



**CHALLENGES OF REGIONAL COLLECTIVE SECURITY:
A LOOK AT ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICA
STATES (ECOWAS)**

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TITLE: CHALLENGES OF REGIONAL COLLECTIVE SECURITY: A LOOK AT
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ABSTRACT

The principle of collective security has formed one of the core goals and objectives of various regional and international organizations as they strive to ensure continuous global peace. Today, the situations in the world generally are characterized with unimaginable forms of insecurity, conflicts and extremists activities. The objectives of this study were to examine ECOWAS collective security mechanisms, highlight the operations as well as challenges of the regional collective security in ECOWAS, and examine the effectiveness of its collective security mechanisms. The study used secondary research methodology with consultations of textbooks, journals, articles, and internet materials and found some of the challenges to be: 1) absence of a clear agreement among the political leaders of the region regarding responsibilities and mandates of ESF; 2) trans-border crimes; 3) poor training of personnel; and 4) the supply of obsolete equipment to missions and porous nature of the borders. The researcher recommended a number of ways to improve ECOWAS' collective security mechanism, such as improving factors that have an impact on administration, finance and personnel, as well as enhancing transparency in democratic states.

Keywords: Collective Security, Collective Security Mechanism, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Community, ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF)

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DECLARATION

I, Bukola Otolorin Ejiwale, hereby declare that this thesis is solely mine and it is original unless specific acknowledgements verify otherwise.

Signature: .....

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
APC	All People's Congress
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
ASEAN	Association of SouthEast Asian Nations
CET	Common External Tariff
EWARN	Early Warning and Response network
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EBC	ECOWAS Biometric Card
ECTP	ECOWAS Common Trade Policy
ECC	ECOWAS Convergence Council
EMI	ECOWAS Monetary Institute
ETDS	ECOWAS Trade Development Strategy
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West Africa States Monitoring Group
ESF	ECOWAS Standby Force
EU	European Union
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
LON	League of Nations
MCR	Macroeconomic Convergence Report
MSC	Mediation and Security Council
MPI	Migration Policy Institute
NAP	Non- Aggression Protocol
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia

OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PSC	Peace and Security Council
PMAD	Protocol on Mutual Assistance Defense
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SMC	Standing Mediation Committee
TLS	Trade Liberalization Scheme
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNAMSIL	United Nations Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA/US	United States of America
WACSOF	West Africa Civil Society Forum
WANEP	West Africa Network for Peacebuilding
WB	World Bank

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The issue of security and peace has become an unceasing and vital subject in international politics as nations strive to maintain and promote peace at sub-regional, regional, and international levels. However, with the current wave of security challenges around the world, collective security has become vital in curbing the security menace and enforcing peace and stability within the different regions and the world at large. Nations now feel secure working in sub-regional and regional groupings than as sovereign entities as the fight against insurgency and various forms of conflict and violence cannot be effectively fought individually.

The need for Collective Security has made nations to jointly combine their security intelligence and form alliances to repel any aggressor. According to Kofi A. Annan (1999), “Ours is a world in which no individual, and no country, exists in isolation”. This assertion has become one of the fundamental bases which established international organisations as the quest for peace in the global system continues to be inevitable. The division of the pre-colonial West African territories was along different cultural, linguistic, and religious lines. The African Continent was colonized by the Europeans who scrambled their countries without considering the shared affinities of the Africans. The arbitrary delineation of the African land, led to the dynamic aggregation of people with diverse cultures, religions, and languages to live together in a defined boundary called a country. This description makes internal conflicts imminent, and the call for collective security to maintain peace in the sub-region inevitable.

After independence, most new countries that emerged in West Africa found it difficult to harmonize or formulate policies that would make the peaceful coexistence of different cultures, ethnic groups, and religions feasible. Several factors that could lead to crises regarded the coming together of countries as marriages of convenience and inherently embedded the break-up of the new states. For example, the West African sub-region experienced a series of wars and disasters such as the civil wars in Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, as well as disasters in Mali and Cote d’Ivoire. These wars and disasters accentuated

the need for collective security in the sub-region. Collective Security became vital in tackling the trans-border security challenges that were beyond what states could individually handle.

According to Evans and Newnham (1997), the concept of Collective Security ascertains that the security dilemma of states can be best overcome not through national self-help and balance of power but through the institution of communal commitments, whereby each country undertakes to unite in collective actions against those, which impede the territorial integrity or political independence of others. The Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, firstly conceived the idea of Collective Security, which brought about the Treaty of Westphalia and the establishment of a joint security system to end the war among European countries. This security management affirmed that each state accepted that the security of every nation was everyone's responsibility. The concerned states, therefore, committed to a collective response to threats and breaches to peace, which aimed to end the war in Europe. The League of Nations (LoN) later adopted the idea as one of their core objectives.

The League of Nations (LoN), with the commitment of its Member Countries and laudable objectives, could not avert the outbreak of World War II. After the war, the United States of America spearheaded another joint security arrangement to prevent the outbreak of another world war. This security arrangement led to the establishment of the United Nations (UN).

The idea of collective security from the Treaty of Westphalia was re-modified in the provisions of Chapter 1 of the United Nations Charter to the maintenance of international peace and security. Chapter 1, Article 1(1) of the UN Charter proposes the need "to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of peace" (The United Nations, 2007).

The UN Member States recognized that maintaining global peace and eliminating every form of conflict could be further achieved through the assistance of regional organisations. Chapter 8, Article 52 (1) of the UN Charter states that "nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such

matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations” (The United Nations, 2007).

The international system formed various regional organizations as a fall out of the provisions of Article 52 of the UN Charter, such as the European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), African Union (AU), and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). These organizations were to cater to the concerns of Member Countries in the areas of economic, political, security, humanitarian, and environment.

ECOWAS, a sub-regional group in Africa, was founded on 28th May 1975. ECOWAS core objectives was “to promote cooperation and integration leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa to raise the living standards of its peoples, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among Member States and contribute to the progress and development of the African continent” (ECOWAS Treaty, 1993).

ECOWAS was created by fifteen member countries comprising of former French, British, and Portuguese colonies. In 1975 Cape Verde joined bringing the membership to 16 though Mauritania excluded herself from the group in 2000. Currently, ECOWAS has 15 Member States, namely Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d’Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

The gradual movement of ECOWAS towards collective security started in 1978 with the adoption of the Protocol on Non-Aggression. According to Article 1 of the Protocol, “Member States shall refrain in their relations with one another, from the threat or use of aggression or from employing any other means inconsistent with the Charter of the UN and the Organization of African Unity against the territorial integrity or political independence of other Member States” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, 2011).

Despite the adoption of the Protocol on Non-Aggression Treaty, there was an outbreak of civil war in some West African countries, notably Liberia and Sierra Leone, in 1989 and 1991, respectively. To suppress violence and ensure peace within the sub-region, the Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS in May 1993, reviewed the Treaty to include maintenance of peace, stability, and security within the sub-region. This action led to

the establishment of the Collective Security Mechanism, which included the ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF), which later replaced the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), Mediation, and Security Council (MSC) and Early Warning and Response Network (ECOWARN).

1.2 Statement of Problem

ECOWAS's objective upon formation was to foster economic growth and integration among the Member States, following the widespread conflicts and instability within the region. To achieve economic progress, Member States believed in the sustainability of peace and security in the sub-region. ECOWAS, therefore, in fulfilling its set goals, had to deal with the prevalence of ethnic conflicts, terrorism, religious extremism, and political instability within the sub-region. This research is to investigate the challenges of collective security within the ECOWAS Member States.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Insecurity has become a prevalent syndrome in the international system, that challenges the survival of the inhabitants of global space. It has therefore become imperative for players in the international scene to adopt means of preserving and ensuring peace in the system. This research will provide helpful insights in understanding and discussing conflict prevention, management, and resolution in West Africa and the challenges of the ECOWAS Collective Security System. Findings from this research will contribute to the global discourse on dimensions to collective security by reinforcing the existing literature, and highlighting the new aspects to sustaining the security and maintaining peace considering 21st -century global trends. Furthermore, the findings from this research would focus on the new aspects of threat and insecurity, such as food insecurity, cyber risk, terrorism, and extremism.

1.4 Research Objectives

- a. To examine ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanisms.
- b. To highlight the lapses of ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanisms.

- c. To identify contributions of ECOWAS Collective Security to the maintenance of peace and security in the sub-region.
- d. To identify the challenges confronting the Collective Security System of ECOWAS.

1.5 Research Questions

Concerning the research problem mentioned above, this research seeks to answer the following questions:

- a) What are ECOWAS Collective Security strategies, and to what extent has it succeeded?
- b) What are the challenges facing ECOWAS in the 21st Century in respect of Collective Security?
- c) Is Collective Security the most effective means of tackling security issues, and promoting peace within West Africa?

1.6 Research Assumptions

The research has four assumptions;

- a) As long as ECOWAS continues to experience limited financial contributions from its members, the collective security mechanism will be retrogressive and remains in a non-functional state;
- b) Consideration of religious bias tends to hinder collective security in the sub-region;
- c) Inability to sanction erring Member Countries tends not to instill discipline and commitment to collective security in the region;
- d) Terrorism and insecurity with their roots deepened in most Member States may distract ECOWAS from its objectives.

1.7 Scope and Limitation

The concept of Collective Security was written by any works of literature, especially with regards to the United Nations. Nevertheless, the focus on ECOWAS has been at a minimal level as it relates to current political instability and terrorist activities within the sub-region. Due to limitations of resources such as time and finances and the complexities of the

subject matter, this research will only focus on challenges of regional collective security with ECOWAS. The period for this research will be from 1990-2017, which covers the period when the region encountered myriads of civil wars, ethnic crises, political instability, and acts of terrorism.

1.8 Method of Data Collection and Analysis

This research will use secondary data collection sources, which include; textbooks, journals, newspaper publications, articles, reports, and unpublished materials. Other sources include diverse electronic media such as the internet.

1.9 Organisations of Chapters

The research work comprises of five chapters. The first chapter introduces the study, and the second chapter reviews related literature, while the third chapter focuses on ECOWAS formation and its collective security mechanism. The fourth chapter involves a detailed analysis of ECOWAS collective security, and the fifth chapter consists of the Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations of the study.

1.10 Definition of Terms

Authority: Authority means the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS. (ECOWAS: 1978).

Collective Security: Collective security, as used in this research, is the combined use of the coercive capability of the international community to combat illegal use of force in situations that threaten international peace and security (Ibrahim 2008).

Conflict: In this research, conflict refers to any situation in which two or more parties disagree on ideas and interests.

International Community: The international community is an association of people and governments of distinct political communities, which accept some common values, rules, and institutions (Baylis 2008:39).

Member States: This refers to the Member States of the West African sub-region.

Security: In this research, security refers to a state of being free from danger, threat, and conflict.

West African Region: refers to the sub-region occupied by the fifteen Member States of ECOWAS, namely Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea- Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

No country can record any meaningful economic growth and development where conflict is prevalent. Insecurity in most West African countries has proven that states characterized by militancy, ethno-religious crises, violent extremism, and terrorism can barely record any meaningful economic development. This chapter of research attempts to review works of literature related to the concept of collective security, elements of collective security, failure of collective security, and theoretical framework of collective security.

2.2 The Concept of Security

According to Ezeah and Osayi (2014), as cited in Obayori et al. (2018), “security can be conceptualized, as the knowledge and attitude members of society possess regarding the protection of their lives and properties. Thus, being security-aware means that one understands that there is potential for people to deliberately or accidentally attack, steal, damage, or obtain information that will be to the detriment of the community.” Igbuzor, 2011, Oche, 2001, Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013 cited in Oden, 2017 defined security as the absence of threats to peace, national cohesion, political, and socio-economic objectives of a country. There is a consensus in modern literature that security is crucial for sustainable development, peace, and national solidarity. It is, therefore, apparent that national security is a desideratum, sine qua non for economic growth and development of any country (Oladeji and Folorunso, 2007 quoted in Oden, 2017).

Agbonika and Agbonika (2013) asserts that “security is a state of being or existence that is free from danger, fear, threat, anxiety, and uncertainty.” Based on this definition of security, one can assert that security is the existence of peace and stability, which are favourable conditions for growth and development. Robinson, Obayori, and Kingsley (2014) "noted that national security subsists in two forms, namely, internal and external security." The internal security involves keeping peace within the territory of an independent nation through the enforcement of national law and defence against internal security threats. While

external security entails the dynamics of a state's foreign policy and the nature of the geopolitical circumstances surrounding it.

There are two schools of thought on the subject of security; the narrow and wide approach. The proponent of the narrow approach equates security with the military and the use of force (Buzan et al. 1998). While the proponents of the wide approach view security through five distinct sectors; military, societal, political, environmental, and economic as a threat to security (Buzan, et al. 1998). It is, therefore, evident that the disagreement in defining what constitutes security is due to the differing perspectives of both approaches. It is, however, practical to view security not only as a military issue but to consider these threats based on other factors. Given these complexities, security assumes to deal with preserving a state's existence, which is maintained by the applicability of military might. Moreover, the perception of what constitutes a threat and its nature is determined by how states classify threats based on their security concerns.

2.3 The Concept of Collective Security

Collective Security is a significant commitment to promoting international peace between and among states. It is also a means of managing crises in international relations, established to promote international peace since aggression or war impedes global security. Collective Security borders on the issue of rationality for a variety of international organisations such as the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), amongst others, to protect and uphold local, regional and international peace and security. Experience has shown that efforts at maintaining global peace and stability using traditional concepts do not adequately proffer the much-needed solutions to address current inter-state conflicts and regional instability.

The international community established the idea of Collective Security to propose new ways of building mutual trust amongst states, resolving common security problems through acceptable methods of cooperation. Most countries view Collective Security as a means of achieving stability and strengthening their security mechanisms through collaboration with state and non-state actors that address security challenges.

Although the concept of Collective Security is complex, however, this term is an invention of previous centuries. Collective Security implies a standing commitment by a group of states bound by similar interests, geography, or economy, to guard and defend the

individual security interests of each member state within its sphere of influence. The principle of the League of Nations first cited Collective Security and, later, the United Nations. During the 18th Century, Immanuel Kant, in his book titled 'Perpetual Peace' states that "the law of nations focuses on one federation of free states" (Kant, 1795). Thus, by embracing collective security, any member state is barred from engaging in a manner that could breach global peace, thereby eliminating potential conflicts. Since collective security deals with the security of sovereign states, it connects to liberal democracy, which is strengthened by strong economic ties within the region, for the rule of law.

Collective Security is reliant on a strong military force of a group of states with the ability to deter the potential aggressor and military capabilities to strike back if necessary. This concept gives credence to the management of global military power by the international community to establish order, regulate the behaviours of states, and reduce likely security threats as well as maintain the existing peace. Ebegbulem (2011) asserted that "within an international organisation, threats or attacks against one state invariably implies a threat against all member states, allowing them to act jointly in repelling the aggressive state." Others like Mwangabi have added to the concept that peaceful and stable world order can only be maintained with the benefit of a collective security system, with the military as an integral part of that cause. (Mwangabi, 2012). Collective Security protects the security of each member state in the world against potential aggression committed by a state against another. Collective Security is as an assurance system in which member states defend each other against the potential threats.

However, several academics have attempted to define collective security based on perceived phenomena such as a country's relationship with regional and international organisations based on the level and range of global security threats. Academics believe that states face similar security threats due to close geographical location, similar interests, and other factors. Chaturvedi (2006) defines collective security as an arrangement agreed upon by some states to protect their important interests, integrity and ensure safety against a common enemy or threat over a specified period through a combination of their powers. Onyemaechi Eke sees collective security as "an idealist one which hinges on the prevention of hostilities by the formation of an overwhelming military force by member states to deter aggression or, by implication, to launch a reprisal attack capable of defeating the recalcitrant member" (Eke, 2007 in Ebegbulem, 2011).

From the above definitions of Collective Security by different academics, this concept is a methodological approach to maintain peace by a group of similar sovereign states, poised to defend each other against any potential aggressor. However, Collective Security can only be fully effective if the Member States are strong enough to withstand any form of aggression, and if decisions to deter any attack is decisively enforced. The enforcement implies that the state needs to implement necessary measures, sanctions, or war if necessary. While member states within a Collective Security System should be willing to engage jointly in its fight against any aggressor, the organisation must be open to prospective member states who are ready to accept the organisational obligations and faithfully adhere to it. According to Rourke (2008), collective security has three basic tenets. These are;

1. All countries forswear the use of force except in self-defense;
2. All agree that peace is indivisible. An attack on one is an attack on all;
3. All pledge to halt aggression and restore the peace by supplying to the UN or other IGOs whatever material or personnel resources to deter or defeat aggressors and restore peace.

