Sub-Regional Integration and the Politics of Economic Emancipation in West Africa

DR. (MRS) LOUISA NGOZI AMAECHI[1], DR. NJOKU A.S.[2] , DR. MMADUABUCHI, M. A.[3], DR. CHRISTIAN SUNDAY AGAMA[4*]

[1]*Directorate of General Studies, Federal University of Technology Owerri, Nigeria*
[2]*Directorate of General Studies, Federal University of Technology Owerri, Nigeria*
[3] *I.I.R.S., Owerri*
[4]*Directorate of General Studies, Federal University of Technology Owerri, Nigeria*

Corresponding Author: *Dr. Christian Sunday Agama, 4directorate of General Studies, Federal University Of Technology Owerri, Nigeria.*

ABSTRACT

A sub-regional integration is an association or organization made up of different countries with an objective of improving the welfare of their member nations. Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a sub-regional organization in West Africa set- apart to improve the economic condition and the general well-being of the member state. Recently, political instability, inter and intra-state crisis, electoral violence and political conflicts became a big challenge to the region and no state or sub-region can achieve any' meaningful economic development without a peaceful environment, The paper discussed ECOWAS 'aim and objectives and its conflict management strategies. It also highlighted some strategies to achieve their goal and challenges facing them. The paper recommends speedy intervention before any crisis reaches a climax of war and destruction of lives and property in any state in the sub-region.

Keywords: *ECOWAS. Strategies for Conflict Management, Prospects, Challenges*

INTRODUCTION

Conflict management and resolution become important because of the magnitude of conflicts taking place around the world today. In any situation, where there are two ,or more divergent views or groups, conflict is bound lo arise. The magnitude and dimension such a conflict usually take depends on the value placed on the contentious issues by the parties involved, and methods adopted too resolve such issues. Most conflicts especially in Africa have ethnic, economic and religious undertone. This trend has left its mark all over the places colonized by the West. Even the intractable Middle East crisis is traceable to the activities of the colonial masters m the region. Though the organization was established for economic promotion but no meaningful economic growth can take place in a state of confusion and violence pr war zone. It became imperative to ensure peace and manage crisis when it erupts.

Conflict is defined as a struggle over values and claims of scarce resources, status and power in which the aims of the opponents are I neutralized, injured or eliminated by rivals, (Ekiyo, 2008; Woll and Deliel, 2009), Donohwe

and Kolt defined conflict as a situation in which differences are expressed by interdependent people in the process of achieving their goals and needs.

Ecowas

This sub-regional organization was established in 1975with the major aims of improving the economy of the members of the community. This sub-regional organization had some aims and! objectives such as achieving free, movement of the member states within I the states, establishment of technical and specialized commission, free movement of trade within the states by member states without much obstacles, improvement of natural resources, agriculture and other] needs.

Since after independence among most of the West African countries, there has been increase in inter-states and infra-state crisis, wars and disturbances within the sub-region either as a result of political instability, coups and economic stagnation. Also, there was increase in arms proliferation, small arm flow and narcotics trade could erode the stability in die sub-region, Fawole (2007). Despite progress in

consolidating democracy over some decades in West Africa, series of military coups, wars and political crisis has erupted much in the region and has raised the question of democratic position or structural peace in the region. Furthermore, the region is still waiting for the democratic dividend despite the return to civilian rule and periodic elections, the social and economic well-being of the vast majority in the sub-region remain in dire. When ECOWAS was established, it comprises of fifteen member slates and had about population off 280 million of people only to addresses economic challenge confronting the sub-region.'

ECOWAS founding fathers hoped that the organization would have the potential to meet the interlocking development challenges of the sub-region with particular reference to the expansion of intra-community trade, improving physical infrastructures strengthening the weak structures in the region to reduce its excessive external dependence and critical lack of productive capacity, and enhancing monetary and financial co-operation and to create a single currency.

