

REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
ISTANBUL GELISIM UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

**AFRICAN MECHANISMS FOR THE RESOLUTION OF ARMED
REGIONAL CONFLICTS: AN APPLIED STUDY ON ECOWAS**

Master Thesis

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Turkish Anstract : Bu çalışma, ECOWAS bünyesinde silahlı çatışmaların çözümüne yönelik mevcut mekanizmaların etkinliğini, kazanımlarını ve sınırlamalarını anlamak ve açıklamak amacıyla 1993 gözden geçirilmiş versiyonu da dahil olmak üzere çeşitli anlaşmaları ortaya koymaktadır.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that in the preparation of this thesis, scientific ethical rules have been followed, the works of other persons have been referenced in accordance with the scientific norms if used, there is no falsification in the used data, any part of the thesis has not been submitted to this university or any other university as another thesis.

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SUMMARY

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a sub-regional organization erected on the 28th of May, 1975 through the Lagos treaty. The primary objective of ECOWAS according to the 1975 was to promote economic cooperation among the fifteen countries that were signatory to the treaty and ratified it. However, the region has become home not only to economic problems, but also armed conflicts. This study aims to examine ECOWAS mechanisms for armed conflicts. The study exposes the various treaties including the 1993 revised version in a bid to understand and explain the effectiveness, achievements and limitations of the existing mechanisms for armed conflicts resolution within ECOWAS. The key questions for which answers are sought in this research are: 1) what is the aim of integrating the countries of the sub-region? 2) What is the armed conflict resolution mechanism of ECOWAS? 3) To what extent has ECOWAS armed conflict resolution mechanism performed? The study argues that ECOWAS has delivered economically, but underperforming in conflict resolution in the sub-region.

Key Words: ECOWAS, Africa, West Africa, Armed Conflicts, Resolution Mechanisms

ÖZET

Batı Afrika Devletleri Ekonomik Topluluğu (ECOWAS), 28 Mayıs 1975'te Lagos anlaşmasıyla kurulmuş bir alt-bölge örgütüdür. ECOWAS'ın 1975'e göre birincil amacı, anlaşmayı imzalayan ve onaylayan on beş ülke arasında ekonomik işbirliğini geliştirmektir. Ancak bölge sadece ekonomik sorunlara değil, silahlı çatışmalara da ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. Bu çalışma, silahlı çatışmalar için ECOWAS mekanizmalarını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, ECOWAS bünyesinde silahlı çatışmaların çözümüne yönelik mevcut mekanizmaların etkinliğini, kazanımlarını ve sınırlamalarını anlamak ve açıklamak amacıyla 1993 gözden geçirilmiş versiyonu da dahil olmak üzere çeşitli anlaşmaları ortaya koymaktadır. Bu araştırmada cevap aranan kilit sorular şunlardır: 1) Alt bölge ülkelerini entegre etmenin amacı nedir? 2) ECOWAS'ın silahlı çatışma çözüm mekanizması nedir? 3) ECOWAS silahlı çatışma çözüm mekanizması ne ölçüde işlemiştir? Çalışma, ECOWAS'ın ekonomik olarak başarılı olduğunu, ancak alt bölgede çatışma çözümünde deforme olmadığını iddia ediyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: ECOWAS, Afrika, Batı Afrika, silahlı çatışmalar, çözüm mekanizmaları

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	:	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ASEAN	:	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	:	Africa Union
CARIFTA	:	Caribbean Free Trade Association
CEAD	:	Center for Democracy and Development
CET	:	Common External Tariff
COE	:	Council of Europe
CTC	:	Counter Terrorism Committee
ECOMOG	:	Economic Community of West Africa Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	:	Economic Community of West Africa State
ECREEE	:	ECOWAS Regional Center for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency
EEC	:	European Economic Community
ENAAMS	:	Ecowas Nnamdi Azikwe Academic Mobility Scheme
ERERA	:	Ecowas Regional Electricity Regulatory Authority
EU	:	European Union
PPDU	:	Ecowas Infrastructure Projects Preparation and Development
SARA	:	International De L'agriculture et des Ressources Animal
UNECA	:	United Nation Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	:	United Nations Educational and Cultural Organizations
UNICEF	:	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WAEMU	:	West Africa Economic Monetary Union
WAHO	:	West Africa Health Organization
WEMA	:	West Africa Monetary Agency

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF STUDY

1.1. Introduction

The Economic Community of West African States abbreviated as ECOWAS is a sub-regional organization erected on May 28, 1975 in the Lagos treaty. The primary objective of ECOWAS according to the 1975 was to promote economic cooperation among the fifteen countries that were signatory to the treaty and ratified it. However, the region has become home not only to economic problems, but also armed conflicts. The countries of West Africa were integrated toward a unification agenda that would lead to addressing economic challenges in the region, while cooperating to advance the region's economic interests. The primary aim of ECOWAS as defined by the treaty was to integrate to promote economic cooperation.

During the Lagos Treaty of May 28, 1975, 15 countries of the Western Africa attended and were signatory. Those countries included Nigeria which is the most populated country in Africa, Guinea, Niger, Mali, Ghana, Benin, Togo, Gambia, Burkina Faso, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Senegal, and Sierra Leone. ECOWAS and the Lagos treaty became realities from the influential roles of General Yakubu Gowon and Gnassingbe Eyadema who have been considered today as the key founding founders of the sub-regional community. The official languages of the organization which represent also the region are; English, French and Portuguese, although they are more than a thousand different local languages spoken in the region.

Although ECOWAS was formed primarily to facilitate economic cooperation among member state in order to drive economic development, other unforeseen problems like security, political instability and armed conflicts have made the community to review its 1975 treaty in 1993 to solve these problems. The 15 countries of the western sub-region integrated to form a unifying union to address economic challenges in the region, while cooperating to advance the region's economic interests. The primary aim of ECOWAS as defined by the treaty was to advance economic cooperation among member states to relate more beneficially with foreign markets.

1.2. Statement of Problem

ECOWAS was formed to address economic problems through economic cooperation. With other unforeseen problems now rocking the community, the community has reviewed its treaty to make mechanisms for solving those problems, especially armed conflicts. However, with economy functioning as the foundation of the community, mechanisms for other problems need to be understood in the context of legality, operationalization and performance.

1.3. Research Questions

- 1) What is the cause of armed conflicts in ECOWAS?
- 2) How Does ECOWAS resolve armed conflicts in the sub-regional organization?
- 3) How Can ECOWAS improve on its mechanism for armed conflict resolution?