The UN Charter enshrines the principle of collective security in Chapter 7, Article 48, by stating that:

- i. “the action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine;
- ii. such decisions shall be carried out by the members of the UN directly or through their actions in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members” (The United Nations 2007).

The rationale behind this principle is that any Member State that contemplates aggression against another State would have to contend with the other Member States within the collective system that is bound to make the needed sacrifice to defend and preserve the victim state.

2.4 Elements of Collective Security

Collective Security is a system of power or crisis management, which seeks to preserve peace, in case of any war or aggression against any state by the other Member States. Collective security regulates the use of force through a universally acceptable agreement by all countries within the system. It addresses the potential threats and any act of aggression based on the collective principle that any use of force is forbidden and any country that flouts this rule will be collectively sanctioned (Claude, 1992). Collective Security comprises the following elements;

- a. It accepts that wars and aggressions are characteristics of international relations, and that violation of the security of a nation is bound to happen;
- b. A mutually agreeable treaty organizes the decisions of the international body;
- c. All states agree to renounce war as a policy instrument except when defending self;
- d. All states plead to come to the aid of any victim state against an aggressive state.

Collective Security can be suitably implemented at a multilateral level rather than at a unilateral level, as member states are to conform with the ethos and ideologies of the group for it to be functional. Member State cannot regard unilateral action as collective security irrespective of the involvement of multiple states or endorsement by an international organisation. The principle of Collective Security is therefore based on its collectiveness and not on the convergence of individual interest.

The Collective Security System implies that decision-making has to be a joint effort between all parties rather than a few members making independent decisions, and any decision reached must be on agreed principles. Collective Security works on the principle of indivisibility of peace (Finkelstein and Finkelstein, 1996). An act of war is a global threat to peace, and all states are required to prevent any act of aggression whenever and wherever it occurs. Indivisible peace implies that any unilateral use of force is unacceptable and cannot be justified since it affects the entire global community. Wars are illegitimate as no state has the unilateral rights to threaten global peace to further its interest. Hoffmann (1981) posited that the only time the use of force is legitimate is when a state is defending itself or for non-selfish multilateral purposes.

Collective Security employs a means of punishing any state or non-state actor that uses force as a political, economic, or socio-cultural instrument regardless of its merit. There is no distinction between a good and bad purpose for threatening global peace. Consequently, the aggressive state or non-state actor actions has no consequence for its objectives for the disturbance of public peace, but for violating the acceptable code of conduct. It does not matter if the aggressive state or non-state actor is either a dominant or weak entity; the principle remains upheld, as the threat to global peace is the same, even though the level of effect in global stability might be different.

In Collective Security, all wars are the same within the context of the generic principle of Collective Security, and all states are encouraged to pursue collective security by mutual interests rather than selfish motivations. For the operational mechanism to work, any enforcement action sanctioned by the collective security body must involve at least one state who would not have acted if the system was not in place.

The functional justification of the collective security system assumes that countries that are not a party to a particular dispute get involved in such disputes and, as such, can offer practical and unselfish support and resources to a victim state. Wolfers (1962), in support, buttressed that most countries will support a collective security system over its traditional security mechanism if there is an expectation of more robust security protection. The principle of indivisibility of peace opposes the concept of neutrality, as it is quite impossible to maintain a neutral position in conflict since all disputes should be of concern to all states as it threatens global peace. In such instances, being partial is a reason of duty (Liska, 1962).

Collective Security is, however, different from an alliance. While an alliance confronts a particular threat, collective security deals with a potential aggressor. Also, Collective Security seeks to regulate the relationship amongst its members, while an alliance negates the external threats. In reality, Collective Security and an alliance might be incompatible in some scenarios as the indivisibility of peace principle does not grant exceptions since most states must rally against any aggressive state or non-state actor either as a friend or foe. Collective Security promotes impartiality, as the concept applies to all states within the system without prejudice, although it can be partial when identifying an enemy. The system identifies both aggressors and victims, and also issues out appropriate sanctions. Collective Security is a means of preserving the safety and interests of states within the system and jointly working together against an aggressor.

2.5 Failure of Collective Security

The objective of Collective Security is to discourage any effort or action by the state to acquire excessive power that can make it capable of attacking or threatening other independent countries in the international system. In his work, Ebegbulem (2011) observed that Collective Security was to muster overpowering collective force, which could threaten and then applied, to end aggression by revisionist state, and other would-be aggressors.

Collective Security was a total failure-using League of Nations as an instrument to deter subsequent war. Still, the refusal of the United States of America to join the League, as well as the appearance of the Soviet Union as a superpower, threatened the League of Nation's peace and security instrument. These two powers with economic and military might were needed to stabilise post- League of Nations collective security. Claude (1971), asserted that for collective security to succeed, several Member States needs to join the system, and any exclusion of Member States with strong, powerful economies and military will reduce the chance of its success. The case of the League of Nations, describes a painful experience of collective security, resulting to the self-serving interests of individual powerful Member States who chose to opt-out of the system (Baylis et al., 2010).

In the modern international system, the United Nations is responsible for maintaining collective security and has the responsibility to authorise or sanction the use of military aggression in the system. Article 1 of the UN Charter clearly demands "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and the suppression of acts of the aggressor or other breaches of peace" (The United Nations, 2007). Article 43 of the United Nations Charter clearly states that members of the United Nations under special arrangements to be conducted, are to make available to the security council "armed forces, assistance, and facility, including rites of passage, necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security" (The United Nations, 2007).

The UN Security Council, constituted by 15 member states out which five possess veto powers, seldom yields to the dictates of the veto powers, which tend to make wrong decisions. Over-dependence of the Security Council on its members for assistance, for instance, United States, United Kingdom, Japan, and Russia have made the donor members to unilaterally take action on security matters without the approval of the Security Council. In some cases, the decisions of these donor countries override that of the Security Council. The 1991 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) bombardment of the Yugoslav Republic

saw the UNSC disobey and bypass the UN's decisions (Fischer & MC Donald, 2000). Also, in 2003, the United States (US) and United Kingdom (UK) led coalition disregarded the opinion of the UN in their invasion of Iraq.

These domineering powers invaded the perceived enemy states and interfered in their political affairs for their egocentric purposes such as, economic, diplomatic, military, and doctrinal. Ebegbulem (2011) asserted that entrusting the responsibility of global peace and stability on a few Member States with powerful economic and military capabilities implies that, these states will inadvertently use this responsibility to serve their selfish interests rather than the collective interest of the global community in deciding to intervene in a conflict. Furthermore, the unwillingness of United Nations member states to sacrifice their national interest to collective security poses a significant problem to the UNSC.

Rourke and Boyer (1998), cited in Ebegbulem (2011) states that governments have generally maintained their right to view conflicts in terms of their national interest and to support or oppose UN action based on their nationalistic point of view. Collective Security, therefore, exists mostly as a goal, not as a general practice. Another evidence of the failure of Collective Security is the bureaucratic process involved in the authorization of the use of force by the UNSC. Most states hold the belief that this bureaucratic process is not comprehensive and cannot effectively enforce international security. For instance, the UNSC resolution on the 1998/1999 Kosovo crisis was that there should be a continued dialogue between the warring parties, and the United Nations placed an embargo on arms in the Yugoslavia region. (UNSC Resolution 1244 on Kosovo, 1999).

However, this resolution was ineffective. After six months, a new resolution was passed, recognizing the crisis in Kosovo as a threat to global peace and security, and demanding an immediate cessation of hostilities. This resolution was also not adhered to by both parties involved, and fighting continued until NATO unilaterally intervened a year after, leading to the end of the war (Kaufman, 1999). While NATO's intervention was ongoing, some members of the UNSC condemned the unilateral actions of NATO without any authorization of the UN (Neuhold, 2000). In Africa, most states decided to have regional ties to boost economic development and maintain regional peace and stability after their independence. The states decided to establish regional structures and mechanisms based on the five distinct regions within the African continent.

These sub-regional structures were the basis on which the African Union established the African Standby Force (ASF), which transformed to become a fully-fledged regional body (Magosi, 2007). The African Union (AU), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) amongst others are prime examples of the African sub-regional collective security charged with the responsibilities to maintain peace and security within the African continent. However, a collective security system needed to be put in place as security became a paramount issue. Thus, the ECOWAS established the Peace and Security Council (PSC), which led to the creation of the ECOMOG security system.

Just like other sub-regional security management systems, ECOMOG has encountered many challenges: operational, logistical, financial in pursuit of its efforts at maintaining regional peace. Magosi (2007) asserted that differences in political orientation, economic imbalance between states, individual self-interest as well as interoperability issues due to colonial experiences, inadequate funding, obsolete equipment, and poor logistics, are major challenges faced by ECOWAS from achieving its regional aims. One of the fundamental issues affecting ECOWAS and the UN arises from not reaching a consensual agreement on what constitutes a threat to security and the operability of its mandate.

There are clauses within the ECOWAS Protocol that allows the regional body to act without recourse to the authority of the UN. In the case of the conflicts in Sierra Leone and Liberia, (Ibrahim, 2008) stated that ECOMOG and the UN could not agree on any Mandate, which then allowed ECOMOG to unilaterally enforce actions against rebels without any authorization for the enforcement. Lack of operational logistics support and resources for some States forces and inefficient manpower to handle the resultant humanitarian crisis were challenges that confronted the ECOMOG Mission. According to Magosi, 2007, lack of funding made Nigeria contribute the most significant resource to the ECOMOG Mission to ensure the promotion of its national interest and regional reach.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

The state is the focal point of interaction in global politics. Drogus and Orvis (2012) described a state to be an entity that has certain characteristics, which include; territorial presence, sovereignty, international boundaries, legitimacy bestowed by the populace, and government bureaucracy. Baylis et al. (2008) describe a state, as the joint will of its populace,

which gives it legitimacy to act with authority over its boundaries. As such, the state can exercise legitimate unilateral use of force to defend its territorial boundaries. Therefore, to understand the relationship between a state and other states within the global system, this research would examine the liberalist theory with which states operate.

2.6.1 Theory of Liberalism

The Liberalists believe that collective security is an arrangement that makes states cooperate in providing security for all by the action of all, against any nation that may challenge the existing order within the system. This arrangement is to dissuade any Member State from acting in a manner likely to threaten peace, thereby avoiding conflict. The position of the liberalist is that the characteristics of every state differ. While some states pursue peace, others are prone to wage war.

Furthermore, the global community grants each state-specific rights and does not interfere in states' domestic affairs. Although both realists and liberalists have a universal agreement that war is inevitable, the difference in their opinions is the causal factor for war. Waltz (1979) argued that the undemocratic stance within international politics, most notably, the balance of power and foreign policies, is the primary cause of war. Also, Waltz stating that a system of open governance that is sensitive to public opinion and the concept of Collective Security, will help minimize potential conflicts and war.

The liberalist believes that humans are rational, and that war is avoidable. The liberalist views morality as the core of human survival and eliminating the idea of conflict can lead to higher human decency. The liberalists further argued that a mechanism in which states contribute resources and give up its sovereignty for the growth of the region is the most appropriate means of solving regional problems. This agreement implies that countries will be willing to cooperate and interact peacefully with their neighbours within their region. The theory of liberalism is particularly relevant to this study, given that it advocates collectivism on the strength of convergence of resources by members of a group of nations. The liberalist theory works on the assumption that the prospect of joint retaliation by other states would deter any potential aggressor.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

The principal concern of Collective Security is the legal obligation to abstain from any act of war and the collective will to deal decisively against any erring member. Downs

and Lida (1994) posited that “the 'sine qua non' of Collective Security is collective self-regulation,” granting the international community the duty and responsibility to enforce this will, each state to incorporate the global order as part of its national security objectives.

The concept of Collective Security can be applied differently either in a maximalist model, or minimalist model. Suganami (1989) stated that the maximalist model views Collective Security as an exclusive principle that governs the relationships between states while a minimalist model views Collective Security as a principle that exists alongside more traditional systems. In the maximalist approach, Collective Security focuses on the creation of structured, systematic world order. Maximalist's views Collective Security as an antithesis to the balance of power.

The maximalist approach promotes the idea that war can be discouraged by replacing traditional security systems with collective security through the use of force. This viewpoint implies that states would be willing to submit their conventional security mechanisms for the sake of global peace. Though no world government is in place to enforce any multilateral action, states are assumed to act as if a global government exists. Rallying in support of a victim-state is considered legally binding if there are no enforcement systems in place, and an equally decisive response will meet any act of aggression.

Objectively, Collective Security is a process that offers certain guarantees backed by legal and moral obligations that any erring state will face disciplinary action. Each state is required to give up their rights over the use of force and be involved in enforcing actions against any aggressor. States will be required to relinquish their rights to wage war as a policy measure and collectively decide whether to contribute military or economic resources in defence of a victim state. This measure indicates that each member state would surrender its partial sovereignty in deciding how to handle an actual threat.

Going by the maximalist approach, Member States were given little consideration by individualist political instruments. The belief is that these independent tendencies are most likely the root cause of anarchy. The maximalist concept, therefore, tends to reduce the sovereignty of Member States instead of consolidating them. The preposition of the maximalist approach implies that multilateral measures are superior to unilateral measures. The maximalist approach does not allow the Member States to opt-out from the system. States are required to resolve differences based on the interest of the collective will of all countries while disregarding their self-interests. The national interests of a country are,

therefore, dropped for the benefits of the collective security multilateral system. Acting on self-interest is not acceptable for the system to function effectively.

Flynn and Sheffer (1980), however, argued that, despite having these legal rights, the international organisation could not be classed as a government of its own as it consists of individual states who give it legitimacy and, therefore, cannot enjoy a unilateral use of force. The need to intervene in all cases requires the constitution of a decision-making body within the collective security system. These decisions will require a form of majority voting before any resolutions can be passed or reached. The operations of a maximalist Collective Security system ensure that decisions are made based on a majority vote, and any enforcement action shall derive its authority or mandate from the entire organisational command. The scope of what constitutes a security threat shall take into consideration the collective principle of each Member State.

The minimalist approach, however, tends to focus on an incremental upgrade on global politics. It attempts to work alongside traditional policy balance within an international body, rather than to replace conventional norms with a new global order. In the minimalist approach, other unilateral conflict resolution mechanisms will coexist alongside the collective security mechanism. The differentiating factor between the maximalist and minimalist concept is selectivity.

The minimalist Collective Security approach professes that there should not be a formal or legal obligation binding any state to contribute to any enforcement decisions. The approach posits that partial sovereignty enjoyed by the state gives the right to decide if the state will function within a multilateral system. Therefore, states retain the discretion on the use of force and have the option of opting out. The decision of international organisations would therefore depend on the wishes of the countries comprising it, with the states having a choice of employing either unilateral or multilateral mechanisms. Minimalist collective security is said to have a semblance of a diplomatic forum dominated by persuasion. In case any aggression occurs, states might support multilateral actions, but this is optional and not mandatory.

In a minimalist Collective Security System, enforcement decisions will be through consensus rather than majority voting, while states decide when to use force. The minimalist approach leans towards an objective perspective. Peace will not be a measure of imposition, but will instead be encouraged. There is no new global world order within a minimalist

system since states can opt-out; collective security will only work with certain conditions but not in all situations. Roberts and Kingbury (1995) posited that minimalist Collective Security is quite unreliable as it will not function as needed always but less vulnerable as it does not need to function always. Although minimalist Collective Security doesn't require drastic changes to international relations between states, it, however, tries to improve the relationships. There are benefits accruable for decent behaviour and appropriate sanctions for erring aggressive states. Even though the implementations of decision are not automatic, all possible penalties in place are part of enforcement mechanisms to deal with aggression. It is, therefore, believed that society frowns against the unilateral use of force, and each state is to act responsibly.