However, with time the leaders of the regional body realized that there was a strong nexus between economics and other broader security issues. Hence, in recent years, the organization has begun to tackle a number of issues which were not originally envisaged to address. After independence, most of the African states faced the challenge of addressing the legacies of long years of colonial rule, and economic development was one of the issues confronting these fledgling states. Individually, these stales could not address such problems and therefore the need for a regional approach to it. The creation of ECOWAS provided the regional framework for achieving such a goal but like other post-colonial projects, the process of economic integration was undermined by a strong link with the economies of the former colonies, which led more to dependence than independence, and the unfavourable and unequal international trade regime established1 did not provide any basis for African countries to develop (Jay and Amadi nd:3). The years of single party and authoritarian rule coupled with frequent regime change through military coups d'etat made it impossible to pursue development in any stable environment. Politics undermined economic development because most leaders were more interested in maintaining the status quo through power struggle than paying attention to development in Africa that would

benefit the citizens. Often, arbitrary regime change was aided and abetted by neighbouring states and this made it impossible to pursue any regional project with success as government become suspicious of each other; to this effect, ECOWAS responded to this ugly situation by adopting two major security documents namely:

- The Protocol on Non-Aggression in(1978) and
- Protocol .on Mutual Assistance on Defence (1981). .(Adedgi,2010,Fante,2009).

These legal instruments constituted the beginning of the realization by West African leaders that security was linked with economic integration. By the end of the 1980s, new forms of challenges emerged in the sub-region which required new ways of addressing them. Unlike in the past when inter-state rivalries and conflicts were the order of the day, during this period intra-state conflict become challenge to the ECOWAS organization. The most confronting challenges of the organization after its formation was the conflict in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'lvoire. The impact on the lives of West African, there regional and international dimension and their nature meant that ECOWAS could not afford to sit supinely to allow the conflict take their natural course. Consequently, when the Liberian civil war erupted, ECOWAS was swift in putting together troops to intervene in the conflict. That was the organizations first outing in conflict management. Its intervention on that crisis raised a number of issues including legitimately and legality. Subsequently, ECOWAS later intervened in Sierra Leone and Cote d'lvoire in order to find solution to their crisis. Their interventions, constituted the beginning of the effective security issues, which impinged upon economic integration Jage and Amadi nd; pp. 4-5; Afolabi (2010:28).

To understand the imperatives for the expansion of the sub regional economic cooperation entity into security regionalism, concomitant with the evolution of regional peacekeeping and conflict management capability, it is important to note the political economy of West Africa (Franease, 2009:88). The region comprises sixteen geographical proximate and contiguous state that emerged as distinct political and socio-economic entity and territorial subsystem. The diversity of West Africa is- reflected in its political history with Anglophone, Francophone and Lusophone colonial divide, and with socio-

cultural ethnic and linguistic differences. The colonial legacies and their accompanying diverse political and administrative orientations of West African states often led to political disputes and tensions, to the extent that the political leaders are suspicious of the intentions of their counterparts if they are not from the same colonial bloc. The colonial divide and diversity have often played themselves out in the arena of West African intra-regional co-operation and international affairs. These similarities shared by the majority of West African countries is that they are generally described as least developed or undeveloped states in terms of their level off economic development and social progress (UNDP,2006).

In addition, European imperialism and colonialism in West Africa left a legacy of external dependency with largely cash crop, agrarian and extractive based economies relying on multinational corporations for the exploitation of strategic resources. Agricultural products are primary foreign exchange earners for the majority of countries while few others depend on strategic mineral resources such as diamond, gold, bauxite, iron ore, tin, zinc, copper, uranium, liquefied natural gas and oil which Nigeria is the leading nation.

The West African Region since its independence in 1950 and 60s has experimented with a variety of political system of governance ranging from multi-party system, authoritarian governments and military dictatorship. The combined effect of cold war and the negative effects of globalism, coupled with the nature of democratic politics based on neo-patrimonialism, led to the collapse and civil wars in some West African states, like Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger and Cote d'lvoire, hence Kampala's warning that the region is emerging as threat and strategic danger to the international peace and security.

