1.0th December, 1999 where Nigeria came up with the idea of modalities and strategies for accelerating the. Sub-regional integration process should be encouraged the leaders should try and implement all programmes which were proposed and accepted by the summit such as:

i. Free movement of persons

ii. ECOWAS free trade zone

iii. Second West African Regional Currency by 2004

iv. West African power proof

v. The West African Gas Pipeline Project

vi. Regional Food Security

vii. Conflict Management and Collective Security

Another important aspect worthy of recommendation is that the ECOWAS members should take some actions on funding the organization. It is a leaving witness that ECOMOG has been performing very well, it is hoped that it would be strengthened and encouraged. Member states should also try and establish a separate ministry, which will take the sole responsibility of inspiring the urgent objective of the regional economic cooperation and integration apart from Foreign Affairs Ministry. The member state should try and stop interference the internal affairs of another country with the sole aim of settling problem of such a country. The member states should not take the advantage of disparity in the size, population and economic resources of their countries over the smaller or disadvantaged one’s or to dominate them, instead the advantaged ones should be seen as the ones encouraging the implementation of all treaties, protocol and aims and objectives for establishing the organization. Security at the boarders should be encouraged in order to discourage cross boarder crime among the member states.

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