In this scenario, the minimalist approach does not attempt to replace traditional security mechanisms but to find ways of making the two work mutually. While the maximalist approach deals with every act of aggression, the minimalist approach selectively treats aggression as a potential threat. Although the maximalist Collective Security System requires certain conditions in enforcing its effectiveness, the minimalist Collective Security System does not believe in enforcing states to follow strict mechanisms without the authority of a global government. The maximalist approach places its conviction in legal and nationalist organisations while the minimalist approach puts its belief in diplomacy and international organisations. The difference between these two systems of Collective Security presents a potential dilemma for the system in general. When a maximalist approach is applied, collective security becomes a tool to form peaceful global systems. However, it may become unrealistic to achieve this peaceful system. The practical implementation of the minimalist collective security implies that legal obligation will not be binding on all states; however, collective security will become irrelevant due to its slack flexibility.

2.8 Summary

This chapter took a critical look at collective security, as well as its elements and failures. A further analysis was made on the theoretical framework using a liberalist approach to emphasize the relevance of Collective Security in the preservation of peace in the international system. Several works of literature assume that every region of the world is prone to insecurity in any form, and also that collective security employed at global, regional, and sub-regional levels have served as a driver of stable peace in the system. It is, therefore, imperative to view Collective Security from the militaristic standpoints as well as socio-

economic and religious viewpoints. Chapter 3 will thus, attempt to discuss the origin of ECOWAS, its Collective Security Mechanism, events leading to its adoption, and analyze the mechanism in comparison with Southern African Development Community (SADC) security architecture.

CHAPTER 3

ECOWAS FORMATION

3.1 Introduction

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has been around for a while as a sub-regional Organisation despite numerous challenges that confronted the Organisation as an economic bloc and a collective security group. This chapter, therefore, attempts to take a critical look at the historical background and formation of ECOWAS as well as discuss its Collective Security Mechanisms. This chapter will also present a comparative analysis of the Collective Security Mechanisms of ECOWAS and SADC.

3.2 Origin of ECOWAS

Almost a decade-and-a-half after a good number of African States gained political independence from colonial rulers, West African countries established the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) on 28th May 1975. The Organisation was to create an economic union to foster the development of trade, commerce, and investment in the sub-region that is similar to the European Economic Countries (EEC). Before the attainment of self-determination by the African States in the 1950s and 1960s, African leaders realized that after independence, regional cooperation would be essential for the ultimate maximization of the continent's vast potentials and resources for the development of the continent.

In the wisdom of the founders of ECOWAS, the Community was envisioned as a transcendental sub-regional institutional framework, complementary to the various national developmental efforts of Member States, to accelerate and achieve the goals of self-reliance and sustainable development in the sub-region. According to Article 3 (1) of the ECOWAS Revised Treaty, “the aims of the Community are to promote cooperation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its peoples, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among Member States, and contribute to the progress and development of the African Continent” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nigeria, 2011).

The West African region had earlier attempted to form a regional bloc, and notably among this was the creation of the CFA franc zone, which brought francophone West African

countries into a single currency union. Also, in 1964, President William Tubman of Liberia proposed a regional economic integration for the West African Community to redistribute customs duties collected by the coastal states of West Africa. In 1965, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone signed the Agreement. Though, nothing substantial emanated from the Agreement.

In 1972, General Yakubu Gowon, Head of State of Nigeria and Gnassingbe Eyadema, President of Togo, pursued the establishment of economic cooperation that would go beyond language and cultural barriers. The two leaders were confident that the regional economic bloc would foster economic development within the region. To realize this initiative, the Heads of State of Nigeria and Togo prepared a proposal on the structure and scope of the concerned West African Community. In 1973, the leaders undertook a tour to twelve (12) West African countries with a draft Agreement to share the idea to the West African Community. West African Leaders held a meeting in Lomé, Togo, from 10th – 15th December 1973 to deliberate on the draft Agreement, as well as held subsequent meetings to consider and amend the draft Treaty, which finally led to the creation of ECOWAS on 28th May 1975, in Lagos.

Fifteen countries signed the Treaty of Lagos, which established ECOWAS. The fifteen countries were: Dahomey (Benin), Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Conakry, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Mauritania, and Togo. In 1976, Cape Verde joined the Organisation, bringing the membership to 16. However, in December 2000, Mauritania withdrew its membership without any clear-cut and acceptable reasons for its exit from the Organisation (ECOWAS official website, 2019). Joseph Ato Forson (2013), in his book, asserted that ECOWAS leaders initially conceived and established the Organisations to address the narrow security issues of economic integration as the basis for self-reliance. However, with time, the leaders of the sub-regional body realized that there was a strong connection between economics and other broader security problems. Hence, in recent times, the Organisation has begun to tackle several issues which the West African leaders did not envisage to address.

After the creation of ECOWAS, the Organisation struggled with its founding principles as the economic objectives of the bloc were overshadowed by several conflicts, environmental and developmental problems, issues of governance, promotion of enterprise, gender equality, and humanitarian issues. These issues were threats not only to national

development but also for regional integration. There was an urgent need to revise the ECOWAS Treaty to address the challenges mentioned above, as well as to draw up initiatives for regional peace and security in the region. The Member States on 24th July 1993 revised the 1975 treaty to capture all the problems that prompted its revision. In the revised treaty, the leaders made adequate provisions for sub-regional security. This initiative mandated the Member States to work together to consolidate and maintain peace, stability, and security in the region.

3.3 Fundamental Principles of ECOWAS

In realization of the aims and objectives of the ECOWAS, the founding fathers put in place the following fundamental principles as stipulated in Article 4 of ECOWAS Revised Treaty 1993:

1. equality and inter-dependence of Member States;
2. solidarity and collective self-reliance;
3. inter-state cooperation, harmonization of policies and integration of programmes;
4. non-aggression between the Member States;
5. maintenance of regional peace, stability, and security through the promotion and strengthening of good neighbourliness;
6. peaceful settlement of disputes among the Member States, active cooperation between neighbouring countries and promotion of a peaceful environment as a prerequisite for economic development;
7. recognition, promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights following the provisions of the African Charter on Human and peoples' rights;
8. accountability, economic and social justice and popular participation in development;
9. recognition and observance of the rules and principles of the Community;
10. promotion and consolidation of a democratic system of governance in each Member State as envisaged by the Declaration on Political Principles adopted in Abuja on 6th July 1991; and
11. equitable and just distribution of the costs and benefits of economic cooperation and integration (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nigeria, 2011).

There is no gainsaying that the principles, as highlighted above, have assisted not only to promote economic integration but also to maintain peace and security in the region. However, several factors exogenous and endogenous to the sub-region, have impacted on achieving the set principles of the Organisation. Joseph Ato Forson (2013), elucidated that just like other post-colonial projects, the process of economic integration undermined the strong link with the economies of the former colonies, particularly Britain and France which led more to dependence than independence; and the unfavourable and unequal international trade regime established did not provide any basis for African countries to develop.

Prolonged years of single-party and authoritarian rule, coupled with frequent regime change through military coups d'état made the pursuit of these lofty principles in a stable environment difficult, if not impossible. Politics in the Member States have, therefore, undermined economic development because most leaders were more interested in maintaining the status-quo, by paying more attention to power struggle rather than focusing on the development of their citizens. One other factor that negatively impacted on achieving the principles is the arbitrary regime change in Member States which were aided and abetted by neighbouring States. This regime change has made it impossible to successfully pursue any sub-regional project as the government became suspicious of each other.

3.4 ECOWAS Framework on Peace and Security

The ECOWAS Member States, in their quest for sustainable peace and security in the sub-region, set up a framework to actualize the collective security of States in the sub-region. The Member States initiated peace and security architecture of ECOWAS, which include the following:

- i. **Protocol on Non- Aggression:** This Protocol which came into force on 22nd April 1978 aimed to refrain the Member States from committing, encouraging, or condoling acts of subversion, hostility or aggression against the territorial integrity or political independence of other Member States (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011)
- ii. **Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defence (PMAD):** The ECOWAS Member States signed this Protocol on 29th May 1981 in Sierra Leone. According to Article 2 of the Protocol, Member States declare and accept that any armed threat or aggression directed against any Member State shall constitute a threat or aggression against the entire Community (ECOWAS documentation online, 1981).

- iii. **Conventions on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters:** Member States signed this Convention in Dakar, Senegal, on 29th July 1992. The Convention accords each Member State the **broadest** measure of mutual assistance in proceedings or investigations in respect of offences, the punishment of which, at the time of the request for assistance falls within the jurisdiction of the judicial authorities of the requesting Member State (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011).
- iv. **Conventions on Extradition:** This Convention came into effect on 6th August 1994 in Abuja, Nigeria. The Convention requested States to surrender to each other as well as subject to the provisions and conditions laid down. This Convention also requires all persons within the territory of the requested State who are wanted for prosecution for an offence or who are wanted by the legal authorities of the requesting State for the carrying out of a sentence (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, 2011).
- v. **Declaration on Moratorium, Importation, Exportation, and Manufacture of Small Arms and Light Weapons:** This legal instrument came into force on 31st October 1998 with a renewal period of three years. It was therefore subsequently renewed on 9th July 2001. The Moratorium was put in place to help checkmate the illegal or illicit inflow of small arms and light weapons into the West African sub-region. It was also put in place to discourage using the sub-region as a base or conduit for the provision of small arms and light weapons to the rest of the world (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, 2011).
- vi. **Declaration on Political Principles:** ECOWAS Heads of State signed the Declaration in 1991 in Abuja. The Protocol commits the Member States to uphold human rights, democracy, and the rule of law (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, 2011).
- vii. **Protocol Relating to Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security:** The Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS signed this Protocol in Lome, Togo, on 10th December 1999. The Protocol aims at addressing maintaining and consolidating peace and stability with the Community as well as to strengthen cooperation in the areas of conflict prevention, early-warning, peacekeeping operations, the control of cross-border crimes, international terrorism and proliferation of small arms and anti-personnel mines (ECOWAS documentation online, 1999).
- viii. **Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance:** The Member States of ECOWAS signed this Protocol on 21st December 2001 in Dakar, Senegal, as supplementary to the

Protocol Relating to Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, 2011).

The ECOWAS Frameworks on Peace and Security, as mentioned above, have been guiding the behaviours of Member States in ensuring sustainable peace in West Africa. Bearing in mind that the Member States could face a penalty in case of non-compliance.

However, the gender-related aspect of peace and security based on UN Resolution 1325 was not captured by ECOWAS leaders while designing the peace and security architecture of the sub-region. UN Resolution 1325 reaffirms the critical role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, post-conflict reconstruction, and humanitarian response. It stresses the importance of equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. (UNSCR 1325, 2000).

Resolution 1325 also requests all actors to increase women's engagement and incorporate gender perspectives in all United Nations peace and security efforts. The resolution provides several significant operational mandates, with implications for the Member States and the entities of the United Nations system. ECOWAS leaders relegated the role of women in peace negotiations and agreements. The leaders were oblivious of the role women can play in peacebuilding processes, which can have an impact in sustaining peace and security.

It is also worthy to state that the ever-changing profile of conflicts in the sub-region demonstrated the limitations of conceiving the peace and security framework as local or “localizable” phenomena in the West African sub-region. The intricate nature of these conflicts, which includes; identity issues, resource control, demographic changes, and other endogenous as well as exogenous social forces. These conflicts demanded a comprehensive, all-inclusive, and less aggressive approach to conflict management than currently exists.

ECOWAS leaders instituted the mechanisms mentioned above to curtail some of these conflicts, and just as the conflicts increased in complexity, so too did the management mechanisms evolve.

3.5 Events Leading to the adoption of the 1999 Collective Security Mechanism by ECOWAS

West African leaders created ECOWAS to promote cooperation and integration as well as to create an economic and monetary union for the promotion of economic growth and development in West Africa. The concern for regional Collective Security was, therefore, not featured in the treaty establishing the Organisation, because West African Leaders did not consider security threats during the establishment of the Organisation. Gani Yoroms (2001:89) captured the situation when he observed that, “the founding fathers of ECOWAS, like their Organization of African Unity counterparts, did not initially envisage the significance of a defence pact for regional security.” Instead, he states, “they were preoccupied with the desire for economic growth and development, political stability and social cohesion and therefore, saw security of their nations only around their fortified presidential mansions.”

ECOWAS has grappled with widespread conflicts and instability since its inception in 1975. These conflicts have sapped the energy and resources meant for the economic development of the sub-region. The West African region experienced numerous wars and inter-state conflicts which led to the loss of lives and properties, destruction of infrastructure and social amenities, as well as the displacement of thousands of people. The constant conflicts in the region in the late 1970s made ECOWAS realize that the Organisation could not attain economic growth without peace and stability in the region. The realization, therefore, made the ECOWAS leaders adopt security measures that would protect the sub-region.

The first attempt by the Organisation to move towards collective security started with the adoption of the Protocol on Non-Aggression in 1978. The Protocol required Member States to “refrain from the threat and use of force or aggression or from employing any other means inconsistent with the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity against the territorial integrity of political independence of other Member States” (ECOWAS online documentation, 1978). Kabia (2011) noted that critics regarded this Protocol as merely idealistic as it failed to provide a standardized response mechanism in the case of a breach.

To this end, on 29th May 1981, the Protocol on Mutual Assistance in Defense (PMAD) was signed, and it became effective five years later. The Protocol mandated the Members

States to a collective security defense mechanism by accepting that armed threat or aggression against one constituted a threat against the Community as a whole (ECOWAS online documentation, 1981). Kabia (2011), in his work, elucidated that the Protocol focused heavily on external threats and did not envisage a role for the regional body in the coups that destabilised the sub-region in the 1970s and 1980s, and the internal conflicts that swept through West Africa in the 1990s. Also, some Member States pointed out that the Protocol would diminish their states' sovereignty. In particular, the Francophone States feared that the influence of Nigeria might impact the implementation of the Protocol. As such, the influence may not align with the common objectives of Member States or disrupt the defense pacts these countries had with France.

However, ECOWAS' adoption of security and conflict prevention and resolution mechanism was a result of the Liberian crisis, which started in 1989. With no institution to react to the conflict, the Organisation had to create an ad-hoc security mechanism to curb the menace. In response, the Member States established the Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) in May 1990 to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. SMC established and deployed ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Observer Group (ECOMOG) to the crisis areas.

ECOMOG recorded laudable achievement in its peacekeeping operations in Liberia in 1990, Sierra Leone in 1997, and Guinea-Bissau in 1999. Nevertheless, lessons learned from these various peacekeeping operations led to the initiation of a process meant to improve future interventions. The Revised Treaty of 1993 took into account, problems relating to security, good governance, conflict resolution, and management, and witnessed the establishment of various protocols to enhance its security mechanisms such as:

- Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation, and Manufacture of Small Arms in October 1998;
- The Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security 1999. (This is arguably being noted to be the most comprehensive Protocol relating to peace and security within the region. This Protocol would, therefore, be discussed comprehensively in 3.6);
- Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance in December 2001 as an instrument to deal with issues such as free and fair elections, civilian control of the military, and unconstitutional changes of government. This Protocol is said to be supplementary to the

Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, 2011)

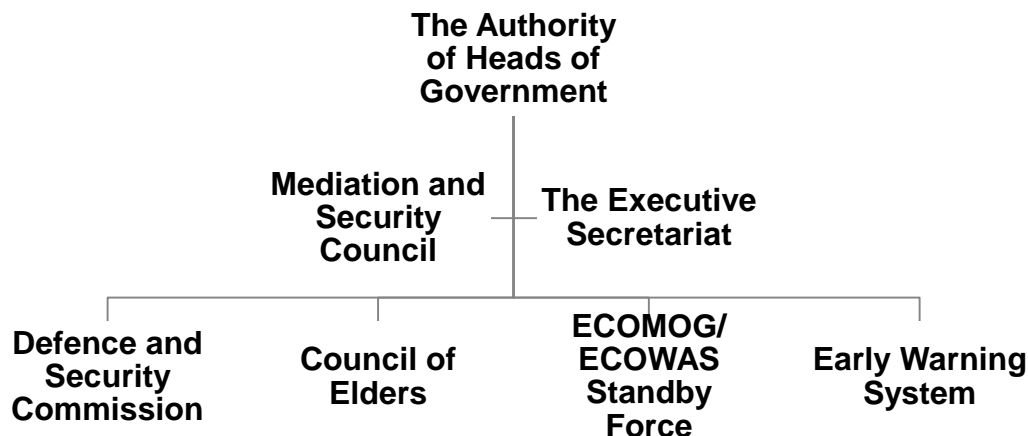
3.6 ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism

In December 1999, Member States of ECOWAS adopted the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution, Peace, and Security as a platform to strengthen the sub-region's conflict management and prevention capacity. The new Mechanism was adopted due to ECOWAS involvement in Liberia as well as to develop the Organisation's mediation approach. In a clear departure from its general principle of non-intervention, the Mechanism empowered ECOWAS to intervene in internal conflicts of the Member States. This action is triggered not only by a massive violation of human rights but also by the breakdown of the rule of law (Ademola 2000).