1.4. Research Hypothesis

- 1) Calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed conflict in ECOWAS.
- 2) ECOWAS uses mediation, UN and civil society groups to resolve armed conflict in the sub-region
- 3) Treaty revision for armed conflict-based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflicts

1.5. Purpose of Research:

- a) To examine the reasons for ECOWAS integration.
- b) To investigate how ECOWAS cooperate economically and politically
- c) To assess the mechanisms that ECOWAS adopt in resolving armed conflicts
- d) To study the ways in which ECOWAS can improve on its armed conflict resolution mechanisms in the face of rising armed conflict in the sub-region.

1.6. The Importance of the Research:

- a) The outcome of this study is significant for ECOWAS treaty review
- b) The research contributes to new knowledge and therefore important for academics
- c) Future researchers have in this research useful data

1.7. The Scope of the Research:

The research scope is limited to the mechanisms that ECOWAS apply in the resolution of armed conflicts in the sub-region.

In the classification of the study, the study is grouped into five distinct chapters. The chapter one of this study is the introduction which featured also the statement of problem, the research questions, the research hypotheses, the purpose of study, the significance of study, and the scope of Study. Chapter two is the literature review and theoretical framework. It reviewed landmark debates on related issue areas. The review began from the history of West Africa, and after the exploration of West Africa, what followed is the introduction of ECOWAS, West African integration process, the birth of ECOWAS, ECOWAS treaties/armed conflict resolution mechanisms, tables showing ECOWAS Member States, tables showing ECOWAS Treaties/armed conflict resolution mechanisms, table Summary, 1993 ECOWAS revised treaties, tables showing revised treaties, ECOWAS conflict resolution mechanisms and achievements, criticisms of ECOWAS, and achievement of ECOWAS.

Chapter three is the research methodology, and discussed the description of study area, sampling technique, sampling size, technique of data collection, and technique of data analysis. Chapter four is the result presentation section and it discussed the Data analysis and interpretation, featuring the Bio data of respondents, Tables on research questions and results, Research hypothesis confirmation, Table of Test Statistics, Conclusion Based on Decision Rule, Table on Paired Samples Correlations, and Table on Paired Samples Test. Chapter five is the conclusion. It integrates the various aspects of the study, beginning with evaluation. It concludes

with recommendation aimed to addressing the issues of conflict resolution mechanisms of EOWAS and the community's harsh criticisms for under-performance.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Theories

- 1) Immanuel Kant's Perpetual Peace Theory
- 2) Diffusion Theory
- 3) Materialistic Theory

The perpetual peace theory was propounded in the 1970 by Immanuel Kant. The great scholar introduced the perpetual peace theory in 1795 in his classical publication titled 'Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch'. The theory assumed that "For if fortune directs that a powerful and enlightened people can make itself a republic, which by its nature must be inclined to perpetual peace, this gives a fulcrum to the federation with other states so that they may adhere to it and thus secure freedom under the idea of the law of nations"

Proponents of this assumption include not only Immanuel Kant, but scholars such as Thomas Paine and Woodrow Wilson. The aforementioned scholars furthered this assumption and promoted the peace theory Peace around the world. One of the key arguments of the theory is that the institutions of representative government do not consider conflicts and war as option for peaceful settlements of any form of conflicts. They instead consider the costs and risks of war far worse than mechanisms that involve dialogue and diplomacy. Even where they are war and conflict-minded leaders in place, institutions of government through free speech and competitive elections work to make it difficult for such conflict and war-minded leaders to persuade the public to go to war.

According to the diffusion theory on the other hand, Africans were classified by anthropologists during the pre-colonial times based on physical appearance that included height, color, hair, etc. The anthropologists making this classification argued that Africans are Khosian. (Lee et al, 2001). They also assumed that Africans had no cultureless and instead mere hunters and gatherers (Kessy, 2005). The entry of Europeans into West Africa took place in the 15th century from where and when

western civilization started. This diffusion theory has been justified by the European colonization of Africa according to some anthropologists. (Kuykendall, 1993).

Materialist theory on the other hand became prominent in the 20th century, as an opposition to the theory of diffusion. It argued on the bases of internal and empirical evidence from the background of archaeology (Lee et al, 2001). Hegel and Hegelians argued that Africa is a non-historical continent, displaying neither change nor development. They argued that the Negro people were also not capable of both development and education (Kuykendall, 1993). This argument has been refuted from the view of historiography (Adegbindin, 2015). The author used oral tradition as an efficient source of history and information transmission that happened through formulae, poetry, tales, commentary, myths, and folks (Adegbindin, 2015).

The economy of the region was majorly food production in form of hunting and fishery, before the coming of the Europeans into the region. Upon their arrival, the economy of West Africa states transitioned into different forms that included trade in gold, mining, pottery, carving etc. ECOWAS therefore became a good source of cheap labor where different empires got slaves through conquest for European economic incentives that benefitted the Europeans enormously (Alex, 2005). Eventually however, slave trade was brought to end in England in 1772, in USA in 1808, Sweden in 1813, Denmark in 1804, and in Netherlands in 1814 after numerous anti-slavery movements (Smith, 2017).

2.2. The African Union, Historical Background of West Africa and ECOWAS

According to the Constitutive Act of the AU and the Protocol on Amendments to the Act of the AU, the African Union (AU) is a continental organisation. It consists of 55 member states that make up the continent of Africa. The AU was officially introduced in 2002. AU succeeded the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) which was founded in 1963. (OAU, Charter report, 1963, pp. 23-26)

In May 1963, 32 Heads of African countries assembled in Addis Ababa the capital state of Ethiopia where they signed the Charter that led to the erection of Africa's first post-independence continental organisation called the OAU. The OAU became the first manifestation of the pan-African vision for a continentally united Africa. The ideas and protocols of the OAU were solemnised in the OAU

Charter through which the founding fathers asserted that freedom, justice, equality, and dignity were the core objectives of the realization of the legitimate visions and aspirations of the people of Africa. The founding fathers asserted the need of the OAU to promote understanding among the countries and people of Africa through cooperation and solidarity amidst the transcending ethnic and national differences on the continent. The guiding philosophy of the OAU was that of Pan-Africanism comprehensively anchored on African socialism and the promotion of African unity. It also included the upholding of the communal characteristic and practices of African communities, and a drive to promote the culture and common heritage of the people of Africa. (OAU, Charter report, 1963; pp 2- 10)

The primary objectives of the OAU were to remove from Africa, the remaining vestiges of colonialism and apartheid, by promoting unity and solidarity between African countries; coordinating cooperation toward development; safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of OAU's member states; promotion of international cooperation for continental growth.