An important dimension of the nature wars and armed conflict in West Africa is the regionalization of domestic civil wars. The majority of the wars have spilled over into neighbouring countries and the border states, the regional dimension and dynamics of violence often fuel and sustain these wars through the activities of the shadow economy and peace spoilers. The involvement in the regionalization war economy of all the warring factious, who exploit the' dysfunctional formal economy, the shifting alliance during arm conflicts and longstanding regional political affiliations and informal commercial networks, all create the firm impression of a bad neighbourhood (Fante, 2009; Amadi(nd).

Moreover, the military and security threats in West Africa are not only on wars and arm conflicts but also include criminal violence, intra-commercial violence, mercenaries or gun for hire, including private security company (PSC) (Francis. 2009, p. 91). Snyden observed that the term conflict management has been used vaguely in the literature with a variety of meanings and emphasis rather than elaborate what are often very subtle differences between the various interpretations however seems more useful for present purposes to polarize interpretation into two main schools of thought. To understand the dynamism of conflict management and its strategies. Theories of school of thought on conflict must be known.

Theories of conflict: the first school of thought consist of those who equate conflict management purely and simply with the peaceful resolution of confrontation and that Success is wholly dependent upon avoidance of war. Implicit in this view is the notion of a conflict as a pathological occurrence to be ended or defused as quickly as possible. The aim is to control the situation and danger of conflict. The second school of thought observed that conflict management lies at the opposite extreme and interpret conflict management as solely is an exercise in winning. The objective is to make the enemy back down, to gain concessions from him and thereby to further one's ambitions in the international arena. Crises are not regarded as pathological or distasteful but rather as opportunities for aggrandizement. It appears that this second school of thought regards a conflict as a zero-sum game situation in which the gains accruing to one side automatically mean loss for the opponent.

These two schools of thought explain more on conflict management and conflict itself. These two interpretations of conflict management are almost diametrically opposed and seems inconceivable and that, there could be a possible meeting ground between them. These definitions learned heavily to the one side of the other Leslie Lipson, for instance defined conflict management as "reaching a solution acceptable to both sides without resolving to war". This crystallizes some of the central features of conflict management Lipson emphasis on avoidance of war and resolution of the dispute to be balances against the emphasis but Kinter

and Schiwar on obtaining national objective had different views. They argued that "conflict management is concerned on one hand with the procedures for controlling and regulating crisis so that it does not get out of hand and lead to war, and on the other hand with ensuring that the conflict is resolved on a satisfactory basis in which the vital interests of the state are assumed and protected. The second aspect invariably necessitates vigorous actions carrying substantial risks. One task of conflict management therefore, is to temper these risks to keep them as low and controllable as possible while the other is to ensure that the coercive diplomacy and risk-taking tactics are as effective as possible in gaining concessions from the adversary and maintaining one's own position relatively intact. Nigerian institute of International Affairs (Lipson,2006).

Strategy for Conflict Management and Resolution

ECOWAS takes one of the aspects of the strategies for conflict management as produced by UN in a Handbook on Methods of Dispute Resolution that tend to follow legal definitions relevant to international treaties. Just as Fisher and Kingsly took the approach of laying out simple initial taxonomy of third-party intervention consisting of the following:

Conciliation

A trusted third party provides a communication link between the antagonistic to assist in identifying major issues, lowering tension and moving them towards direct interaction or negotiation.

Consultation

A knowledge and skilled 3rdparty attempts to facilitate creative problem solving through communication and analysis using social science understanding of conflict process.

Pure Mediation

A skilled intermediary attempts to facilitate a negotiated settlement on a set of specific substantive issues through the use of reasoning, persuasion, control of information and suggestion of alternatives takes place.

Power Mediation

This intermediary provides the functions of our pure mediation and adds the use of leverage in the form of promised rewards or threatened punishment to move the parties towards a settlement.