The substantive rules for peace and security in West Africa were put in place by the Leaders in several segments of the Mechanism, which includes its structure, organs, and implementation of policies, as well as other collective management principles. Chapter 1, Article 1 of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security, highlights how Member States introduced ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism in clear terms. According to Article 1, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) established a mechanism for collective security and peace to be known as "Mechanism for Conflict Prevention Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security" (ECOWAS, 1999).

The Mechanism provided for the establishment of institutions, arms, and strategies to actualize its objectives. These institutions are the Council of Elders (now Council of the Wise), the Mediation and Security Council, the Defence and Security Commission, the Authority (composed of Heads of State and Government), the Executive Secretariat, ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), and Early Warning System.

Figure 3. 1 ECOWAS collective security mechanism



source: ECOWAS 1999 Mechanism for Conflict Prevention Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security

3.6.1 The Authority of Heads of State and Government

Chapter 2, Article 5 and 6 of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security provides that the Authority would be composed of the Heads of State and Government of Member States and that the Authority shall be the highest decision-making body of the Mechanism. The Articles further states that the Authority would have powers to act on all matters concerning conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping, security, humanitarian support, peacebuilding, control of cross border crimes, the proliferation of small arms, as well as all other matters covered by the provisions of this Mechanism (ECOWAS, 1999).

3.6.2 Mediation and Security Council (MSC)

Another critical element of the Mechanism is the Mediation, and Security Council, which comprises nine (9) Member States out of which the Authority shall elect seven (7) and, the other two (2) Member States shall be the current Chairman and immediate past Chairman of the Authority. The MSC holds its deliberations at three levels, namely, Heads of State and Government, Ministerial, and Ambassadorial levels. The MSC shall take decisions on issues of peace and security in the sub-region on behalf of the Authority, as well as authorise all forms of intervention and decide particularly on the deployment of political and military missions (Chapter 2, Article 8 and 10, ECOWAS; 1999).

3.6.3 The Executive Secretariat

According to Chapter 2, Article 15 of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security, mandates the Executive Secretariat to initiate actions for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security in the sub-region. The Article also noted that such acts might include fact-finding, mediation, facilitation, negotiation, and reconciliation of parties in conflict (Chapter 2, Article 15 ECOWAS; 1999). The Executive Secretary is also responsible for political, administrative, and operational activities for peace missions and prepares a periodic report on the activities of MSC.

3.6.4 Defence and Security Commission

The Commission is composed of Chiefs of Defence Staff or its equivalent, officers responsible for Internal Affairs and Security, experts from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Heads of Immigration, Customs, Drugs /Narcotics Agencies, Border Guards and Civil Protection Forces, depending on the agenda (Chapter 3, Article 18, ECOWAS: 1999). The Commission is responsible for examining all technical and administrative issues as well as assessing the logistical requirements for peacekeeping operations (Chapter 3, Article 19, ECOWAS: 1999).

3.6.5 Council of Elders

According to Chapter 3, Article 20 of the Mechanism, the Council of Elders consists of a list of eminent personalities who, on behalf of ECOWAS, can use their good offices and experience to play the role of mediators, conciliators, and facilitators. The Article further stated that the list should comprise persons from various segments of society, including women, political, traditional, and religious leaders. It is from this list when approved by MSC at the level of Heads of State and Government that the Executive Secretary assembles a group that shall consist of the Council of Elders. Members of the Council are to be neutral, impartial, and objective in carrying out their mission (Chapter 3, Article 20, ECOWAS: 1999).

3.6.6 The ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG)

The ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was a structure consisting of all multi-purpose units of Civilian and Military personnel in member countries, who are ready for

deployment at short notice. According to Chapter 3, Article 22 of the 1999 Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and security, ECOMOG has the following responsibilities:

- i. observation and monitoring,
- ii. peacekeeping and restoration of peace,
- iii. humanitarian intervention in support of humanitarian disaster,
- iv. enforcement of sanctions, including embargo,
- v. preventive deployment,
- vi. peacebuilding, disarmament, and demobilization,
- vii. policing activities, including the control of fraud and organized crime and,
- viii. any other operations as may be mandated by the Mediation and Security Council.

However, ECOMOG was renamed as ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF) by the ECOWAS Defense Commission in June 2014. According to Article 28 of the 1999 Mechanism, the ESF is to be made up of composite standby units to be made available by all Member States, and Member states will determine the number of personnel to be provided.

3.6.7 Sub-regional Peace and Security Observation System (Early Warning System)

The Early Warning System serves as the backbone of ECOWAS. It was designed by Member States to stem the spate of crises in the sub-region by forestalling conflicts through preventive initiatives. Chapter 4 of the Mechanism states that the system consists of an Observation and Monitoring Center situated at the ECOWAS Secretariat and four Observation and Monitoring Zones. The four Observation and Monitoring Zones within the region, have their headquarters located at Cotonou (Benin Republic), Banjul (Gambia), Monrovia (Liberia), and Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso), with the function of collecting data on potential disputes within the countries of their jurisdiction. The Observation and Monitoring Center is responsible for data collection and analysis, preparation of a report for the use of the Executive Secretariat (Chapter 4 ECOWAS: 1999).

3.7 Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance

ECOWAS Member States created the Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance to complement the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security. The Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance highlights the role of ECOWAS in ensuring a peaceful transition and the entrenchment of democratic norms and principles in the Member States.

The Protocol guarantees a democratic change of government by guiding States against an unconstitutional change of government. The Protocol also recognizes the sanctity of press freedom, human rights, good governance, as well as the rule of law in the preservation of social justice and preventing conflict, political stability, peace, and for strengthening democracy. In fostering democracy, the Organisation recognized the vital role election monitoring and assistance plays and, therefore, made provisions in the Protocol, for mandatory election monitoring and assistance at the request of Member States.

ECOWAS utilized this comprehensive framework put in place for the sustenance of peace in West Africa in various mediation efforts, and also in observing democratic processes as well as other political activities that tend to ignite conflict in the region. The framework also interfaces with major International Organisations to resolve crises, monitor developments, and douse tension during peacemaking.

With the introduction of the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security, ECOWAS succeeded in setting the pace for Regional Collective Security. Other International Organisations such as African Union (AU), Southern African Development Commission (SADC), and the European Union (EU) are emulating ECOWAS. The Mechanism has assisted in quelling crises in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mali, The Gambia, and Cote d'Ivoire.

ECOWAS also used the Mechanism to return Togo and The Gambia to the democratic path. In the case of Togo, after the demise of President Gnassingbe Eyadema, in 2005, his son, Faure Eyadema, assumed the position of the President of Togo, which brought about global backlash and was equally frowned at by leaders of the sub-region. ECOWAS leaders, therefore, requested Faure to step down and conduct elections. Though Faure Eyadema won the polls, ECOWAS leaders by their actions were able to pass a clear message that unconstitutional change of government has become unfashionable in the sub-region.

In the case of The Gambia in 2017, President Yahya Jammeh was reluctant to relinquish power to the democratically elected President Adama Barrow. ECOWAS leaders using the Mechanism were able to ensure the swearing-in of Adama Barrow, the newly elected President of the country. The application of the Mechanism by the ECOWAS in the case of Togo and The Gambia was laudable as it was the first time African leaders would take such action against one of their own not only in the sub-region but also in the entire African continent.

Despite the laudable achievement of the Mechanism in the maintenance and sustenance of peace in the sub-region, the increasing incidence of conflicts makes instability inevitable. The reoccurrence of conflicts was a result of unavailable funds to service the activities of the ECOWAS Standby Force, who required modern military gadgets as well as adequate training.

According to Chapter 2, Article 6 of the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security, the Authority had the powers to act on all matters concerning conflict resolution (ECOWAS: 1999). The Authority, which is composed of Heads of State and Government of Member States also, mandated Mediation and Security Council (MSC) to make decisions for the implementation of the provision of the Mechanism on its behalf. This mandate implies that there is no distinction between the actions that the Authority may take and those that MSC could take under the Mechanism. As the differences between the two structures are not clear-cut, the delegated power tends to be redundant. That is, MSC does not necessarily need such delegated powers for it to initiate actions for conflict prevention and the sustainability of peace in the region under the Mechanism.

The successful implementation of the operations of the Mechanism is dependent on the ability of Member States to tackle operational and logistical challenges, as most of the envisaged functions of the Mechanism relate to coordination and logistics. The success of any ECOMOG operation was dependent on the trait of the commander of the troop, motivation, commitment, and discipline of the forces, cooperation by the citizens of the conflict state, proper coordination of logistics, and supplies, and perception of the international community on the activities of the peacekeepers.

Another challenge confronting the Mechanism is the lack of practicability of the whole Mechanism. The structure, organs, rules, and procedures of the Mechanism are too

cumbersome to practically and financially implement. This shortcoming is evident in the inability of the Organisation to put into full use, all the structures and organs of the Mechanism during the Liberian civil war even though it had been in existence nine (9) years before the war. The inability of the Organisation to adequately redress the situation in Liberia could be ascribed to a lack of political will by the leaders and its financial incapability.

3.8 Comparative Analysis of ECOWAS and The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Collective Security Framework

Regional Economic Groupings (REGs) are veritable means of ensuring joint development for states at the sub-regional level. Going by the successes recorded by ECOWAS, other sub-regional groups in their quest to find solutions to the need for economic integration and the pressure of security, have adopted the ECOWAS system. One of such Regional Economic Groupings (REG), is the Southern African Development Community (SADC). This sub-topic intends to contextually and comparatively analyze the similarities and differences in both regions (Western and Southern Africa), to identify the challenges confronting both Organisations and providing solutions to the security challenges.

Just like ECOWAS, the initial objective of the creation of SADC was not to tackle regional security problems. Realities of the modern international system made the issue of confronting regional security, one of the primary mandates of these regional economic groups. ECOWAS faced the challenges of controlling its borders against transnational organized crimes. West Africa, due to its strategic location, has become the gateway to North Africa and Europe. It serves as a critical transit route for illegal and criminal activities such as human trafficking, drug peddling, arms trafficking, smuggling, and cross-border crimes. Its strategic location, coupled with its porous borders, weak governments, and prevalence of poverty and corruption, enables criminals and insurgents to exploit the sub-region.

However, the dynamics of security challenges confronting SADC are mostly within the borders of Member States. These include cross-border crimes (not at the same magnitude with ECOWAS), illegal migration, pirate activities on the high seas, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS, and the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons as well as human trafficking. Thus, (Hammerstad, 2005), states that the main sources of insecurity against the stability of the State are found within the borders of the State. A clear departure from what is obtainable in West Africa.

The 1975 ECOWAS Treaty, which gave birth to the Organisation, did not initially assign security roles to the sub-regional Organisation. Instead, the prevailing socio-political realities ensured that for it to achieve its original mandate of regional economic development, it has to engage in activities that would sustain peace and security in the sub-region. According to (Kabia 2011), this is not unique to ECOWAS, as several regional Organisations gradually assumed security and foreign policy functions by default. Their evolution into security regionalism happened due to military threats or political instability. In the context of ECOWAS, political instability and conflicts in Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, and The Gambia made the Organisation realize that in the absence of peace and security, there cannot be economic development. Hence, the change of focus towards the development of the peace and security framework.

In the case of SADC, the adoption of the Collective Security Framework was not as a result of the prevalence of political instability and conflict, but due to the need to have “a regional security complex defined by intra-state rather than interstate security issues” (Hentz, 2009). Furthermore, the kind of security challenges that confronted ECOWAS could be said to be slightly different from what SADC experienced. For instance, ECOWAS had to deal with civil wars, unconstitutional change of governments, terrorism, and migration. The same cannot be said of SADC as the sub-region has not recorded civil wars of the same magnitude as experienced in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The scourge of terrorism as experienced in the West African sub-region is far more than what SADC experienced. The activities of Boko Haram and other transnational terrorist Organisations in the ECOWAS Member States is having its toll on the Security Architecture of ECOWAS.

The ECOWAS peace and security architecture has recorded some remarkable successes, including interventions in Sierra Leone, The Gambia, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, and Burkina Faso. This security framework has, therefore, made it a tried and tested system despite some perceived flaws. However, the elaborate security framework of SADC could not be said to be tried and tested as the sub-region enjoys relative peace compared to the West African sub-region. Though the security framework was operational in Angola and Zimbabwe, it was not on the same scale as that of ECOWAS.

Despite all these differences, one of the most fundamental similarities between ECOWAS and SADC is the existence of single sub-regional hegemons in Nigeria and South Africa. The two countries continue to display the ascribed sub-regional leadership over other

countries in both sub-regions. Both countries have provided leadership roles that have been critical to the existence of the two Organisations. For instance, ECOWAS is a creation of the Nigerian military government's exertions of the early 1970s, while SADC substantively became a classic regional Organisation after South Africa's membership in 1994 (Okeke & Aniche 2012). One can unequivocally affirm that both countries are central to the dynamism of the two Organisation's security architecture.

A similar challenge confronting both Organisations' security framework is the fear of domination, nursed by smaller Member States in ECOWAS and SADC. Smaller Member States believe that the two hegemons, Nigeria and South Africa, would only use the security architecture to pursue the promotion of their national interest in their respective sub-regions. The fear of domination has, therefore, sown the seed of mistrust amongst the Member States. Historical affinity to former colonial masters is also a challenge facing the sub-regional peace and security arrangement. The Member States would instead take directions and advice about intra-state and interstate security decisions from their former colonial masters, rather than agreeing with their fellow members for fear of domination.

Table 3. 1 Comparison between SADC and ECOWAS peace and security architecture

	ECOWAS	SADC
Decision-making body for Peace and Security	Mediation and Security Council	Organs for Politics Defence and Security
Mediation Council	Council of Elders	Panel of Elders
Technical Committee	Defence and Security Commission	Interstate Defence and Security Committee
Peace Support System	ECOWAS Standby Force	SADC Standby Force
Early Warning System	ECOWAS Early Warning System	Regional Early Warning Centre

The above table highlights the corresponding components of the Collective Security Framework of Southern African Development Community (SADC) alongside Economic Community West African States (ECOWAS)

3.9 Summary

Chapter three focused on the formation of ECOWAS, its fundamental principles, and its framework on peace and security. It also discussed the events leading to the adoption of the 1999 Collective Security Mechanism by ECOWAS and comparatively examined the ECOWAS and SADC Peace and Security Architecture. This chapter examined ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism by highlighting the successes and challenges confronting the Mechanism. ECOWAS, as discussed in this chapter, has made giant strides in ensuring peace and security in the sub-region through the creation of a Peace and Security Mechanism with the realization that economic development can only occur in a peaceful and secure environment. By dissecting the Peace and Security Architecture, the chapter also x-rayed the structure of the Mechanism and its workings. The next chapter will, therefore, make an appraisal of ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism, giving an in-depth insight into some of the crises it was used for, as well as highlight the successes recorded and identify the challenges of the Mechanism. It will also examine its effectiveness.

CHAPTER 4

APPRAISAL OF ECOWAS COLLECTIVE SECURITY MECHANISM

4.1 Introduction

Since the establishment of ECOWAS four (4) decades ago, the Community has kept to its vision and objectives, not only in economic integration but also in maintaining peace and security in the sub-region. If not for the intervention of ECOWAS, and the holistic use of its strategy in curbing crises and sustaining peace in the region, the West African sub-region would have been characterized by crises that would have challenged the survival of its people. This chapter would, therefore, take an in-depth look at ECOWAS collective security strategies and evaluate its successes, challenges, and failures.

4.2 Interventions of ECOWAS Collective Security in the sub-region

Series of civil wars engulfed West Africa, from Liberia civil war to civil unrest in the Gambia, ECOWAS Collective Security Initiative had been consistently standing firm to douse the tensions resulting from the crisis in the sub-region. Though the ECOWAS approaches to these crises may be different; still, the Organisation remained the only institution that was responsible for not only peacekeeping but also curbing the spilling over effects of these crises in the sub-region. This research will discuss the various conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Burkina Faso, and The Gambia.