The OAU Charter comprehensively spelled out the aims and objectives as well as the purpose of the Organisation in the outline below:

- OAU aims to promote the unity of the African States.
- OAU aims to coordinate cooperation among member states
- OAU aims to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of member states;
- OAU aims to eradicate remnants of colonialism from the African continent
- OAU aims to promote international cooperation, safeguard the OAU's Charter, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Through the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, the OAU and Africa spoke as one with undivided voice in international engagement and consensus in support of the fight against apartheid. The OAU in one of its achievements provided a working forum for member states where all members realized their justifiable interests.

The Heads of State and Government of OAU on September 9 199 issued the Sirte Declaration that called for the establishment of the African Union. The view was to accelerate the process of integration in the continent. The view also was to enable the African continent to play its parts in the global economy in order to address the multifaceted social, economic and political problems on the continent.

Launching the AU:

According to Miletus (2002), the AU was officially launched and started operation in July 2002 at Durban in South Africa, after an agreement on September 9 1999 by the member states of the OAU to launch a new continental organisation that would build on its gains. The agreement by the member states to establish and re-launch a pan-African organisation was the result of a general consensus by the leaders of the African continent toward the realisation of Africa's vision and potentials. The leaders outlined the need to refocus attention from the fight against colonisation and the removal of apartheid, which had been the primary objective and focus of the OAU, to increasing cooperation, solidarity and integration of African states in order to advance on Africa's economic and political growth.

The AU is majorly driven by its vision of "An Integrated, Prosperous and Peaceful Africa; one that is propelled by its people and representing a dynamic force on the international stage."

The aims and objectives of the AU are clearly spelled out in the Constitutive Act of the AU and the Protocol on Amendments to the Act of the AU:

- To defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of AU member states.
- To promote greater unity and solidarity among African countries and the people of the continent.
- To speed up the political and socio-economic integration of Africa
- To promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples on the international political, economic and social arena.
- To encourage and facilitate continental and international cooperation

- To promote and enhance security, peace, and stability on the African continent.
- To promote the principles of democracy and its institutions, popular participation and good governance on the African continent.
- To protect and promote human rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.
- To establish and enhance the necessary conditions that enable Africa to play its rightful role in international economy and in global negotiations.
- To promote sustainable development and the integration of African economies.
- The promotion and cooperation in all of human activities in order to increase the living standards of the people of Africa.
- The coordination and harmonization of the policies of Regional Economic Communities toward the attainment of the aims and objectives of the AU.
- To enhance and advance the development and growth of the African continent through the promotion of research in all fields, especially in science and technology
- To promote cooperation while working with relevant international partners in the eradication of diseases and the promotion of good health in Africa.
- To ensure effective political participation of women in decision-making within the political, economic and socio-cultural aspects of the continent.
- To develop and to promote common policies in the area of defence, trade, and foreign relations in order to ensure the security and defence of Africa.
- To invite and encourage the full participation of the African Diaspora as an important in order to build and strengthen the AU.

The aims and objectives of the AU is implemented via various principal decision making bodies and organs:

-The Assembly of Heads of State and Government

- The Executive Council,
- The Permanent Representatives Committee (PRC),
- The Specialised Technical Committees (STCs),
- The Peace and Security Council
- The African Union Commission.

The structure of the AU sees to the promotion of participation of African citizens and various other civil societies via the Pan-African Parliament and the Economic, Social & Cultural Council (ECOSOCC). The arms or organs of the AU that controls the legal and judicial issues as well as human rights matters of the AU are:

- The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR)
- The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (AfCHPR)
- The AU Commission on International Law (AUCIL)
- The AU Advisory Board on Corruption (AUABC)
- The African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child.

The AU also works towards the erection of continental financial institutions such as:

- The African Central Bank
- The African Investment Bank and the African Monetary Fund
- The Regional Economic Communities (RECs)
- African Peer Review Mechanism

(Constitutive Act of the AU and the Protocol on Amendments to the Act of the AU)

According to the Constitutive Act of the AU and the Protocol on Amendments to the Act of the AU, the aforementioned bodies are also key arms of AU that form part of the structure of the AU.

In order to ensure the actualization of its aims and objectives, as well as the attainment of the Pan African Vision of an integrated, secured, prosperous and peaceful African continent, the AU's Agenda 2063 was developed as a strategic

framework for Africa's long term socio-economic and integrative transformation. The AU's Agenda 2063 aims at and calls for increased collaboration and support for African led initiatives in order to facilitate the achievement of the vision, aims and objectives, as well as the aspirations of Africa and its people.

In the discussion on West Africa and ECOWAS, West Africa represent western the part of Africa. It is surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean which is located at the western and southern axis of the African continent. West Africa is bounded also by the Sahara desert that is located within the northern part of Africa. West Africa originated out of United Nations' action of carving out six regions in Africa (Fage, 1962). The West African region has 16 countries; Togo, Mali, Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Nigeria, Cote D'Ivoire, Benin Republic, Mauritania, Cape Verde, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Liberia, Senegal and Niger (Arushi, 2015).

The West continent is a mixture of extensive history of human migrations, displacements, incursions, and mixture of people that resulted from the peopling process of the continent. This peopling process happened before the establishment of Africa's political, social, economic and organization. West Africa has a vague history, which is formed in series as one event lead to the other and in chains. West Africa started with the birth of empires and kingdoms. (Stewart, 1994:4). There was the fall of those kingdoms and empires. The history started the next phase with the era of partitioning by the Europeans. This was followed by the years of slavery. The colonial era and de-colonial era also came, and then there was the rise of the nationalists which led to the war of independence in the second half of the 20th century. (Iruegbe, 2018)

The first settlers in West Africa arrived in 12000BC. The West African history is splittable into the following categories according to Stephen (2021):

- The pre historic period
- The historical era which began during the Stone Age.

West Africa as a continent was pre-dominated by the negroid race. There was little incursions of the caucoid race in West Africa. (Said, 2011). The negroid race in West Africa dominated the present Sahara desert in the northern part. It was suggested that the dominance of the negroid race in West Africa made the act of rock painting popular as it was with animal rearing. The negroes in West Africa are still present in

the Sahara desert today. According to Chami (2007), the peopling process of the West Africa continent is explainable with two fundamental theories.