Arbitration

A legitimate and authoritative 3rd party provides a binding judgement through considering the merit of the opposing positions and imposing a settlement deemed to be fair and just. In addition to an outside peace-keeping 3rd party provides some military personal to supervise and monitor a cease fire between the actors in question or the antagonist.

In recent time, other strategies crept into the system in order to improve the system, f Al, 2006) Ado (2005), Jay and Amadi(nd).

Ecowas Conflict Management Strategy

Conflict management is a strategy or measure embarked upon to reduce war, eradicate war or rest or peace in a war turn arena by the peace lovers, organization or association, institutionally. ECOWAS was governed by some key structures which includes: The Authority ofHeads of states and government, the council of ministers, the community parliament; the economic and social committee, the community court of justice; the Commission and the ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID). In addition, to that, eight specialized agencies were created to facilitate the of ECOWAS integration. They include the West African Gender Development Centre, West African Health Organization (WAI IO), West African Monetary Agency (WAMA), Water Resource Coordination Unit, West African Power Pool (WAPP) and ECOWAS Brown Card. In another development, the new ECOWAS commission created the office of the commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security (PAS), with three operational departments including: political affairs, early warning observation monitoring centre (ECOWARN) and peace-keeping and security office (Fawole, 2004:40).

The conflict management tactics can be found in the inadequacy of the existing protocol to address with emerging security issues in the sub-region especially the conflicts in Liberia and Sierra-Leone. Spillover effects of the conflicts had earlier led ECOWAS leaders to establisha standing mediation committee (SMC) on 9th May, 1990 which produced the ECOWAS Monitoring and Observation Group (ECOMOG) with a mandate to stabilize situation in both countries. Apart from the legality of ECOMOG intervention in Liberia being challenged, it encountered several challenges in its operations in what becomes a

learning experiment for ECOWAS in sub-regional conflict management. Similar development in Guinea Bissau in 1990 convinced ECOWAS that developing a mechanism for conflict management to address the shortcoming of earlier protocols was needed in the sub-region.

The conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution Mechanism took the following stand: the framework included, the authority of Head of states and government, mediation and security council, the executive secretariat council of elders, defence and security commission. Others include early warning observation and monitoring system while ECOMOG was equally incorporated into the mechanism. The authority of Heads of State and Government is the apex decision-making body according to the mechanism, the Article 7 of the treaty establishing the mechanism gives the Authority the ability to delegate it's powers to the mediation and security council besides the authority, there is the executive secretariat charged with the administrative purpose that does the day to day administration of the organization with the head office at Abuja Nigeria (Waif and Detel, 2009; Sperling, 2011).

ECOWAS Prospect since Its Establishment

ECOWAS has regulated peace in a number of West African countries through the activities of ECOWAS ceasefire monitoring group (ECOWAS) in the 1990s which contributed to the return of peace in Liberia, Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire. It's ability to adapt to changing national regional and global contexts by linking regional integration and development to an evolving peace and security framework, and its ability to cooperate with the other regional and multi-lateral organizations such as the African union and united nati ons in promoting peace and security innd Arts, Vol. 4, No. 3

the sub-region was a success, Obi (2009:119-120). Apart from cooperation with the multinational organizations, ECOWAS also get up extra-African regional organizations such as the European union as well as established and emerging global powers. Regarding ECOWAS" response to the changing nature of threats to regional stability, the President of ECOWAS commission motes that the organization responded to the new status to reflect the new realities, Gbeho (2010:10). This new status gave ECOWAS the legitimate right based on a consensus among member-states to intervene diplomatically and or military in any member state that has intra-state conflict. As its peace and security mechanisms evolved, ECOWAS sought for regional-global partnerships to legitimize and support its efforts, ECOWAS when formed in 1975, began as a collective effort tor self-reliance, economic corporation and development (Obi, 2009:120) it serves as linkage between regional peace on one hand and national development, stability and security on the other. This led to two protocols on Non-Aggression (PNA, 1978) and that on mutual assistance on Defence, 1981 (PMAD, 1981). Their principles among others provided for an emergency "Allied Armed Forces of the community (AAFC); but stopped short standing army Anning (1999, pp.26-27). ECOWAS succeeded in signing non-aggression defence pact (ANAD in 1977) which provided for a regional standby force in case of any emergency intra or inter-state crisis.