4.2.1 The Liberian Crises (1989-1996 and 1999-2003)

The first Liberian Civil War, which started in 1989, was a real test of the commitment of ECOWAS to security issues. The crisis had its origin partly in the configuration of the Liberian society and the mal-administration that characterized President Samuel Kanyon Doe's regime. The administration lacked support within and outside Liberia based on its corrupt and unparalleled level of violence against its people, which affected its relations with immediate neighbours. President Doe, who succeeded the government of President Tolbert was the first non-American Liberian leader, a member of the Krahn tribe and leader of the People's Redemption Council.

Upon his assumption of office, the President suspended the constitution and assumed dictatorial powers. He failed to fulfill, promises made to the people before the coup that

brought him to the office and became enemies of majority of the indigenous population as well as the Americano Liberia elite by the clear manner in which he favoured the members of his tribe (Nhema and Zeleza: 2007 cited in Rodriguez, 2018). His actions made the United States put an end to granting aid to Liberia, and this measure by the United States greatly affected the economy of the country, leading to the fall in the standard of living of Liberians, and the resultant increase in opposition to his government.

By late 1989, severe violence broke out after a failed coup attempt against Doe and several members of Gio and Mano tribes that had been maltreated by Doe, revolted in the northeast. The maltreatment by President Doe led to the creation of the rebel group, National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles Taylor, who had been prominent in the Doe Regime as Director-General of the General Services Agency before being dismissed in 1984 for corruption (Jackson:2005). The group commenced a violent attack on the government of Samuel Doe on 24th December 1989.

Charles Taylor started his rebellion in Cote d'Ivoire with about 300 men in 1989, by July 1990, they had pushed their attack on the capital city of Monrovia with about 5,000 well-equipped soldiers. The fact that Charles Taylor was a member of the Americano Liberian elite, coupled with the brutality of Samuel Doe, made Taylor gain the support of members of the Liberian Armed Forces. Other Segments of the Liberian Armed Forces, such as the Gio and Mano tribes, also supported Taylor (Zachary, 2008). Unfortunately, the NPLF action began a civil war that lasted over eight years, which resulted in more than 200,000 deaths and a refugee population of about one half of Liberians 2.5 Million population (Macqueen, 2002 quoted in Rodriguez, 2018). The civil war also resulted in genocides and unspeakable acts of barbarism.

The Liberian crisis, though appeared to be local, had the potential of not only devastating the country's economy and security but posed severe threats to its immediate neighbours and the entire sub-region. The crisis degenerated into a full-blown humanitarian crisis forcing the migration of about 500,000 Liberian citizens to countries beyond the sub-region. This number later burgeoned to over one million (Oche in Imobighe& Zabadi, 2003:165). According to Lt. Gen. (Rtd.) Malu, who was a former Chief of Army Staff and later ECOMOG Force Commander, the situation "degenerated into a major humanitarian disaster, which forced thousands of Liberians to seek refuge in neighbouring countries and

beyond the sub-region, thereby straining the struggling economies of these countries.” (Jonah and Zaadi, 2009: 161),

On 7th May 1990, the Liberian President approached Nigeria and Togo for military assistance as a result of the enormous loss suffered by the Liberian military. The appeal for help led to the creation of the West African Peacekeeping Force on 25th August 1990. It was under these circumstances that Member States established the Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict. Following various platforms of negotiations, the SMC in 1990 created and deployed ECOMOG with the following mandate: to impose a cease-fire, to stop the killing of innocent civilians, to form an interim government pending when elections would hold in Liberia, and to safeguard the evacuation of foreign nationals.

ECOWAS mandated ECOMOG to restore peace in Liberia by 2nd February 1991. However, ECOMOG prolonged the intervention beyond the timeframe due to many constraints that confronted the peacekeeping operation in Liberia. One of the challenges was the inability of ECOMOG to contain the conflict within Liberia, which spilled over to Sierra Leone and Guinea. It also contributed to the coup in The Gambia that overthrew Sir Dauda Jawara (Ellis, 2006). The presence of ECOMOG troops prevented Charles Taylor from capturing Monrovia and instead forced the creation of an Interim Government of National Unity led by Dr. Amos C. Sawyer, who became the President of Liberia. However, Charles Taylor refused to work with the interim government of President Sawyer and vowed to continue fighting.

Several factions, such as The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), the United Liberian Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), the Lofa Defence Force (LDF) and members of the Liberian Armed Forces who were still loyal to the Doe’s government were involved in the conflict. However, the Liberian crisis defied immediate solutions despite the military and political initiatives of ECOMOG. Before the end of the war in 1996, ECOMOG was able to obtain a ceasefire, thereby restoring peace and political stability to the war-torn zone. It took seven years of intertribal war and frequently broken ceasefires for the combined efforts of ECOWAS, African Union and United Nations to impose a settlement and to organize elections.

The second Liberian civil war was rooted in the first civil war fought between 1989 - 1996, which led to the emergence of Charles Taylor as the new President of Liberia, as a fall

out of the UN-monitored elections in 1997. The election of Charles Taylor gave hope of peace and stability to the Liberian People. The much-anticipated peace lasted for only two years before the Liberian United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), supported by Guinea, and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) backed by Cote d'Ivoire, began a military movement against the government of President Taylor (Mamadou, 2012). By 2003, the two rebel groups had gained control of a large swath of Liberian territory and started to get close to the Liberian capital (Adamau, 2013 cited in Rodriguez 2018). Charles Taylor employed several strategies in his desperate bid to stay in power, and one such was his persuasion of anti-government dissidents in both Guinea and Cote d' Ivoire to begin insurgencies in the two countries. Charles Taylor's action provoked the international community, especially within the United Nations, and also made them empathize with Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire.

ECOWAS deployed its second force on 4th August 2003 to Monrovia and renamed the mission in Liberia ECOMIL (ECOWAS Military Invention in Liberia) with troops not only from Nigeria but also from Senegal and Mali (Arthur, 2001). The mandate of ECOMIL included:

1. Establishing Zones of Separation (ZoS) between the parties to the conflict;
2. Facilitating the functions of the Joint Monitoring Commission following the Accra Agreement on Ceasefire and Cessation of Hostilities;
3. Taking necessary steps to guarantee the security and freedom of movement of the personnel of the force and humanitarian agencies;
4. Forming the Nucleus of an International Stabilization Force (ISF) and preparing the ground for its deployment (Gani Yoroms, 2005)

Barely a week into the deployment of ECOMIL forces, President Charles Taylor resigned and accepted an offer of political asylum offered to him by Nigeria, as part of an ECOWAS-brokered peace agreement. The ECOMIL confronted similar problems like the first ECOWAS intervention in Liberia. The challenges of ill-preparedness and insufficient resources reared their ugly heads again. On 18th August 2003, the Liberian rebel group reached an agreement in Accra, Ghana. The rebels agreed to create a transitional government in Liberia to rule the country for two years, and supervise the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of the rebel groups into civil society as well as prepare conditions for new

elections (Rodriguez, 2018). In October 2013, the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) took over the operations from ECOMIL (Kabla, 2009).

4.2.2 Sierra Leonean Crisis (1991-2002)

The crises started when a group of rebels from the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) entered into the eastern border of the town of Bomaru in Sierra Leone (Rodriguez, 2018). The RUF invaded Bomaru with the help of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) to revenge the decision of the Sierra Leonean government to support ECOMOG operation in Liberia. The inability of the ECOMOG to quickly contain the civil war in Liberia made the conflict to spill over to Sierra Leone.

On 25 May 1997, Major Johnny Paul Koroma overthrew the democratically elected government of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah in a military coup, which led to a complete breakdown of law and order and a total collapse of the economy. ECOWAS and other international organisations condemned the Major Koroma-led coup. To prevent further chaos, anarchy, and destruction of lives and properties, the Organisation deployed ECOMOG to restore the legitimate government of President Kabbah. Lt. General Malu (Rtd), one of the Force Commanders during the operation in Sierra Leone, quoted that "If the situation was left uncontrolled it has the propensity to threaten the sub-regional peace efforts especially our success in the restoration of democratic government in Liberia." (Jonah and Zabadi 2009:172)

Although ECOMOG immediate intervention to remove the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) from power failed, the troops began to receive support from Britain, the UN, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The support was a fallout of the sanctions placed on Sierra Leone military government by the State and Organisations above-mentioned. The sanctions paved the way for ECOMOG to reinstate the ousted President Kabbah and acted as the de-facto army in the absence of a national army. By intervening in Sierra Leone, ECOWAS showed it could legitimately and efficaciously mediate and arbitrate in matters outside traditional economic integration (Doktori, 2008).

However, on 7th July 1999, the disputants in the Sierra Leonean conflict signed an Agreement in Lomé, Togo, to end the crisis. The Agreement saw the withdrawal of ECOMOG and paved the way for the United Nations Assistance Mission in Sierra Leone

(UNAMSIL) in 2000. Despite allegations of a high number of civilian casualties by human rights activists, the Sierra Leonean press, United Nations and the OAU commended the ECOWAS/ECOMOG activities. Their activities were responsible for disarming and demobilizing combatants, as well as assisted in forming and training the new Sierra Leonean army.

The majority of Sierra Leonean citizens praised ECOMOG's role in ousting the AFRC/RUF and ensuring a return to civilian rule. Oche in (Imobighe and Zabadi, 2003:175) opined that "Perhaps, the greatest attestation to the positive efforts of ECOMOG in the management of the Sierra Leonean conflict has been its eventual incorporation as the core force component of UNAMSIL." Regardless of the accolades received, the ECOWAS intervention mechanism had its weaknesses. Some of which were the illegal transfer of arms by ECOMOG to loyalists' forces, inability to provide adequate security in rural and urban areas and, the incursion into Freetown by supposedly defeated rebels (Adamau, 2013 cited in Rodriguez, 2018). The alleged display of complete disregard for the principle of impartiality by the ECOMOG forces violated one of the critical principles of peacekeeping. Rodriguez (2018) stated that "the war in Sierra Leone caused numerous coups and counter-coups, which killed at least 15,000 people and created 1.5 million refugees, one-quarter of the country's population."

4.2.3 Guinea Bissau Crisis (1998-1999)

The civil war in Guinea-Bissau was as a result of an attempted coup d'état against the government of President Joao Bernardo Viera, which occurred from June 1998 to May 1999. The event purportedly caused the involvement of ECOMOG in Guinea Bissau on 6th June 1998, which was the outbreak of hostilities and ultimate fighting between the army loyal to Brigadier Ansumane Mane, the Guinea-Bissau Chief of Defence Staff and the government of President Joao Bernardo Viera.

In January 1998, Brigadier General Ansumane Mane was accused of negligence in connection with arms trafficking and later suspended from his post. This action by the President, caused more tension within the armed forces, as many of the military personnel were dissatisfied with their low incomes and adverse conditions of service. Brigadier General Mane denied the allegations and publicly accused senior government and military officials of involvement in arms trafficking. Brigadier General Mane's dismissal on 6th June 1998 ignited

an army revolt. The revolt received the support of over 10,000 members of the armed forces who were angered by long-standing grievances over poor conditions and low pay. The veterans of the armed struggle for national liberation also buoyed the uprising. Rebel soldiers eventually seized the military bases in Bissau on 7th June 1998 thereby, sealing off the capital from the rest of the country.

In June 1998, to contain the situation, the neighbouring countries of Guinea and Senegal sent contingents of 2,500 and 500 soldiers, respectively, to support the government of Guinea-Bissau (Mortimer, 1996, cited in Rodriguez, 2018). Despite not being deployed under an international mandate, the troops were able to neutralize the situation on the ground. On 4th August 1998, ECOWAS Foreign Ministers met in Accra, Ghana. They agreed to travel to Guinea-Bissau to meet with President Viera and leaders of the rebel groups to find an amicable solution to the crises.

The Foreign Ministers of the ECOWAS Committee of Seven reaffirmed their support for Guinea and Senegal as well as commended these countries for sending troops to back the pro-government forces in their bid to quell the mutiny. ECOWAS, on the behest of President Viera, sent ECOMOG to intervene in the conflict, and in March 1999, the ECOWAS contingent took over from the foreign troops from Senegal and Guinea. At this point, the United Nations endorsed the ECOWAS initiative giving the operation the character of an internationally approved intervention (Reno, 2012 cited in Rodriguez, 2018).

ECOMOG, with only 600 deployed troops, was charged with the following mandates amongst others: the disarmament of the rebel groups; securing the country's airport; monitor the cease-fire and facilitate the holding of elections, and; assist in the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the citizens. However, progress was plodding due to ECOWAS troops' lack of clear-cut mandate, as well as the shortage of logistical support. On 6th May 1999, General Mane sensing the weaknesses of the ECOWAS Troops, broke the cease-fire agreement and attacked President Viera's presidential guard and removed him from office. The attack put an end to the almost two-decade-long presidency of President Viera (UN Report, 2012).

These occurrences made ECOMOG activities insignificant and eventually led to the withdrawal of the troops just five months after their deployment. Although ECOMOG did not finish its mission in Guinea-Bissau, yet it prevented killings after the coup. Right after the coup, officials and the loyalists of the overthrown government surrendered to ECOMOG that

protected them for some days before handing them over to the new officials in front of religious leaders and diplomats who served as witnesses.

According to Olankounle (2010), “the overall, 712 ECOWAS Troops from Benin, Gambia, Niger, Gambia, and Togo intervened unsuccessfully in Guinea Bissau in February 1999 before being withdrawn four months later” (Olankounle, 2010, cited in Rodriguez, 2018). Once again, as in previous peacekeeping missions, ECOMOG was relieved by another UN peacekeeping operation authorised by the United Nation's Security Council, this time UNOGBIS, the Peace Building Support Office in Guinea Bissau, which continued through 2014 (Olankounle, 2010 cited in Rodriguez, 2018). The UNOGBIS was to provide political framework and leadership for harmonizing and integrating the activities of the UN’s implementation of the Abuja agreement. Elections held in November 1999, which led to the election of President Kumba Yala and restored Guinea Bissau to constitutional order.

4.2.4 The Ivoirian Crisis (2002-2007 and 2010-2011)

Cote d’Ivoire’s political problems intensified after the death of its founding President, Houphouet Boigny, in 1993. Before his death, the Ivorian President managed the political system with intelligence and adopted an enlightened policy toward the country’s Burkinabe and Malian immigrant populations estimated at 25 percent of the country’s population (Mamadou, 2012). The country enjoyed relative stability and economic prosperity for three decades, in a generally unstable West African sub-region.

The vibrant economy attracted a large number of foreign workers, mainly from Burkina Faso, Mali, and Ghana. The late President was able to use his leadership skills to harness the vast potentials inherent in diversity and was able to maintain peace between the regions. However, the death of President Boigny plunged the country into a period of protracted power struggle owing mainly to the absence of a leader that had the political awareness and negotiating skill to manage the complex political system in Cote d’Ivoire like President Boigny. The leaders that emerged instituted a xenophobic policy of relegating citizens born of mixed families to the status of foreigners in favour of Ivorians. These included significant populations of Burkinabe and Malian immigrants that the previous leader had managed through political acumen (Byron, 1993).

The inability to manage the religious divisions in the country as well as the decision to disallow former Ivorian Prime Minister, Alassane Ouattara, (which the new law considered

him to be a foreigner) from participating in the presidential elections angered many Muslim voters in the north of the country (Rodriguez, 2018). After the swearing-in of Laurent Gbagbo as the President, he dismissed about two hundred northern Muslim soldiers from the army. (Rodriguez, 2018).

The interplay of other complex political issues, including the incidents above-mentioned, culminated in an unconstitutional change of government by the late General Robert Guei in 1999. The coup led to a revolt from the demobilized national army in September 2002, which resulted in the death of General Guei and some members of his family. Though the Ivorian military mobilized and repelled the rebels from Abidjan, the nation's capital, the military could not take over the northern cities of Bouake and Korhogo from the insurgents. The conflict escalated, leading to the emergence of three different rebel groups, namely:

The Patriotic Movement of Cote d'Ivoire (MPCI), the Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP), and the Movement of Great-West (MPIGO). These groups were collectively known as the "New Forces" or "Republican Forces." The first civil war eventually broke out in September 2002, leading to the division of the country along two religious' lines; the Christian south and the Muslim north. ECOWAS intervened in the civil war and secured the signing of two peace agreements. These are the Cease-fire Agreement signed in Abidjan on 18th October 2002, and the Lome Agreement signed on 1st November 2002. The interventions of Cheikh Tidiane Gadio, Foreign Affairs Minister of Togo, and President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo brokered these Agreements.