The author assumed that West African is enclosed by the Atlantic Ocean in the South and West, and the Sahara desert to the north. The UN carved out six regions in Africa and West Africa became one of the six regions created by the Un. (Fage, 1962). The West African sub-region is comprises of 16 independent states that include; Mali, Togo, Liberia, Nigeria, Benin Republic, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Cote D'Ivoire, Mauritania, Cape Verde, Burkina Faso, Gambia and Niger (Arushi, 2015). According to Arushi (2015), the West African sub-region is historic in terms of incursions, migrations, displacements and nationalists wars which define the political, social, and economic grouping of the sub-region. The sub-region known as West Africa was coined out of cultural, geographical and political lines and specifications (Stephen, 2021).

2.2.1. Introducing ECOWAS

According to ECOWAS treaty handbook, (2012:3-9), ECOWAS was founded on the May 28, 1975. The formation of ECOWAS following the Lagos treaty that served as the genesis of the African sub- region organization. The countries of West Africa was brought together to form a unifying union to address economic challenges in the region, while cooperating to advance the region's economic interests. The primary aim of ECOWAS as defined by the treaty was to promote economic cooperation among member states. At the Lagos Treaty in May 1975, there were 15 independent West African states present; Nigeria, Cape Verde, Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Benin, Togo, Senegal, Gambia, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, and Liberia. ECOWAS and the Lagos treaty became realities.

ECOWAS was formed primarily to initiate, facilitate and promote multi-dimensional cooperation for the purpose of economic cooperation, unity, peace and the sustenance of development in the region. The official languages of the organization which represent also the region are; English, French and Portuguese, although they are more than a thousand different local languages spoken in the region. (Handbook on the ECOWAS treaty and financial institutions, 2012: 301)

2.2.2. The integration process of West Africa

According to a Handbook on the ECOWAS treaty and financial institutions, 2012: 201), from the period of 1957 to 1960, West African nations got independence. Milestones (1952) argued that it was a wave of independence that began with Ghana in 1957. (Milestones, 1952). The idea of ECOWAS to bring West Africa nations together was influenced by other integrations in international politics. (Williams, 2015, p. 23). There were already other regional integrations like the EEC (1957), Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) (1968), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) which was founded in 1967, the LAFTA popularly known as Latin American Free Trade Association (1960), American Common Markets founded in 1961, etc. The aforementioned alliances were in place to solve key economic problems within their regions and this inspired the West African idea of ECOWAS (Miletus, 1962).

West Africa has a rich land mass that economically puts the region in pole economic position. The region as most African countries have gold, crude oil, diamonds, cotton, iron ore, bauxite, uranium etc. (Irwin, 2015). The author argued that part of the idea of integration was also to cooperate in the struggle against external economic sabotage and aggression.

2.2.3. The birth of ECOWAS

Following the leading role of then Nigeria's president, General Yakubu Gowon, and his Togolese counterpart, the Economic Community of West Africa was formed on May 28 1975 in the city of Lagos which is the commercial center of Nigeria through a Treaty that involved fifteen independent countries within the region: Guinea, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Niger, Mali, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Benin, Togo, Gambia, Cabo Verde, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, and Guinea-Bissau (Agyei and Clottey, 2007). The formation of ECOWAS after the Lagos treaty marked the genesis of the African sub- region organization. As Irwin (2015) argued, the birth of ECOWAS was also to cooperate in the struggle against external economic sabotage and aggression. The organization was aimed to economically unite all the states in West Africa irrespective of cultural and religious pluralism. The countries within ECOWAS were integrated to form a unifying union to address economic challenges in the region, while

cooperating to advance the region's economic interests. The primary aim of ECOWAS as defined by the treaty was to ensure adequate coordination of economy between member states. In 1976, Cape Verde enlarged the regional organization to sixteen with its historic membership (Roberto, 2011).

According to Matthew (1957), the demise of Charles De Gaulle in 1970 played serious role in terms of the premises upon which the birth of ECOWAS was conceived. The author argued that Charles De Gaulle advocated for African union and unity till his death. The CEAO, which represented a sort of African Community was earlier formed in 1973, but did not survive nor produce. Another reason for the formation of the organization was Nigeria's desire to use the organization as a line of connection and cooperation with Francophone states within the sub-region that approved of the freedom of the Biafra nation during the Nigerian civil war which took place from 1967-1970 (Chukwuma, 2011). Chukwuma also argued for the idea of regional currency as part of the long term reason.

2.2.4. The treaties of ECOWAS treaties and how the community solve armed conflicts

ECOWAS treaty is a multilateral agreement. This multilateral agreement is a bidding force for the member states. The treaty made ECOWAS to become a legal entity. The treaty officially became a binding force on May 28, 1975 in accordance with the article 1, chapter 1. Article 1, chapter 1 of ECOWAS treaty dwelt on the 'Establishment and Membership of the Community'.

According to article 1, chapter 1 of ECOWAS 1975 treaty;

- 1) Based on the ECOWAS treaty, the signatories created an economic community known as ECOWAS.
- 2) Members of the community that ratify the community's treaty and other states from the sub-region to become members.

Table showing date of treaties ratification.

Table 1. This table displays the date of signature and ratification by member states

S/N	Member state	Date of signature
1	Nigeria	2 nd June 1975
2	Liberia	30 th June, 1975
3	Ghana	6 th June 1975
4	Guinea	5 TH June 1975
5	Cote D'Ivoire	12 th June, 1975
6	Gambia	6 th June, 1975
7	Benin	24 th June, 1975
8	Burkina Faso	20 th June, 1975
9	Togo	27 th June, 1975
10	Sierra Leone	26 th June, 1975
11	Guinea Bissau	15 March July, 1976
12	Niger	2 nd July, 1975
13	Senegal	1975
14	Mauritania	15 th March, 1976
15	Mali	1975

Source: Essien (2006)

After signing the ECOWAS treaty, member states accepted decisions of the organization. Accordingly, it became the binding force of the organization. (Essien, 2006). The treaty also came up with a body of institutions and specialized agencies within ECOWAS (Essien, 2006).