It was on that basis of PMAD that ECOWAS acted on that basis of PMAD that ECOWAS acted on an appeal by the Liberia's president Samuel in tile ace of an invasion of the country by the rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia and with the support of the Nigerian Head of State decided to mediate in their conflict. It established a standing mediating committee (SMC) which called for cease fire that period and decided to establish a ceasefire monitoring group (ECOMOG) Klobe (2000). ECOWAS in 1999 had the protocol relating to the mechanism for conflict prevention, management and peace-keeping and security and the 2001 supplementary protocol on, democracy and good governance including the convention on small arms and light weapon as new spirit of revised treaty. This ECOWAS protocol among others tried to overcome controversies relating to the establishment of the standing mediation. It also helped hi ECOWAS action in suspending Guinea and Niger following military coups in 2008 and 2009 and suspending Gbagbo's refusal to hand over power to the recognized winner of the November 2010 run-off presidential election in Cote d'Ivoire.

In seeking to address some challenges confronting the organization, the mediation and security council of ECOWAS conflict prevention framework promote peace in the sub-region (All, 2006), by conducting sports activities, inter-academic exchange programme and inter-cultural exchange activities and other friendly activity. ECOWAS peace and security architecture of which ECOMOG experience was

critical, ECPF also contains fourteen components relating to conflict prevention, human .security as aspects of peace-building of which the ECOWAS standby force ESF is an important element of (ECOWAS, 1999, Afolabi,2010,Deiye,2010).ECOWAS since its establishment has improved a lot in area of corporation among the member state, in the area of sports business and marketing. Reduced the rate of intra and inter states conflicts, violence and wars. It has also managed many political crisis, coup challenges, social insecurity and refuges problems hi West Africa (AH, 2006:60).

The ability of ECOWAS to achieve the economic goal in the sub-region depends on the extent peace can be assured. Political stability and improvement on the security measures for peace and conflict prevention/management is highly needed in the sub-region. For ECOWAS to undertake any security role can be found either hi its constitutional provisions or the treaty establishing the body mandating that body to perform conflict management function or institutional mechanism through which such mandate can be exercised (Fanta, 2009). It can be said that ECOWAS has a relatively comprehensive institutional mechanism for dealing with conflict. For example, its decision to establish a peace organ shows the organizations commitment to sustainable peace in the region. ECOWAS has shown to have considerable experience in peacekeeping, peace-making and peace enforcement as its intervention in Liberia (1990-1998), 2003 Sierra Leone (1997-2000), Guinea Bissau (1998-1999), Niger (2005-2010), Togo (2009-2010), Cote d'lvoire (2002-2004, 2007 and 2010-2011) etc. ECOWAS has a mandate and a considerably strong organizational capacity for peace-making, peacekeeping and enforcement agenda, and goal.

ECOWAS protocol on democracy and good governance prescribes measures urging its member countries to respect democratic principles which would go a long way to ensure that unwanted conflicts do not arise. These measures helped a lot to reduce bad governance, coups and wars in the sub-region. The ECPF is another good example of ECOWAS effort to prevent conflict and promote regional stability, ECOWAS (1999), Clayton (2005) and Adedeji (2010). A central part of the ECPE is the recognition that development peace, security and democratic governance are fundamental to the development of ECOWAS region and to prevent outbreak of violent conflict. The

political event hi 2005 at Togo challenged the ECOWAS protocol on democracy, ECOWAS responded positively, unconstitutional ascension to power of Faure Eyadema was strongly condemned by ECOWAS, Togo was sanctioned and suspended from participating in ECOWAS activities. ECOWAS also placed travel ban on its leaders as well as imposition of arm embargo against the country ECOWAS had diplomacy paid off, Eyadema resigned as interim president in Togo. Presidential elections were conducted. To the great surprise to some people, Eyadema worn about 60% of the total votes cast and was elected president and the threat of the instability hi the country was controlled and addressed by ECOWAS (Evt,2010;Albert,2011).