Furthermore, ECOWAS and France's joint mediation in the war resulted in the signing of the Marcoussis Peace Accord in January 2003 between the rebel groups and the Ivorian government. This agreement provided for an immediate cease-fire and the establishment of an inclusive interim government charged with the responsibility of restoring full citizenship for all locally born Ivorians as a prelude to the celebration of national elections (Arthur, 2001, as cited in Rodriguez, 2018).

Another highlight of the agreement was the deployment of the ECOWAS Forces in Cote d'Ivoire (ECOMICI) composed of troops from Francophone member states, Ghana, France, and other UN troops with the mandate to ensure the stabilisation of the nation. Although ECOWAS troops assisted in the implementation of the peace agreement, it was the presence of the United Nations and French forces, which proved essential in establishing

peace, with ECOWAS playing a secondary, mostly legitimizing role (Nhema and Zeleza, 2007, as cited in Rodriguez, 2018). 4,600 French troops sustained the stability and were (reduced to 900 by 2010) backed up by 8,000 UN Peacekeepers (Nhema and Zeleza, 2008, as cited in Rodriguez, 2018). The government and rebels signed a peace deal on 4th March 2007, which effectively made Guillaume Soro, leader of the New Forces, and the new Prime Minister to President Gbagbo. He took over from Charles Konan Banny, who was at loggerhead with Gbagbo.

The second Ivorian civil war was fought from December 2010- April 2011, and it was a fallout of the first civil war and the subsequent elections conducted as part of the agreement signed in March 2007 to put an end to the first civil war. The delayed elections afforded President Gbagbo an elongated term of five years in office due to the inability to conduct elections in a crisis. The elections held declared Mr. Alassane Ouattara, the winner of the Presidential election, as administered by the Country's Independent Electoral Commission (CEI).

However, the President of the constitutional council, who was an ally of President Gbagbo, nullified the earlier election result and, after that, declared Gbagbo as the winner. Both contestants claimed to be winners of the election and took the oath of office. The action of the two contestants made their supporters initiate violence in Abidjan, which later spread to the rest of the country. The violence escalated when loyalists of President Gbagbo killed 52 people believed to be supporters of Ouattara on 26th March 2011 in Abidjan. The killings led to the launching of a military offensive across the country to unseat President Gbagbo from office by the Ouattara camp.

To quell the crisis, ECOWAS appointed former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo as an envoy to Cote d' Ivoire. He was mandated to mediate in the crisis, by offering President Gbagbo a soft landing that includes agreeing to go on exile with a monthly stipend in case he steps down. Like the carrot and stick approach, ECOWAS also issued sanctions on Gbagbo and threaten to use force if mediation efforts failed. Ouattara did not assume the presidency.

In search of an early resolution to the conflict, ECOWAS urged the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to further strengthen the United Nations Operations in Cote d' Ivoire (UNOCI) mandate and to adopt a more substantial targeted sanction against Gbagbo and his associates as the crisis in the country became a regional humanitarian emergency. The

President of the ECOWAS Commission also explored avenues in providing the government of Ouattara with all the fundamental legal and diplomatic means to exercise its authority. On 11th April 2011, Pro-Ouattara militias, with the assistance of the French Special Forces, captured President Gbagbo, his wife, and 50 supporters, placing them under arrest. The arrest of Gbagbo brought the brief and bloody civil war to an end, as well as led to the swearing-in of Ouattara as the new President of Cote d' Ivoire.

4.2.5 Guinean Crisis (2005-2010)

ECOWAS, under its Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security, made frantic efforts to sustain peace and restore order in the country. Although Guinea had demonstrated resilience to conflict and civil uprising, even when intra-state conflicts engulfed neighbouring countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Cote d' Ivoire. The destabilizing crises in neighbouring countries would have affected Guinea, if not for the concerted efforts of ECOWAS, to enforce peace in the region.

The crisis in Guinea started when President Lansana Conte announced his intention to run for a third term in the Presidential elections that held in December 2003 and to allow only unpopular opposition from an unknown party to contest the election alongside himself. President Conte won the polls with about 95% of votes. The outcome of the election, coupled with the demand for increased wages by civil servants, led to series of peaceful demonstrations and protest in the capital city of Conakry. Sequel to the demonstrations, leaders of the two largest labour unions got detained by the President, who warned them to desist from their subversive activities or get killed. These events metamorphosed into more fears by anti-government demonstrators, which resulted in the killing of about 59 civilians.

ECOWAS could not allow another civil war in Guinea, one of its Member States, the community put in place, a conflict resolution initiative committed to mediating between the trade union leaders and the government of Conte. The effort calmed the tensed situation in the country, but the calmness did not live long, as the appointment of Eugene Camara as the Prime Minister spiraled the crisis in the country. In December 2008, as expected from some quarters, President Conte died, and the military took over the reins of government following the President's demise. Captain Dadis Camara, head of the military regime, created a Council for Democracy and Development (CNDD) to serve as a transitional government, and his first action was to sack 22 Generals immediately and arrested other high ranking military officers.

ECOWAS leaders rejected the military take-over and demanded that the country returned to democracy by conducting elections in 2009 and banned the officers of the CNDD from becoming candidates in such elections (Rodriguez, 2018). On 28th September 2009, government forces opened fire on pro-democracy demonstrators killing and injuring over 156 civilians, this, therefore, drew the condemnation from ECOWAS and a call for the formation of a Commission of Enquiry in conjunction with AU and the UN Commission for Human Rights to identify and apprehend the perpetrators of the massacre. A peace agreement was signed by Captain Dadis Camara and the interim leader General Sekouba Konate on 17th January 2010 in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. The agreement called for elections within six months as well as allowed the nomination of a new Prime Minister endorsed by the temporary President and the leading opposition group, which included trade unions and other organized sections of the society. General Sekouba Konate, an ally of Dadis Camara, was appointed the interim Head of State.

4.2.6 Burkina Faso Crisis (2015)

On 16th September 2015, members of the Regiment of Presidential Security (RSP) launched a coup d'état in Burkina Faso. The new junta headed by General Gilbert Diendere successfully seized the government of the country. He detained the transitional President Michel Kafano, Prime Minister Yacouba Issac Zida, and other members of the cabinet. Consequent upon the insurgency, civil society activist, Le Balai Citoyen, mobilized resident of Ouagadougou, to assemble themselves at revolution square to register their unacceptability of the unconstitutional change of government.

The protesters were also gathered outside the Presidential Palace to protest against the new government, which led to violence on the streets of Ouagadougou and gross violations of human rights in the capital city. The seizure of power by the military rulers threatened to derail the forthcoming elections in the country. To curb the insurgency from escalating to a large-scale crisis, ECOWAS immediately called for the release of those detained and reaffirmed its support for the country's democratic transition. However, a swift intervention of ECOWAS Heads of State helped in restoring order in an unprecedented peaceful manner by conveying the recommendations agreed by ECOWAS leaders in Abuja. The intervention resulted in the reinstatement of President Michel Kafando as the transitional President of Burkina Faso.

Going by the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democratic and Good Governance, which says that coups are not fashionable, unacceptable in the region, and punishable to take power by force. ECOWAS leaders with one voice vehemently rose against the unconstitutional change of government in Burkina Faso, which played a significant role in the process that made the restoration and reinstatement of President Kafando possible.

4.2.7 The Gambian Crisis (2016-2017)

The ECOWAS Mission in The Gambia, also known as the ECOWAS Military Intervention in The Gambia (ECOMIG), was as a result of the political impasse that engulfed the country after the presidential election held on 1st December 2016. The ECOWAS Commission anticipated a social breakdown after the longstanding President Yahya Jammeh refused to leave office despite losing the country's presidential election to his opposition, Adama Barrow.

The incumbent President, initially agreeing that the election was free, fair and credible, and accepting the result thereafter, reversed his decision one week after, claiming that voter fraud had cost him the election. He petitioned the Gambian's Supreme Court for a rerun of the election and deployed military personnel to take-over the offices of the electoral commission, which disrupted their operations. To avert, a potential crisis, ECOWAS and the African Union, released a joint statement on 10th December 2016, condemning President Jammeh's action. The ECOWAS Member States sent a delegation led by President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia to The Gambia to persuade President Jammeh to relinquish power.

President Jammeh rebuffed this move, and a second mediation team led by President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria met with President Jammeh but was unable to convince him to change his position. ECOWAS thereby commissioned a Standby Force with some Member States of the community volunteering military support to forestall a political crisis in The Gambia. A total of 7000 soldiers participated in the mission to The Gambia, which outnumbered Gambia's entire armed forces of 2500 (Jones, Westcott, Masters, 2017; BBC, 2017).

As Jammeh moved into exile, Barrow, who sought asylum in Senegal for fear of attack, was sworn in as Gambia's new President at The Gambian Embassy in Dakar, Senegal, on 19th January 2017. Shortly after Barrow's swearing-in, the United Nations Security

Council adopted the UNSC Resolution 2337, which recognized Adamu Barrow as the legitimate President of The Gambia. The Resolution was an endorsement of ECOWAS's plans to foster the transition of the government using only political means. Some troops from the Senegalese and Ghanaian armies moved into The Gambia on the same day, while soldiers from Nigeria's Air Force and Navy patrolled both land and sea borders (BBC, 2017; Al Jazeera, 2017; Ewubare, 2017).

The military presence in The Gambia met some opposition from forces loyal to Jammeh in his hometown of Kanilahi, with the Senegalese troops gaining the upper hand and subsequently taking control of the village. (Farge & Bavier, 2017). After Jammeh fled The Gambia on 21 January 2017, going first to Guinea before moving to Equatorial Guinea, ECOWAS decided that it would leave over half of its troops (4000 men) in The Gambia (Cocks & Jahateh, 2017). A few days later, after Barrow had returned into The Gambia, he requested 2500 of the 4000 troops to remain in The Gambia for the next six months to help stabilise the country and to provide military protection (BBC, 2017).

Though the conflict in the Gambia was at a minimal level, it, however, led to the displacement of thousands of people, with the United Nations Refugee Agency reporting that no fewer than 45,000 persons had fled to Senegal to seek refuge. At the same time, another 800 moved to Guinea-Bissau (Baloch, 2017). Even though ECOWAS recorded laudable achievements as far as the Gambian crisis was concerned, the lack of total compliance with the United Nations Security Council's Resolution, which requested the use of "political means first" without endorsing military action, was a failure on its part. The Senegalese Military fighting under the ECOWAS flag, engaged the pro- Yahaya Jammeh Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC) forces in a gun duel to take over Kanilai village, the home town of Yahaya Jammeh.

4.3 Analysis of ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism between 1990- 2017

Many people will comment that ECOWAS Collective Security in the region was not only ineffective but also assisted in triggering the spread of civil wars from one country to another to put the perception from a simple perspective. The ECOMOG interventionist operation in Liberia is considered by this study to have successfully resolved the crisis in the country. The ECOWAS peace initiative in the region resisted all attempts by the warring factions in Liberia to make the country ungovernable and eventually ended the civil war in

the country. The absence of fear of review of the engagements of troops at war made some soldiers to be involved in crimes such as assault of civilians and illicit trade in diamond and gun running.

The Collective Security of ECOWAS ought to have been a success. It would have stopped the Liberia crises from slipping over to Sierra Leone if the regional leaders had unity of purpose towards their intervention. Some ECOWAS regional leaders such as ECOWAS Chairman, President of Gambia, Dawda Jawara, and Nigerian President General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida had a personal relationship with Samuel Doe of Liberia. In a bid to protect their businesses in Liberia, their intention of mobilizing ECOMOG troops for peacekeeping in Liberia was primarily based on their interests to protect their investment in the country.

These leaders in their decisions did not consider the stabilization of the government of Samuel Doe to quell the crises; instead, they protected their investments. This action was evident as the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee in carrying out its mandate acted outside the ECOWAS Charter and other ECOWAS legal instruments put in place for the justification of the Collective Security. Also, during the first Liberian crises, the Security Mechanisms, but in place by the Organisation did not spell out *modus operandi* of the ECOMOG; these made the troops to be engaged in other activities rather than securing the region.

ECOWAS Collective Security could be viewed as an inconsistent arrangement because the community did not deem it fit to observe the actions of former rebel leaders who became the President of Liberia. Charles Taylor, who had earlier resented the support of Sierra Leone to the ECOWAS collective security measures in Liberia, upon assuming the highest office in the country, thought the Sierra Leonean government a lesson for being part of ECOMOG intervention. Charles Taylor practically destabilised the governance and economy of Sierra Leone through the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). The Community was unable to place sanctions on the activities of Charles Taylor, which would have made the operations of the regional Collective security active in the sub-region.

The ECOWAS leaders failed to initiate another intervention in Sierra Leone despite the outbreak of the crisis until President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah requested for ECOMOG assistance in defeating the crises. If ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanisms were

consistent, there would have been an arrangement to quell the crises in any part of the Community as it arose.

ECOWAS performance in Sierra Leone reviewed that its interventions were adversely affected by problems relating to lack of coordination and harmonization between the contributing countries. Member States that contributed troops, logistics, and funds to the operation were affected by the dichotomy existing before the ECOMOG operation in Sierra Leone started. The dichotomy ranged from language, fear of domination, and hegemonic tendencies of power states like Nigeria. These and many more affected coordination and harmonization of strategies and logistics of contributing countries. The Sierra Leone peacekeeping mission also exposed the weaknesses of ECOMOG and highlighted the absence of agreement on the nature and role of ECOMOG amongst West African leaders.

There were divisions between the Francophone and Anglophone countries of ECOWAS on how best to respond to the Sierra Leonean Crises. The Francophone countries viewed the crises as Anglophone countries' problems, and Nigeria as the bloc leader should be responsible for peace and order in the crises ridden countries. Some leaders perceived the crises as an internal problem that should be resolved by the Sierra Leone Political leader. In contrast, others like Nigeria believed that if ECOWAS does not intervene, it will lead to a security situation in West Africa.

A glance at ECOWAS collective security measures in Guinea Bissau indicates the lack of a standing army to quickly respond to the crises in Guinea Bissau as the case was in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The ineffective management of the crises and deployment of ECOMOG troops was evident when Nigeria, the leader of the Anglophone countries, decided not to send troops to Guinea Bissau as the country was a former colony of France. At the time of the crises, democracy had become the order of the day, and dictatorship was becoming anachronistic.

In the case of Cote d'Ivoire, President Gbagbo had lost his relevance in Ivorian politics. Another factor that lingered the crises was that some countries that were championing ECOMOG cause did not respond to the Cote d'Ivoire crises because the Ivorian government had at one point aided and abetted Charles Taylor in destabilizing Sierra Leone. The crisis period was a payback period for Cote d'Ivoire. The United Nations, with its cause to entrench democratic principles globally, contributed to the success of Collective Security in Cote d'Ivoire with the inauguration of Alassane Ouattara as the President of the country.

The death of President Conte made ECOWAS intervention in Guinean crises challenging as the military had taken over the apparatus of government as well as the support from AU and UN to embrace civil role made AU and UN support ECOWAS in sustaining peace.

ECOWAS failed to penetrate the warring groups before proffering solution to the crises in Burkina Faso, as the Burkinabe actors that wanted change did not trust ECOWAS intervention in the country because of the existing ties between President Compaore and the ECOWAS Heads of State. ECOWAS Collective Security ought to be as neutral as possible in the bid to proffer solution to the crises in the region and should not subject itself to the serving President's beck and call.

Though the intervention in The Gambia was majorly successful, nevertheless, President Yahaya Jammeh 22 years rule prompted the yearning for a change by the people, who saw him as a state. Equally, the international community was frustrated at how things were run in the country and wanted a change of government. All these factors activated ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism.

Regardless of ECOWAS shortcomings, ECOMOG was able to restore peace, install facilities and provide political stability in crises ridden countries in the sub-region. In the future, for ECOWAS to achieve its goal within the set period Francophone and Anglophone countries must speak with one voice and must be dedicated to the Organisation initiatives.