On May 28, 1975, fifteen countries from the West African region, namely, Nigeria, Ghana, Mauritania, Mali, Liberia, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Senegal, Togo, Benin, Guinea, Cote D'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Niger, and Sierra Leone signed the ECOWAS treaty. The ECOWAS treaty has 65 articles. The 65 articles constitute 14 chapters and became the first treaty of the organization (Human Right Law in Africa, 1975). According to Onwuka (1980), the primary aim of erecting ECOWAS was to uproot several years of artificiality to pave way for not only economic cooperation but also regional homogeneity.

Table 2. Table of ECOWAS Treaties

S/ N	Article Number	Chapter Number	Chapter Title	Article Title
1	1	1	The Principle	Erection of members to ECOWAS
2	2	1	The Principle	ECOWAS objectives
3	3	1	The Principle	Resolutions
4	4	2	Sub-bodies within ECOWAS	Institutions
5	5	2	Institutions of the community	Heads of Governments, offices and duties
6	6	2	Institutions of the community	The Council of Ministers, offices and duties
7	7	2	Institutions of the community	Resolutions of the councils
8	8	2	Institutions of the community	Secretariats
9	9	2	Institutions of the community	Technical offices, Commission offices, and duties
10	10	2	Institutions of the Community	External Auditor
11	11	2	Institutions of the community	ECOWAS tribunal
12	12	3	Issues of commerce	Trade and commerce
13	13	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Customs Duties

14	14	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Tariff
15	15	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Community tariff treatment
16	16	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Trade
17	17	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Revenues
18	18	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Goods within ECOWAS
19	19	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Dumping
20	20	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Dumping
21	21	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Internal legislation
22	22	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Exportation
23	23	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Customs administration

24	24	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Drawback
25	25	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Compensations
26	26	3	Issues of Customs and Trade	Safeguard Clause
27	27	4	Freedom of movement within ECOWAS	Residence & Visas
28	28	5	Harmonization of development	Protocols
29	29	5	Industrial development harmonization	Data exchange
30	30	5	Harmonization of development	Harmonization
31	31	5	Harmonization of development	Training
32	32	5	The Harmonization of development	Remedial measures
33	33	6	Agriculture and natural resources	Co-operation

34	34	6	Agriculture and natural resources	Harmonization of agricultural policies
35	35	6	Agricultural and natural energies	Evolution of a common agricultural policy
36	36	7	Cooperation in Money and fiscals	Fiscal matter
37	37	7	Money and fiscals	Settlement of payment between Member States
38	38	7	Money and fiscals	Committee of West African central bank
39	39	7	Money and fiscals	Movement within ECOWAS
40	40	8	Infrastructural findings	Transportation policies
41	41	8	Infrastructural findings	Roads
42	42	8	Infrastructural findings	Railways
43	43	8	Infrastructural findings	Sea ways
44	44	8	Infrastructural findings	Air ways
45	45	8	Infrastructural findings	Telecommunications
46	46	8	Infrastructural findings	Telecommunication networks
47	47	8	Infrastructural findings	Postings

48	48	9	Infrastructural findings	Co-operation
49	49	10	Findings for Socials and Cultures	Co-operation
50	50	11	Fund for Cooperation Compensation, Development	Establishment
51	51	11	Fund for Cooperation Compensation, Development	Funding
52	52	11	Funding for Compensation and Development	Uses of the Fund
53	53	11	Funding for Compensation and Development	ECOWAS Budgeting
54	54	11	Funding for Compensation, Development	Monetary Contributions
55	55	11	Infrastructural findings	Monetary Rules
56	56	13	Resolution of Disputes	Settlement of Disputes
57	57	14	Protocols	Headquarters
58	58	14	Protocols	Languages
59	59	14	Protocols	External Relations

60	60	14	Protocols	Status, Privileges and Immunities
61	61	14	Protocols	Formation of ECOWAS
62	62	14	Protocols	Military Forces
63	63	14	Protocols	Review
64	64	14	Protocols	Withdrawal
65	65	14	Protocols	Officials and roles

All of the 4 chapters making up of the 65 articles of ECOWAS have three distinct parts. The first part functions as the introduction to ECOWAS, featuring the aims and objectives. The other parts function as the main body of the treaty article, focusing on the different institutions of ECOWAS and their respective duties and meeting plans.

ECOWAS treaties provide for the structure of governance within the organization. ECOWAS is governed by three central arms, namely, the Executive, The Legislature and The Judiciary (ECOWAS Treaty Bulletin, 1975).

There is a Legislature as a unit of ECOWAS which functions as the parliament. The legislative arm of ECOWAS is led by a speaker who is assisted by a secretary. There is also the judiciary as a unity of ECOWAS which functions as the Court of Justice. The judicial arm of ECOWAS is led by a President. The Court oversees the legal assignment of the community, while settling disputes, and interpreting treaties. According to ECOWAS Treaty (1975), there are therefore the following within the government structure of the community:

- 1) Heads of States and Governments
- 2) The Council of Ministers
- 3) Four Specialized Commissions;
 - a) The Tribunal of ECOWAS
 - b) The Executive Secretariat of ECOWAS
 - c) ECOWAS Funding toward co-operation
 - d) ECOWAS Compensational and Developmental funding

e) ECOWAS Legislature

The treaty's name is ECOWAS as agreed in 1975. The articles of the treaty also established the aims and objectives of the community. The aim is to promote economic cooperation and development; trade, transport, energy, telecommunication, finance, agriculture, commerce, and natural resources. The treaty provided rooms for removal of custom traffic to create economic and social harmonization (Asawanleweye, 2015).

The treaty signed in 1975 treaty of ECOWAS ruled for eighteen years from 1975-1993, after which revisions were made in July 1993. The revised ECOWAS treaty of 1993 treaty was signed in Cotonou Niger (Olayiwola et al, 2015). The 1975 treaty was not completely put to end, as relevant articles were integrated into the revised versions of the treaty. The 1975 ECOWAS treaty of Lagos treaty was primarily based on economy cooperation and stability. Political problems that later came up led to the consideration of the revision, leading to the review of the 1975 treaty of Lagos Nigeria in Cotonou Niger on July 24, 1993.

2.2.5. The reviewed treaties of ECOWAS in 1993

The head of states from ECOWAS member states signed to review the May 28th 1975 Lagos treaty on the 6th July 1991 (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2015). The aim and objective for the revision treaty was to provide conditions to integrate political affairs into the community's affairs. Another reason was based upon issues of noncompliance of member states in some resolutions. The revised treaty therefore for to provide a more comprehensive and coherent framework to deal with such issues. It was held in Abuja Nigeria on July 6 1991. After agreement, ECOWAS revised treaty by adding more articles to the previous 65 articles making it the total of 95 articles.