In another development Fanta (2009) observed that ECOWAS remains at the Forefront in terms of early warning. ECOWAS worked with the civil societies to establish four early warning bureaux in Banjul, Ouagadougou, Monrovia, and Cotonou (ECOWARN, 2009), notwithstanding, ECOWAS early warning system has faced a lot of challenges/It lacks the necessary human and material resources to effectively manage, cover a vast region in West Africa, It can be argued that ECOWAS has performed better in crisis management especially through the deployment of ECOMOG than in the area of conflict prevention. The organization also recorded success in conflict mediation and peace-making, through diplomatic manoeuvring, ECOWAS has been able to arrange a number of ceasefires between president Vicira and their rebel leader General Mane similarly, it's intervention in Sierra Leone second the Abuja ceasefire Accord. This agreement subsequently led to the Abuja meeting in May 2001 where both the RUF and the Sierra Leone an government omitted to the disbarment of process in 2002, ECOWAS also dispatched a high-level ministerial delegation to Abidj an, Cote d'lvoire to mediate between Laurent Gbagbo's government and rebel leaders in order to restore peace to the troubled environment. Furthermore, ECOWAS also played a crucial role in 2003 in terms of the escalation of tensions between Senegal and Gambia over the disputes in Casamance.

According to a UNOWA (UN office for West Africa) report, ECOWAS mediation has led to the signing of about two dozen peace agreement to end destructive conflicts hi West Africa, ECOWAS has achieved organizing friendly related activities that can promote peace and reduce crisis and wars such as building high

ways to ease transportation challenges across member states, building industries, supplying power to member states etc.

Challenges

There are some challenges relating to implementation of the prevention aspect of the 1999 mechanism especially late response to crisis informed the establishment of the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF) in 2008. The goal of the conflict prevention framework is to ensure the creative transformation of conflict, diffusion of tensions and prevent conflict break through, escalation, spread or is yet to meet. It involves institutionalizing measures to ensure that conflict do not arise in the first place, or if they do, will not reoccur.

To ensure that conflict does not escalate into violence and war.The ECPF which has components like early warning, preventive diplomacy, human rights and the rule of law, media democracy and political governance including peace education etc. do not work appropriately to achieve designed things to help ECOWAS member states predict the emerging conflicts and facilitate interventions to averts, diffuse or transform conflict situation moves slowly in action to achieve its objectives.

The members of Economic Community of West African States are yet to install social justice, promote good governance and address unemployment challenges in the sub-region, (Fawole, 2004). Poverty which is facing more than half population of the economic integration system is yet to be addressed the serious social problem including food insecurity, ill health problem, diseases like malaria and other related health problem, environmental degradation and other democratic shortfall which does not improve standard of living in the sub-regions should also be revisited.

Lack of standing army to take quick action when the need arises is yet to be established by the organization. Delay in the organizational intervention in any state when crisis or conflicts arises usually lead to loss of many life and property needs to be addressed by the organization (Sperhy,2011).In peace and management exercises done by ECOMOG, the sub-region has not done much to protect the soldiers who are always killed or made lame or one handicap or the order by the host community withoutthe international community doing something about that. Lack of sufficient

fund to equip soldier for their operation is a big challenge, lack of full support or corporation from member states is a challenge for effective operation in peace building and keeping remains. Ideological differences become the order of the day in their operation.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Though ECOWAS has done a lot to build peace and manage many crises where they restored peace in different countries, their security architecture needs to be revisited and improved in order to arrest crisis at its minimal stage before it escalates into full civil war that can lead to loss of life and property. The challenges experienced by the ECOMOG in all peacekeeping mission is different countries shpuld be used to adjust and amend certain policies, binding the organization.