4.4 Challenges of ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism

A political crisis has erupted in almost every region of the world, including West Africa. ECOWAS is the first regional Organisation in the world that would establish a security mechanism to intervene in socio-political crises and conflicts in its regions. Despite the Community's interventions in conflicts in its Member States, its efforts were not entirely successful considering some challenges that confronted it in the cause of sustaining peace in the sub-region. The Organisation has had to grapple with the following problems:

4.4.1 Lack of political will by the Member States to implement the Collective Security Mechanism

Members States could not fully realize the implementation of the Protocols during the outbreak of crises in the sub-region as there were divisions between the political leaders in

the Community based on the colonial affinity of Anglophone and Francophone dichotomies. Due to their colonial heritage, Member States tend to view and explain situations in the community from the prism of their colonial affinity. Francophone countries in West Africa opposed the ECOWAS interventions as they viewed it as a tool to enhance Anglophone domination in the region further. According to Peter de Costa, the Francophone countries saw the ECOWAS Peace Plan as an “Anglophone roadshow.” (Costa, 1990).

The Francophone countries believed that the crises in Liberia and Sierra Leone were Anglophone problems, and Anglophone countries such as Nigeria and Ghana should resolve the crises. Nigeria, as the “big brother” of the Anglophone countries in West Africa, was, therefore, left to fashion out ways to suppress the crises in Liberia and Sierra Leone alone. Rodriguez (2018), in his work, stated that Cote d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Senegal, and non-ECOWAS Member State (Libya), alleged Nigeria of sponsoring ECOMOG as part of its “Pax- Nigeriana” policy in the sub-region without consulting with the Heads of State and the Governments of ECOWAS.

In reality, this was far from the truth as Nigeria’s intervention under the auspices of ECOWAS was to avoid a humanitarian situation in Liberia and to prevent the crisis from spilling over to other countries in the sub-region which will eventually affect Nigeria. However, during the emergencies in Cote d’Ivoire, Francophone countries like Senegal, Guinea, and Mali, with the assistance of France, were at the forefront of finding a lasting solution to the crisis in the country.

4.4.2 Weak Institutions within the Member States

The political and economic institutions in the region were perpetually weak, which made collective interventions to curtail crises in member states without the support of foreign donors difficult, if not impossible. Despite ECOWAS’s lofty dreams of ensuring that peace prevails in the sub-region, attainment of the vision could not be realized by ECOWAS because institutions that could drive such a goal in the Member States were non-existent. The Member States have to go caps-in-hands to foreign donors, especially their former colonial masters, to achieve these dreams. Their over-reliance on foreign aids could only provide temporary measures and not the complete solution to the problems of Member States in the region.

4.4.3 Inadequate Funding

The inability to adequately fund the mechanism put in place by ECOWAS on account of underdeveloped economies of the Member States was a challenge for the Organisation. ECOWAS has been unable to achieve its goal of collective security in the region as many Member States are not financially committed to the organisation's effort of maintaining peace in West Africa. For instance, in its Ministerial Meeting held on 24th -25th May 1999, in Lome, Togo, ECOWAS explained the reason for withdrawing their troops from Guinea Bissau just five months after their deployment based on financial difficulties (ECOWAS Recommendation, 1999 as cited in Rodriguez, 2018).

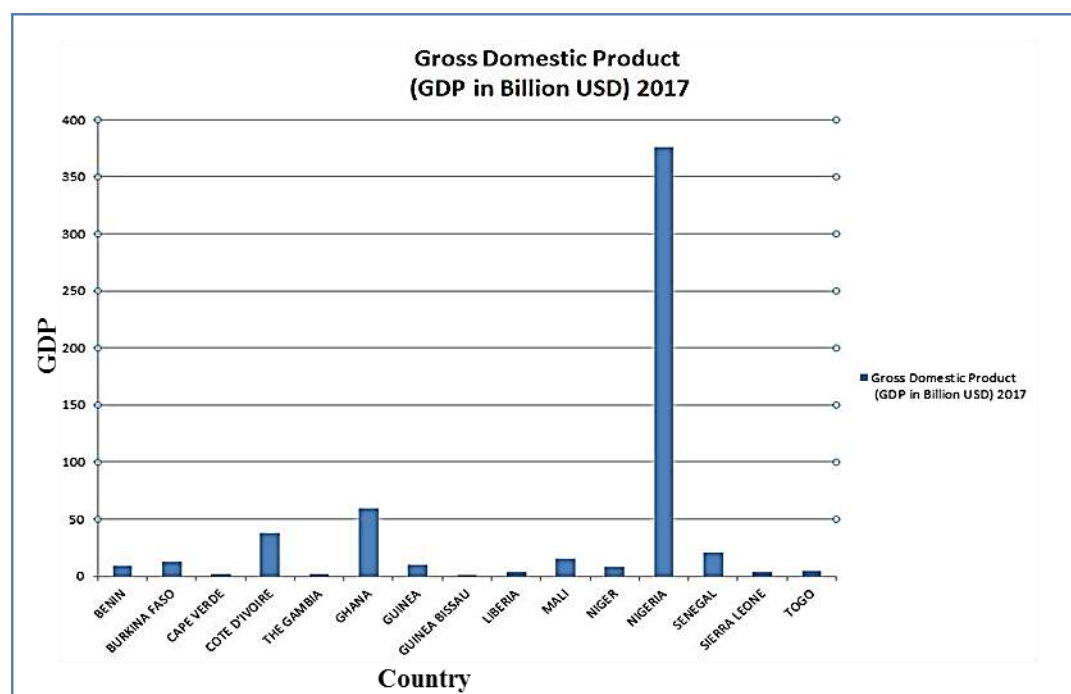
According to Mortimer (2006), the Member States of the Organisation, most times, looks up to foreign donors to ensure the implementation of the Collective Security Framework, as the implementation of the Framework is capital intensive and beyond what the Member States could handle. The ECOWAS leaders, therefore, travelled beyond the shores of the sub-region to source for financial assistance to enable them to achieve the objectives of the Framework. President Diouf of Senegal travelled to Washington D.C. to receive the United States Government's donation of military hardware.

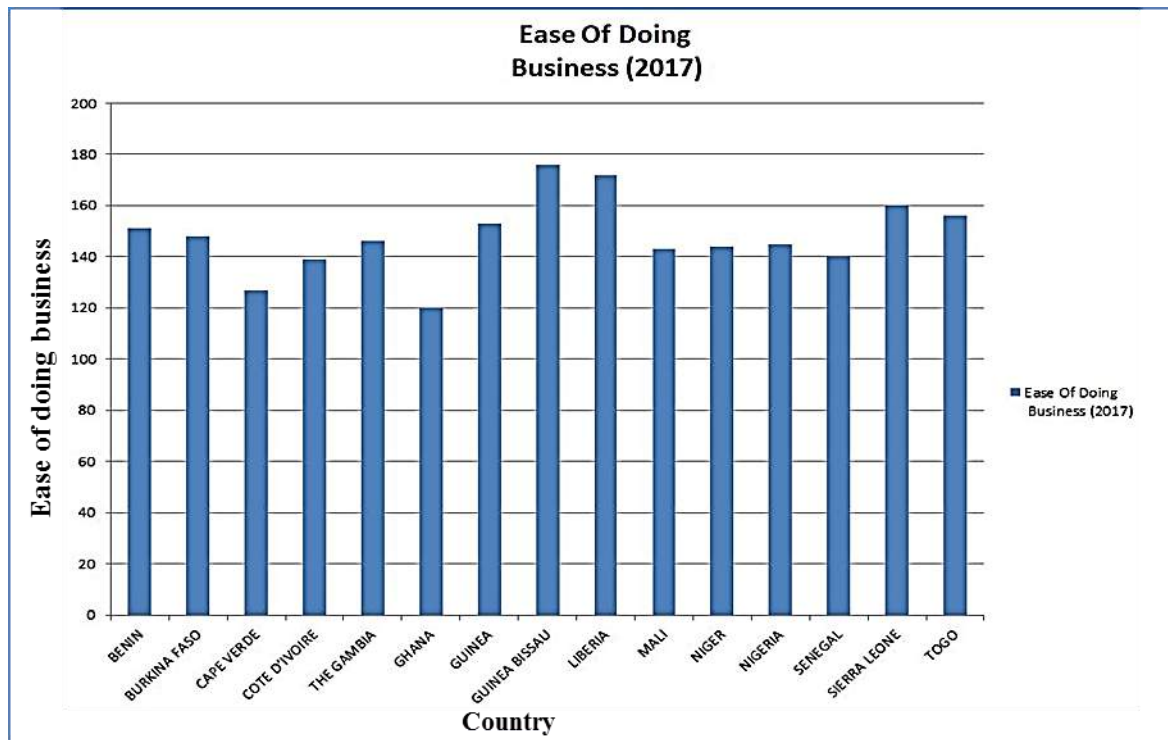
In this manner, fifteen million worth of military equipment was awarded to the Government of Senegal by the Government of the United States of America, and this decision probably convinced President Diouf to support ECOWAS peacekeeping mission in Liberia despite what looked like a failed enterprise (Mortimer, 1996 as cited in Rodriguez, 2018).

Table 4. 1 Comparison of the economic capabilities of ECOWAS Member States

S/N	Country	Population (in Million) 2017	Gross Domestic Product (GDP in Billion USD) 2017	Ease Of Doing Business (2017)
1.	Benin	11.175	9.25	151
2.	Burkina faso	19.19	12.32	148
3.	Cape verde	0.54	1.77	127
4.	Cote d'ivoire	24.57	38.05	139
5.	The Gambia	2.08	1.49	146
6.	Ghana	29.12	59	120
7.	Guinea	11.56	9.92	153
8.	Guinea bissau	1.83	1.35	176
9.	Liberia	4.7	3.29	172
10.	Mali	18.51	15.34	143
11.	Niger	21.6	8.12	144
12.	Nigeria	190.87	375.7	145
13.	Senegal	15.3	21.08	140
14.	Sierra leone	7.49	3.74	160
15.	Togo	7.7	4.77	156

Source: <https://tradingeconomics.com/ivory-coast/ease-of-doing-business>

Figure 4. 1 Comparison of gross domestic product of ECOWAS member states**Figure 4. 2 Comparison of ease of doing business in the ECOWAS member states**



The above table and graphs show no financial parity in each Member States as well as illustrates that the ease of doing business is on a high side in the West African region. These disparities do not give room for a secure investment in the region. As such, Member States cannot direct resources into the set-out objectives of the ECOWAS security framework. The lapses, therefore, has made the Organisation rely heavily on contributions of some of its member states such as Nigeria and Ghana and external donors in achieving its peace and security mandate. However, if the economy of the Member States does not improve, it can be poise that the ECOWAS Collective Security objectives would continue to be inadequate.

4.4.4 Logistics, Structural and Operational Challenges

The achievement of the objectives as contained in the ECOWAS Security Mechanism depends on how far Member States tackle many of the operational challenges that continue to undermine ECOWAS' military operations. ECOMOG's previous interventions have exposed the logistical weakness of West African armies, some of which include; the problem of command and control, doctrine, administration, and logistics. According to ECOWAS Workshop Report, ECOMOG experienced problems such as lack of standardization of equipment, arms, and ammunition; the poor sea and airlift capabilities as well as absences of vital air to ground support assets (particularly ground attack helicopters); lack of logistics

support for some contingent; and inadequate resources to deal with humanitarian problems (ECOWAS Report, 2005).

4.4.5 Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons

To perpetually address the issue of insecurity and conflict in the sub-region, ECOWAS put in place its Protocol on Small Arms and Light Weapons, the Ammunitions, and other related matters. ECOWAS enacted the Convention because of the presence of large-scale proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the sub-region. The escalation of these crises into various factions contributed to the availability and access to illegal weapons by the rebels. Also, ECOWAS found it impossible to control the borders of Liberia or ensure that the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) did not receive weapons or military support from outside the country.

4.6 Trans-Border Crimes

Even though ECOWAS prides itself as a community that allows for the free movement of goods and people, this has inadvertently aided trans-border crimes. Criminals hide under the guise of open borders to carry out their nefarious activities such as trans-border banditry, drug trafficking, kidnappings, and human trafficking. It has also contributed to prolonging wars in the sub-region as unhindered movements of goods, and people translate to unchecked proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons.

The uncurbed proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons continues to fuel conflicts in the region by ensuring that rebel groups have easy access to these arms and weapons and could also trade in them to fund their operations. The connection between the illicit arms trade and crises was evident during the crisis in Guinea-Bissau when rebel groups thrived on the trading of illegal weapons. The people of Casamance in Senegal have cultural and ethnic ties with the Diolas of northern Guinea-Bissau, and many believed that this rebel group was obtaining its resources from the illicit arms trade in Guinea-Bissau (ECOWAS: 2009, as cited in Rodriguez, 2014)

Another challenge associated with trans-border crimes is the movement of Fulanis from the northern hemisphere of West Africa, in search of water and market in southern countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, and Cote d'Ivoire have caused severe conflicts between herdsmen and farmers. As the number of herdsmen and the frequency of their southward forays increased, so also did their breaching security grow, as the migrating herdsmen

clashed with the residents. Most clashes have involved local farmers whose farms have been pillaged by wandering herdsmen (Bamfo, 2013). Nigeria, Ghana, and Cote d' Ivoire have borne the brunt of the ravages from these herdsmen.

Even though ECOWAS Protocol Relating to the Free Movement of Person abolished visa entry permit, the Protocol does not make provision for individuals who wish to enter the territory of another member states to apply for entry visas and other relating documents. These herdsmen, with no knowledge of contravening any law, for entry into another country without valid documents, enforced their rights to stay and graze in a foreign land with the aid of illegal arms and ammunition in their possession. This factor has contributed significantly to the reoccurrence of conflicts in the sub-region.

4.4.7 Unprofessionalism of ECOMOG Troops

One of the challenges that confronted ECOWAS collective security in enforcing peace in the region is the character of the personnel of ECOMOG troops, many of whom did not act professionally. There were records of looting, raping, violation of human rights, and involvement of ECOMOG troops in illicit businesses during its peacekeeping operations in the sub-region. The ECOMOG peacekeepers became so notorious for stealing the country's resources that the acronym ECOMOG came to mean "every car or moving object gone" (Macqueen, 2002 as cited in Rodriguez, 2018).

This challenge made peacekeepers lose focus from their principal objectives in their places of assignment. For instance, many ECOMOG commanders collaborated with Alhaji Kromah in mining operations in the Boni area. They jointly operated timber projects and rubber plantations with George Boley from the Liberian Peace Council (LPC) near the Ivorian border, which was estimated to be 1.5 billion dollars a year (Mortimer, 1996 as cited in Rodriguez, 2018).

Also, underpaid and ill-equipped ECOMOG's commanders became involved in dealing in diamonds and iron products. The ECOMOG commanders were even known to be involved in stripping some of the country's assets such as railroad stock, mining equipment, and public utilities to sell these to expatriate companies (Reno:1997 as cited in Rodriguez, 2018). The worse effects were in Liberia, which suffered massive devastation and looting of natural resources; death, displacement, and violation of human rights of populations;

political, economic, social and cultural dislocation of society, and reduction of opportunities for agricultural and industrial development (ECOWAS, 2009 as cited in Rodriguez, 2014).

4.4.8 Irregular Migration and Terrorism

Shortly after the demise of Muammar Gaddafi, there was an unprecedented rise in illegal migration from West Africa to Europe through the corridor of Libya (Anum, 2017). Over 900,000 African migrants have arrived in Europe since the death of Gaddafi, bringing with it, the associated humanitarian situation with the smuggling of people across deadly routes, dying in detention centers, being farmed for vital organs, and dying at sea (Kirwin, 2017). These continue to undermine state-building and contribute to regional insecurity. However, the freedom of movement of people and goods, a founding principle of ECOWAS, makes dealing with these issues more difficult for the Organisation. The magnitude of the humanitarian situation has become a security threat to governments in the region as the effects of illegal migration reverberate within the sub-region.

Apart from the impact of brain drain, illegal migration contributes to the lingering terrorist activities witnessed in the sub-region. Vulnerable migrants are easy prey for terrorist groups who recruit and use them for their nefarious activities. The groups achieve this through coercion and, or enticement of these migrants with threats of death or financial rewards as the case may be. Boko Haram has been able to sustain its terror activities in some of the West African countries such as Nigeria and Niger through the recruitment of virile and active youths who believe that the terrorist group provides them with a viable economic alternative. Boko Haram has also been able to use the geopolitical situation through the hiring of migrants and the development of terrorist networks across state boundaries to entrench its hold in the sub-region (Isike, 2019).