Table 3. Summary of Revised Treaties

S/N	Number	Chapter Number	Title	Heading/Title
1	1	1	Explanation	ECOWAS resolutions on the purpose of its treaties
2	2	2	ECOWAS establishment	ECOWAS resolutions on its Establishment
3	3	2	ECOWAS establishment and Process	ECOWAS resolutions on structure and functions
4	4	2	ECOWAS establishment and Process	ECOWAS resolutions on its objectives
5	5	2	ECOWAS establishment and Process	ECOWAS resolutions on Fundamental Principles
6	6	3	Community Institutions and composition	ECOWAS Institutions and related bodies
7	7	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolutions on the authority of Heads of states and government in ECOWAS and beyond
8	8	3	Community Institutions and composition	ECOWAS Sessions and processes
9	9	3	Community Institutions and composition	ECOWAS general Decisions
10	10	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolutions on Council of Ministers, their

				compositions and stipulated functions
11	11	3	Community Institutions and composition	ECOWAS Meetings and processes
12	12	3	Community Institutions and composition	ECOWAS Rules and Regulations
13	13	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolutions on ECOWAS Parliament
14	14	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolution on the Economy and Social Issues
15	15	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolution on the Court of Justice and Functions
16	16	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolutions on ECOWAS Arbitration and Tribunal functions
17	17	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolutions on ECOWAS Executives and Secretariat functions
18	18	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolutions on ECOWAS Appointments
19	19	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolutions on state Functions
20	20	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolutions on internal and external Relationships

21	21	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolutions on Fund, Cooperation, and Compensation
22	22	3	Community Institutions and composition	Resolutions on Technical Commissions and their Compositions
23	23	3	Community Institutions and composition	Functions of individual and states
24	24	3	Community Institutions and composition	ECOWAS Meetings and process
25	25	4	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS resolutions on Agriculture and Food Security
26	26	5	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS resolutions on Industry and Energy
27	27	5	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS resolutions on Science and Technology
28	28	5	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Energy sustainability
29	29	6	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Environment
30	30	6	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Waste management within ECOWAS
31	31	6	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Resolutions on Natural Resources
32	32	7	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Transportation and Communication resolutions in ECOWAS
33	33	7	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Internal and External Telecommunications

34	34	7	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Tourism
35	35	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS trades
36	36	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Customs Duties policies
37	37	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS external Tariff Issues
38	38	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Tariff management and Treatment
39	39	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Trade
40	40	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Internal Taxation
41	41	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Good Restrictions
42	42	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Dumping
43	43	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Member states Treatment
44	44	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Legislation
45	45	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Exportations and Facilities
46	46	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Customs administration
47	47	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Drawback issues
48	48	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Compensation policies
49	49	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Clauses

50	50	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Trade Promotions internally and externally
51	51	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Finance
52	52	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Committee on Central Banks
53	53	8	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Capital States committee
54	54	9	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Formation of ECOWAS Union
55	55	9	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS economy
56	56	10	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Politics
57	57	10	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Judiciary and Law
58	58	10	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Regional Security Control
59	59	10	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Immigration programme
60	60	11	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Human Resources & development
61	61	11	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Socials
62	62	11	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Cultures
63	63	11	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Women
64	64	11	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Population

65	65	11	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS Television and Radio
66	66	11	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS media
67	67	12	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS policy Harmonization
68	68	13	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Membership
69	69	14	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS fiscal polices
70	70	14	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS internal budgets
71	71	14	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS external budgets
72	72	14	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS levies
73	73	14	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	ECOWAS internal contributions
74	74	14	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Rules on Finance
75	75	14	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Auditors from outside ECOWAS
76	76	15	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Responsibilities and Duties
77	77	16	ECOWAS Cooperation Area	Sanctions
78	78	17	ECOWAS Relations internally and externally	African Union
79	791	18	ECOWAS Relations internally and externally	Regional Economic bodies and institutions

80	80	19	ECOWAS Relations internally and externally	Executives
81	81	19	ECOWAS Relations internally and externally	Non-governmental organization
82	82	19	ECOWAS Relations internally and externally	Regional Organizations, Associations and member states
83	83	20	ECOWAS Relations internally and externally	ECOWAS resolutions
84	84	21	ECOWAS Relations internally and externally	ECOWAS resolutions
85	85	21	ECOWAS Relations internally and externally	ECOWAS External negotiations
86	86	22	ECOWAS final Resolutions, Provisions and Agreements	ECOWAS Headquarters
87	87	22	ECOWAS final Resolutions, Provisions and Agreements	ECOWAS official languages
88	88	22	ECOWAS final Resolutions, Provisions and Agreements	Privileges of ECOWAS members
89	89	22	ECOWAS final Resolutions,	ECOWAS membership

			Provisions and Agreements	
90	90	22	ECOWAS final Resolutions, Provisions and Agreements	ECOWAS Treaties Review
91	91	22	ECOWAS final Resolutions, Provisions and Agreements	ECOWAS membership Withdrawal
92	92	22	ECOWAS final Resolutions, Provisions and Agreements	Agreements on Transition
93	93	22	ECOWAS final Resolutions, Provisions and Agreements	ECOWAS Authorities

ECOWAS revised version of treaty begins with the re-confirmation of ECOWAS establishment as the previous. There is also the re-affirmation of the state pooling of national sovereignties to establish community institutions to solve related problems. In the new treaty, acceptance of community decisions by member states is central as the treaty established the African Economic Community (AEC) signed in Abuja Nigeria in June 3 1991. The aim of AEC was to modify the organization's approach to political and economic co-operation. The treaty of May 28 1975 after revision was put into 94 articles with 22 chapters.

The first part of the revised treaty functions as the introduction to the treaty, and discussed the aims and objectives of ECOWAS in a new context. The second part of the renewed treaty discussed the setting up of the governing body of the community, featuring the various institutions within ECOWAS. The revised treaty in the following segment examined the functions of the governing body as well as the various

institutions. The concluding segment of the revised treaty discussed the relationship between the community and external countries and institutions.

The revised treaty touched upon judicial cooperation as well. Member states agreed that the revised treaty improved all related cooperations towards security. A regional organization with security threat was always going to be undermined economically since security is central part of economic stride (Aganwe, 2011). The treaty touched upon humanitarian issues too and discussed cooperation along human resources and the distribution of aids. The revised treaty ipso facto provided for social affairs involving sport, NGOs, and labor law. The member states are obliged in the binding force of the revised treaty to respect the decisions of the community (Williams, 2018).