Thus, ECOWAS as an organization made up of countries with-different colonial political ideologies and principles, there is need for leaders of armies for conflict resolution in a particular i.e. the military leader of ECOMOG in a crisis French speaking African country must be headed by a person from francophone nation. Method and strategy for ECOMOG conflict management must be revisited, improved and rearranged periodically in order to embrace modern measures.

ECOMOG army from time to time be sent to Europe, America and some peace and conflict resolution bodies for training and re-training in order to update the skills and knowledge. Military incentives should be "provided to them at all time. Discipline should be inculcated into their brain to enable them concentrate on what they are sent to do and not going to pregnant young girl in their peace-making environment as most of them have felt victim of. Their security and safety must be assured by the international community at their peacekeeping and enforcement community.

REFERENCES

[1] Adedgi, E. (2010). Towards a common ECOWAS agenda on security sector reform (www.usip.org, November2011).

[2] Ado, P. (2005). Peace-making in West Africa: Progress and Prospects. KAIPTC Monograph .No.3, November.

[3] Afolabi, B.T. (2010). Peace-making in the ECOWAS region: challenges and prospects, Conflict Trends 8(2).

[4] Albert, I.O. (2011). Pinched ditched or jinxed? The manta of African solutions to African

problems: inaugural lecture delivered at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria Feb. 2011.

[5] Alli, W.O. (2006); The New ECOWAS Strategy for conflict Resolution: A case study of Cote d'lvoire, Nigerian Journal of International Affairs. Vol. 32,^0.2.

[6] Clayton, J. (2005), Togo Military coups leadership to president's son .time (UK) 7th February.

[7] Dieye, P.B. (2010): West Africa's Efforts to Build Regional Security: A analysis of past ECOWAS Intervention to Determine what is capabilities. A thesis presented to the faculty of US Army command General Staff College in Partial fulfillment for the Master Degree of Military Art and Science General Studies.

[8] Master Degree of Military Art and Science General Studies. ECOWAS (1999).Protocol relating to the mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution. Peace keeping and security http://www.21 fbertin.org/Tillead/upicads/analysis-itio kum ente/ECOWAS:protocol.conflictprevent.Pdf.

[9] Ekiyor, T. (2008). ECOWAS conflict prevention framework (ECPF). A new approach to an old challenge WACS1 Op-Abuja, WACSOF.

[10] Fante, E. (2009). The capacity of African regional organization on peace and security. A paper presented at ERD workshop on transforming political structures, security institution and regional integration mechanisms Florence 15-17 April.

[11] Fawale, W.A. (2004). ECOWAS and the Cote d'lvoire crisis: the politics and problems of regional peacemaking. Journal of West African Studies4 (2)

[12] Jaye, T. & Arnade, S, (nd). ECOWAS and the Dynamics of conflict and peace-building consortium for development partnerships. Abuja: Centre for Democracy and Development.

[13] Keller, E.I. (1995). African conflict management and New world order policy paper 113, University of California.

[14] Khobe, M.M. (2000) "the evolution and conduct of ECOMOG in West Africa" ISS Monograph series No. 46 Feb.

[15] Sperling, S. (2011). ECOWAS in crisis mode: strengths and limits of regional security policy in West Africa, in S. Sperling & R. Matlig (eds) Perspective, regional security policy in West Africa. Abuja: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

[16] Walf, H. & Detal, T. (2009). Conflict Early warning and response mechanisms: Tools or enhancing the effectiveness of general organization. A comparative study of AU, ECOWAS, IGAD,ASEAD, PIF, Crisis state working papers No. 2 Design Development Studies Institute.

[17] Wolf, H & Detal, T. (2009). Conflict early warning and response mechanism tool for the effectiveness of regional organization: Comparative study of AU, ECOWAS, IGAD, ASEANART and IME.