4.4.9 Issues with the Donor Community

The capital intensive nature of peacebuilding, peacekeeping, and maintenance of security as well as the weak economies of most states in the West African sub-region, has made executing the provisions of the ECOWAS collective security architecture dependent on the support of rich countries and international organisations. These countries and Organisations contribute financially and materially to peacekeeping efforts of Organisations like ECOWAS.

However, due to endogenous and exogenous factors, the donors experience fatigue, which impacts on the assistance rendered to Organisations such as ECOWAS. Some of the principal obstacles facing these Organisations in their effort to improve conflict mitigation capacities stem from the donor community. These shortcomings, as observed by Clark, include problems with coordination among donors, delays in the realization of donor monetary commitments, well-intentioned but onerous accountability requirements imposed by donors on African Organisations, and statutory and bureaucratic constraints on security-related assistance in many western countries (Clark, 2008).

Similarly, financial and bureaucratic weaknesses on the part of the donor community can impede swift and timely action. According to Rodriguez Robert (2018), ECOWAS had requested technical assistance from the United Nations for its operation in Liberia in 1990 when it decided to establish its peacekeeping force at that time, the United Nation Secretariat in New York did not respond positively. “In fairness to the world organisation, it is true that its budget was becoming lean and that the eagerness of the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council, and the international community, in general, was declining, suffering from peacekeeping fatigue after having to deal with as many as twenty international conflicts at the same time” (Durch,1993 as cited in Rodriguez, 2018).

In addition, some Permanent Members of the Security Council deployed small numbers of their troops in non-United Nations Peace Operations in Africa, such as; the United Kingdom in Sierra Leone in the year 2000; the United States in Liberia in 2003; and France in Côte d’Ivoire in 2003, the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2003 and 2006; and Chad in 2008 (Franke, 2010 as cited in Rodriguez, 2018). The United States, which had been generous in funding the peace process, started to withdraw, citing concerns about the political and military behaviour of the ECOMOG commanders (Williams, 2008 as quoted in Rodriguez, 2018). This concern was one of the subtle ways donors turn down the responsibility of donating to peacekeeping.

4.4.10 Lack of Clear-Cut Mandate

In an attempt to end bloody wars, ECOWAS, as a sub-regional Organisation, took the unprecedented step of sending peacekeeping forces into crisis zones with mandates aimed at ending these crises.

The interventions succeeded in stopping the bloodshed and ethnic killings, and many regarded it as a model of regional conflict resolution. However, the mandate given to these intervention operations sustained several setbacks. Such setbacks include ECOWAS unwillingness to accept the role of the region's peacekeeping force, lack of harmony among the foreign policies of the government's of Member States, the dependence of the sub-regional Organisation on Nigeria's military and economic resources, and the irreconcilable differences between the English-speaking and the French-speaking countries within the Organisation which, due to their different cultures and viewpoints, had opposing policies on how to resolve the sub-regional crises (Rodriguez, 2018).

4.5 Is Collective Security the most effective means of tackling security issues and promoting peace within West Africa?

As discussed in this study, ECOWAS has used its collective security mechanism to quell civil wars and conflicts in West Africa. It has also used the Mechanism to forestall and nip in the bud, situations that might have led to crisis and bloodshed. The Mechanism has therefore proven the system to be useful for power and crisis management, to preserve peace, and curtail crises through the Community's different Mechanisms.

The founding fathers of ECOWAS haven observed that the West African community is a fragmented and ethnically overlapping society, put in place mechanisms such as the ECOWAS Collective Security architecture that would assist in preserving peace, stability, and security in the sub-region. Civil wars in West Africa, particularly the ones in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea Bissau, had the tendencies of spilling over to the entire sub-region and would not have been contained if the ECOWAS Collective Security Architecture had not been effective. Even though peace enforcement in some of the warring West African countries took much time than expected, notwithstanding, the ECOWAS framework on peace and security significantly brought about peace and stability in the sub-region.

Many a scholar tends to argue that the ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism was not effective, considering significant challenges that bedeviled the system. However, no better arrangement that could have brought about peace to the region as the present structure did. Dialogue and Mediation were also part of the Mechanism used by the Heads of State and Government of West African States. Some of the successes recorded using the Mechanism include ECOWAS interventions in Liberia, The Gambia, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, and Sierra Leone.

The ECOWAS Mechanism was used to reinstate the ousted President Tejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone. ECOWAS also assisted in uniting the country and reforming the destroyed institutions. ECOWAS called the major actors in the Sierra Leonean conflict for discussion in Lome, Togo, where they signed the Agreement that ended the crisis in the country. The ECOWAS Collective Security System was so effective that the African Union adopted some of the Mechanisms to form the African Union Standby Force. Also, the European Union (EU) and some African sub-regional Organisations like SADC have embraced the concept to help in tackling the issue of insecurity in their various sub-regions.

4.6 Summary

This chapter attempted to analyze the ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism and its usage in resolving and forestalling crises in the sub-region. Despite ECOWAS's slow pace towards regional development and advancement, the Organisation recorded successes and achievements through its Collective Security Mechanism, with particular reference to the issue of regional peace and security. The Organisation brought peace to war-torn countries and also prevented conflicts from occurring in some other states through the deployment of its Collective Security Mechanism. ECOWAS, through its Security Mechanism, intervened in several crises in the sub-region such as in Liberia, Sierra-Leone, Guinea Bissau, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Togo, and The Gambia. Nevertheless, this chapter further identified the challenges confronting the ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism and how these challenges have affected the objectives behind setting up the Mechanism. Chapter 5, therefore, aims to conclude and proffer recommendations that would enhance the effectiveness of the ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

Shortly after the political independence of many West African States, the struggle for power and control of state affairs rested on the political elites. In many of these West African States, the military overthrew the civilian-led government, making a particular ethnic group to be at an advantage over the other. The killing of the kins of the affected groups brought about resentment from the disadvantaged groups. The envy gave birth to the rise of rebel groups conflicts, and general insecurity in the sub-region. The fragmented nature of the West African settlements made civil unrest to spread like wildfire in the sub-region.

The need to curtail various crises presented a semblance of peace to some visionary leaders in the sub-region. The West African leaders believed that to attain economic integration and development in the region, there was the need for ECOWAS to focus on a harmonious, safe and stable environment that would provide economic prosperity for the people of the sub-region.

Hence, fifteen years after the formation of ECOWAS, the West African leaders took advantage of the platform provided by the Organisation to introduce structures that would forestall conflicts and crises. The Community, since its formation, has had an impressive record, in its efforts to encourage regional economic integration as well as to promote peace in a turbulent sub-region. The Organisation has made remarkable progress in transforming itself from a strictly economic organisation into a sub-regional security umbrella.

Despite all the challenges facing the Organisation, the Community was able to foster economic cooperation as well as put in place a Mechanism that would make collective security sustainable in the region. The Organisation has brought peace and economic prosperity to the sub-region.

The challenges facing collective security throughout the world are changing in their manifestations, and West Africa is not immune to these global challenges. In the past years, irregular migration, environmental degradation, and violent extremism were not threats to collective security in West Africa. However, today, these phenomena come with their associated threats not only to the ECOWAS Member States but also to the African continent at large.

The perpetual manifestation of crisis in the vulnerable ECOWAS States prompted the question of whether the collective security system of ECOWAS has brought peace and stability to the unstable States in the sub-region. The answer to this question is, therefore, in the affirmative. Despite all the destabilising challenges confronting the Community, the Organisation has made modest and considerable achievements by bridging the cultural gap between the Anglophone and Francophone Member Countries, as well as maintained stable peace and security in the region.

In other words, economic collaboration and cooperation remain a vital objective of ECOWAS. Still, the continuous political and security challenges showed by this study have made it impossible for ECOWAS to attain its full potential. The seeming emphasis on security within the region has since become an essential aspect that aids the attainment of economic goals.

The ECOWAS quest for peace and stability within the region has gone through various phases, with the early adoption of legal instruments put in place to regulate the behaviours of Member States as well as the formation of an ad-hoc force (ECOMOG) in 1990 coupled with the adoption of the Collective Security Mechanism in 1999. With the adoption of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security as a collective security tool, ECOWAS leaders remained committed to maintaining stable peace in the sub-region. However, an analysis of the Mechanism reveals certain lapses that, if not adequately addressed, could derail the achievement of ECOWAS Collective Security objectives as well as drastically reduce its prospects for enhancing economic development within the sub-region.

5.2 Recommendations

The various challenges faced by ECOWAS in the area of Collective Security have raised the questions of whether the Organisation has been able to sustain peace through its Collective Security Mechanism. ECOWAS interventions have promoted collective security in the sub-region. Though its achievements might not be laudable in comparison to other International Organisations like the United Nations and the European Union, its efforts in maintaining regional and global peace so far deserve some plaudits.

However, the Organisation needs to do more to address the diverse and daunting security challenges of the 21st century, such as insurgency, terrorism, as well as issues related to human and environmental security. ECOWAS, therefore, needs to evaluate and transform

its existing security architecture by finding viable solutions that would enhance its relevance and deal with the security complexities of the future.

Human security is a new paradigm that has challenged the traditional militaristic notion of security. This aspect of security focuses on human beings rather than the State. This security paradigm is people-oriented, and proponents believe that the provision of the basic needs of the populace is the best way to tackle issues of insecurity in any State.

ECOWAS must, therefore, make adequate provision to ensure that Member States address the hydra-headed problem of corruption, which has deeply eaten into the fabrics of Member States, thereby undermining governments' efforts at providing an improved life for their people.

Another area of concern for the ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism is the shift from politically motivated to socio-religiously motivated crises that are soft and deadly. For instance, activities of terrorist and violent extremist groups have profoundly and negatively affected the peace and stability in the region. The Collective Security Mechanism should be refocused by the Community to tackle the phenomenon.

Advancement in science and technology has also made the use of the internet and its related facilities, a platform to recruit as well as to teach unsuspecting youths, to perpetrate terrorism and trans-border crimes.

The unabated flow of people within the region was provided for by the ECOWAS Protocol relating to the free movement of persons. The protocol has contributed significantly to the influx of West African people to Northern African countries in a bid to embark on a desperate journey to Europe. In the course of their adventurous journey, some of these irregular migrants get trapped in the hands of kidnappers and terrorist groups who recruit them to engage in numerous criminal activities like kidnapping for ransom, fighting as mercenaries, anchoring the harvest of human organs for sale, and forceful prostitution. This category of migrants upon their return to their respective countries, coalesce into groups to commit more evil and unleashing terror in the Community.

It is, therefore, important that governments in the region devise a common collective intelligence gathering Mechanism that would assist in monitoring the activities of criminal as well as terrorist groups to deter unleashing attacks on the populace. The promulgation and enforcement of a just and appropriate laws to combat the rise in terrorist and trans-border criminal activities are crucial to avoid infringing on the rights of law-abiding citizens during

the process of arresting, as well as prosecuting suspects. These laws would assist in preventing extra-judicial killings.

Training of Troops before deployment is one key factor in the success of any military operation. However, considering the diverse backgrounds from which ECOWAS troops converge, the need for individual, collective, and specialist training cannot be overemphasized. Based on the current training arrangement, Member States are responsible for the preparation of their troops, while ECOWAS provides corporate training in the form of Joint Military Exercise. The standardization of all training both individually and collectively, before deployment for operations, therefore, becomes a challenge as ECOWAS does not have an organisational structure saddled with training and evaluation of troops from the Member States. There is, therefore, the need for ECOWAS to create an office responsible for standardization and evaluation of training to meet its security obligations as well as provide a well-equipped and robust troop for modern-day peacekeeping, peace enforcement, and humanitarian operations.

Apart from violence between and within countries, there are so many non-military threats to humans such as energy crisis, environmental pollution, diseases and sicknesses, poverty, pandemics such as HIV/AIDS, refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). These non-military threats pose a serious threat within a country, a region, a continent, and the world at large

To find sustainable solutions to the challenges confronting ECOWAS Collective Security Mechanism, the Organisation requires coordinated action by sub-regional, regional and international actors as well as development partners such as the United States, United Kingdom, China, Thailand, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank. Furthermore, ECOWAS, therefore, needs to look beyond the economic and political matters of the region and consider other aspects of life that require human interactions such as migrations, medical, corruption as well as religious intolerance.

Governments of Member State should re-emphasize the importance of institutional reforms as put forward by ECOWAS in its 2013 Policy Framework for Security Sector Reform and Governance, which aimed at reinforcing ECOWAS' capability in peacekeeping, security, and socio-economic development. Heads of Government should establish a committee saddled with the responsibility of overseeing the implementation of the reform

process. Members of this committee should adequately reflect the diversity of the West Africa Region.

Also, ECOWAS should undertake a review of its existing collective security architecture and be proactive in putting forward a 22nd century blueprint to enhance peace and security. Member States should empower ECOWAS' peacekeeping force by providing adequate financial resources as well as training for its personnel.

The President of the ECOWAS Commission should take immediate steps to enhance the effectiveness of the different departments in the Community by improving factors that impact on administration, finance, and personnel management. The ECOWAS Commission should urgently promote transparent democracy in states, assist members in the review and reform of their democratic culture as a means to reinforcing the different political structures in those states.

Also, ECOWAS should strengthen individual states to be able to contribute to the collective effort to combatting security threats in the sub-region. ECOWAS needs to embrace collaborative efforts and intelligence networks to stop the security menace confronting the region as well as engage with new partners such as ASEAN Community and Thailand in addressing its security challenges. This engagement can be through personnel training of troops, joint military exercises, and material assistance. This strategic partnership would further enhance the fight against terrorism, transnational, and cybercrimes as well as boost trade relations.

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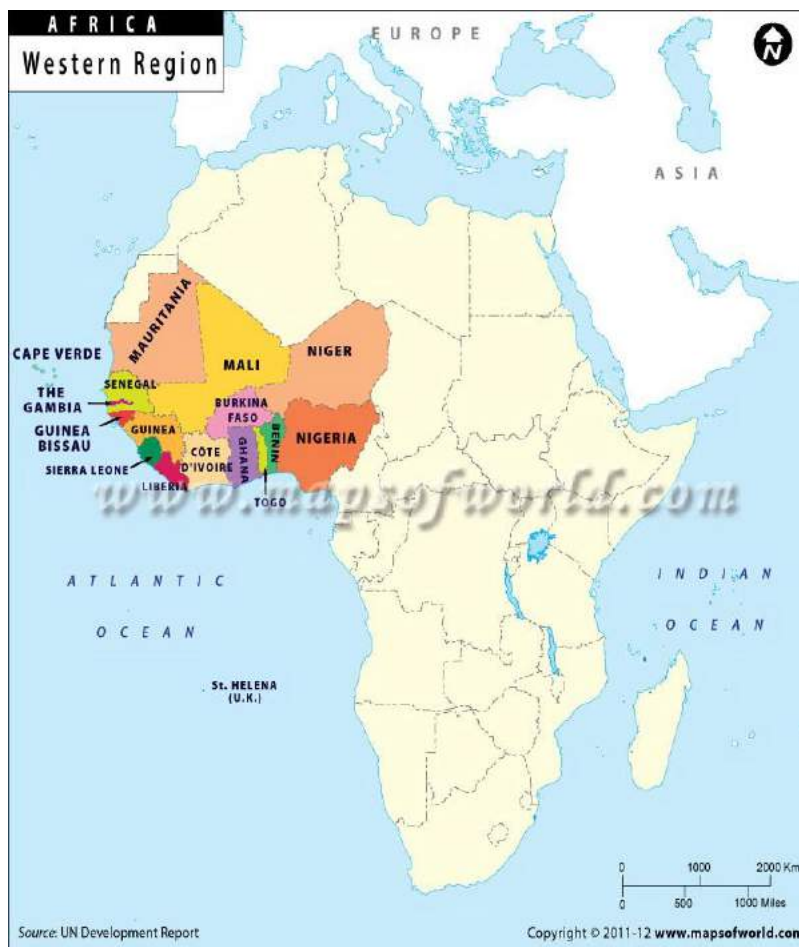
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Figure: West Africa Region



Source: Maps of the world. <https://www.mapsofworld.com/africa/regions/western-africa-map.html> (Accessed 5th September 2016)

Table 2: source <https://tradingeconomics.com> (Accessed 18th December 2019)