The concluding chapter of ECOWAS revised treaty focused on the importance of communication during the integration or enlargement process and procedures. The revised treaty sustained French, English and Portuguese as the official language of the community (Jamie, 2017). The committee for the revision of treaty submitted the request in 1991, leading to the eventual revision treaty in Cotonou Niger in July 24 1993. After signing it in Cotonou Niger in 1993, the outcome was unanimously accepted as ECOWAS constitution.

2.3. How ECOWAS Solve Armed Conflict Problems: The Question of Mechanisms and Realisations

ECOWAS Beginning from its formation point has been solving armed conflicts problems in the sub-region. One notable case was the Liberian civil war (1989-1997). The community was able to set a foundation for sub-regional, regional and international mediation since the end of the war. Mediations of various kinds have helped to bring peace and stability too. The mediations were so impactful that mediations formed greater part of ECOWAS reviewed treaty in 1993. The 1993 treaty has yielded results in the sub-region. After about 200,000 people were killed in the Liberian war, the intervention of ECOWAS and the UN through mediation and ECOMOG as a military part of the mechanism for peace-keeping came to stay.

In order to examine the achievements of ECOWAS in the area of armed conflict resolution, the article three (3) of the 1993 revised treaty. The exploration of the

achievements will be based on the assessment of the aim and objectives of ECOWAS. The aim of ECOWAS is mainly to promote economic cooperation and integration, albeit other related social, cultural and political responsibilities defined in the 1993 revised edition of the treaty. The expectation is to improve the standards of life in the sub-region, by maintaining and enhancing economic growth, and social stability, as the community fosters relations among member states (Revised Treaty of The Economic Community of west African States ECOWAS, 1993).

- 1) The 1978 ECOWAS Adoption of Protocols of Non-aggression
- 2) The ECOWAS 1981 Mutual Assistance on Defense
- 3) The ECOWAS 1999 Mechanism for Conflict Resolution.

ECOWAS plays key role in integrating the region for economic and political stability. What follows is the promotion of trade, free movement, harmonization of policy, conflict resolution, problems of environment, humanitarian challenges, and related political issues (Nkruma, 2019). One of the most commonly known achievements of ECOWAS is free passage within ECOWAS. The achievement of ECOWAS can be view therefore from the existing interaction leading to relative peace. On the economic front, the European merchants who used to impose tax and levies during Trans Saharan trade have also been partitioned to the credit of the community. Free trade among member state and trade integration achieved by ECOWAS has built a solid foundation for a unified economic and financial system (Bruce, 1978).

2.4. Criticisms of ECOWAS

Despite the appraisal of ECOWAS, some flaws have been identified and this discussion is necessary for an objective evaluation. ECOWAS is plagued by some political and economic crises. These crises are related to internal conflicts that are now posing serious security threats on the sub-region. Resolutions of the community also sometimes suffer lack of compliance. There are military coups in Mali and Burkina Faso, and despite ECOWAS representatives in those countries to solve the problem, compliance has not been seen. This resonates the question of ECOWAS conflict resolution mechanisms. There are also border-crossing challenges resulting from political and economic insecurities of member states. The community borders still

suffer the spread of contra-band goods, drugs and human trafficking. Much was not also seen in terms of cooperation during the covid-19 pandemic (Wusha, 2021).

One key criticism of ECOWAS as highlighted by critics is that member states still put their national interest ahead of the interest of the community, making objective deliberations usually difficult. The availability of multi currencies in the region has also been considered one area the community has not demonstrated sufficient cooperation like the European Union for instance (Memphis, 2018). The author argued that currency harmonization in the sub-region can step up the economic development of the community. There are other criticisms of ECOWAS in form of the existing sub regional organizations with contradicting objectives and ideologies. ECOWAS' treaty recognizes the creation of sub regional organization which led to the formation of CEAO. This sub union later changed into UEMOE in 1994 with the objective of bringing together the economies of the different francophone states in the region. Cote d' Ivoire was made the headquarters of the sub regional union in 1994 upon formation. (Eswanie, 2019, p. 23). The response from the Anglophone bloc of ECOWAS, with Nigeria and Ghana leading was not welcoming (Uchegbu, 2019), bringing differences in opinions and approaches to ECOWAS (Grondo, 2014).

In general, ECOWAS has been greatly criticized for the severe political instability springing from violence related to uprising and and civil wars in the sub-region (Grondo, 2014). Due to this situation, ECOWAS has been regarded as non-performing community as it has achieved technological advancement, yet with low standard infrastructure that compound the political, social and economic problems (Ezeogidi, 1990). The author argued that ECOWAS high dependency ratio is another area of ECOWAS criticisms. The author also noted the issue of corruption. According to ECOWAS in response to these criticisms, it is greatly bewildered (ECOWAS Report, 2020).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY SECTION

This section which is concerned with the methodology focuses on the data used, the method used in gathering the data, and the kind of data analysis adopted. The methodological section above presents the research population of the study, sampling size of the study, as well as the sampling technique used.

3.1. Research Method

The study utilized the Descriptive approach to research.

3.2. Sample Size and Technique

ECOWAS is the study. 60 people were selected as sample for the study. This figure functions as the sample size. Stratified sampling technique was used for questionnaires while snowballing sampling technique was used for the interview which is integrated in the analysis section. The interviewees were selected from officials of ECOWAS, scholars, reporters focusing on armed conflict in ECOWAS.

3.3. Geographical Area of study

ECOWAS sub-region where this research was done is geographically located in Africa.

3.4. Research Instrument

Interviews were taken and was integrated into analysis section. Questionnaires were also used, making interview and questionnaires as the research instrument of the study.

3.5. The Validity and Verifiability of Research Instruments

The interview questions and the questionnaires that make up the research instruments that were used were tested for validity, and accepted as valid.

3.6. Data Sources and Data Collection Process

The sources of the data gathered are primary, secondary and tertiary sources.

3.7. Data Analysis

The technique of data analysis used is Standardized technique. This technique involves the application of Chi-Square (χ^2). The analysis outcome is tested by the t-test where the result of findings are presented in the simple percentage technique using statistical system.

The Chi-square is mathematically put as χ^2

Where χ^2 is equal to $\frac{\sum (fo-fe)^2}{2}$

Where Chi-square = χ^2

FO = Observed frequency

Fe = Expected frequency

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND RESULT PRESENTATION

Introduction

This chapter makes analysis of data collected and deliver the result of findings in statistical form using simple percentage.

4.1. Data Presentation

60 questionnaires were given out to respondents, however 30 out of the 60 questionnaires were sent back to the researcher after filling the answers on the opinion sections. It means that 50% of the questionnaires was the only figure returned. This is represented on the analysis table and answers.

4.2. Respondents' Biodata for Assessment of Eligibility

Table 4 shows the gender of respondents

Table 4. Gender of respondents

Type of Gender	Frequency of response	%	%	Accumulation %
Male/man	20	66.7	66.7	66.7
Female/woman	10	33.3	33.3	100
Sum total	30	100	100	

Field Data Collection: January, 2022

Table 5 displays the age of respondents used.

Table 5. The age of respondents used

	Age/category	Number	Percentage	Valid percentage	Total percentage
Valid	Below 20 Years	3	10.0	10.0	10.0
	21-30 Years	5	16.7	16.7	26.7
	31-40 Years	2	6.7	6.7	33.3
	41-50 Years	7	23.3	23.3	56.7
	51-60years	8	26.7	26.7	83.3
	Above 60 Years	5	16.7	16.7	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

The table 6 below displays the marital status of respondents

Table 6. The marital status of respondents

Marital Status	Number	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Total Percentage
Single	10	33.3	33.3	33.3
Married	15	50.0	50.0	83.3
Divorced	3	10.0	10.0	93.3
Widowed	2	6.7	6.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Table 7 displays the educational status of respondents.

Table 7. The educational status of respondents

Highest Educational level attained	Number	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Total Percentage
WASSCE/SSCE	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
OND/HND/BSC	15	50.0	50.0	66.7
PGD/MSC/PHD	7	23.3	23.3	90
Others	3	10	10	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 8 displays the years of experience of respondents in the subject.

Table 8. The years of experience of respondents in the subject

Years Of Experience	Number	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Total Percentage
1-3 Years	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
4-7 Years	10	33.3	33.3	60
8-11 Years	9	30.0	30	90
Above 11 Years	3	10	10	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

This table 9 displays the position of respondents in ECOWAS

Table 9. The position of respondents in ECOWAS

Position of respondent	Number of responses gathered	Percentage of responses gathered	Valid percentage	Total percentage
Junior staff	22	73.3	73.3	73.3
Senior staff	8	26.7	26.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022

Table 10. Hypotheses responses: hypothesis 1 on whether the calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS

Opinion	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
Agree	15	50.0	50.0	76.7
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	90.0
Strongly Disagree	3	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 10 above proves based on the responses gathered that calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS.

Table 11. Hypothesis response: hypothesis 2 on whether ECOWAS uses internal mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region

View of respondent	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	10	33.3	33.3	33.3
Agree	5	16.7	16.7	50
Undecided	5	16.7	16.7	66.7
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	80
Strongly Disagree	6	20	20	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022

Table 11 proves that ECOWAS uses internal mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region.

Table 12. Hypotheses responses: hypothesis 3 on whether treaty revision for armed conflict-based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflicts

View of respondent	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	2	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	15	50	50	66.7
Undecided	8	26.7	26.7	93.3
Disagree	5	6.7	6.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 12 proves that treaty revision for armed conflict-based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflicts.

Table 13. Research question responses: 1

View of respondents	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	17	56.7	56.7	73.3
Undecided	2	6.7	6.7	80
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	93.3
Strongly Disagree	2	6.7	6.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 13 proves that ECOWAS uses mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region.

Table 14. Responses on whether calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS

View of respondents	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	12	40	40	56.7
Undecided	5	16.7	16.7	73.3
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	86.7
Strongly Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 14 proves that calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS.

Table 15. Hypotheses responses: hypothesis 1

Opinion	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
Agree	15	50.0	50.0	76.7
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	90.0
Strongly Disagree	3	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

This table displays the responses to the research questions and hypothesis: Calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS.

Table 16. Hypothesis response: hypothesis 2

View of respondent	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	10	33.3	33.3	33.3
Agree	5	16.7	16.7	50
Undecided	5	16.7	16.7	66.7
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	80
Strongly Disagree	6	20	20	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022

Table 16 proves that ECOWAS uses mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region.

Table 17. Hypotheses responses: hypothesis 3

View of respondent	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	2	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	15	50	50	66.7
Undecided	8	26.7	26.7	93.3
Disagree	5	6.7	6.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

The table above shows that treaty revision for armed conflict-based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflicts.

Table 18. Research question responses: 1

View of respondents	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	17	56.7	56.7	73.3
Undecided	2	6.7	6.7	80
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	93.3
Strongly Disagree	2	6.7	6.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

The table above proves that ECOWAS uses mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region.

Table 19. Responses on whether calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS

View of respondents	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	12	40	40	56.7
Undecided	5	16.7	16.7	73.3
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	86.7
Strongly Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

The table above shows that calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS

Table 20. Hypotheses responses: hypothesis 1.

Opinion	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
Agree	15	50.0	50.0	76.7
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	90.0
Strongly Disagree	3	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

The table above shows the responses to the research questions and hypothesis: The result confirms the hypothesis that calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS.

Table 21. Hypothesis response: hypothesis 2. Questions on whether ECOWAS uses mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region

View of respondent	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	10	33.3	33.3	33.3
Agree	5	16.7	16.7	50
Undecided	5	16.7	16.7	66.7
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	80
Strongly Disagree	6	20	20	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022

The table above shows that ECOWAS uses mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region.

Table 22. Hypotheses responses: hypothesis 3. Questions on whether treaty revision for armed conflict-based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflicts

View of respondent	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	2	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	15	50	50	66.7
Undecided	8	26.7	26.7	93.3
Disagree	5	6.7	6.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

The table 4 above shows that treaty revision for armed conflict-based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflicts.

Table 23. Research question responses: 1, on whether ECOWAS uses mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region

View of respondents	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	17	56.7	56.7	73.3
Undecided	2	6.7	6.7	80
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	93.3
Strongly Disagree	2	6.7	6.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 23 shows that ECOWAS uses mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region.

Table 24. Responses on whether calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS

View of respondents	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	12	40	40	56.7
Undecided	5	16.7	16.7	73.3
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	86.7
Strongly Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 24 proves that calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS

Table 25. Hypotheses responses: hypothesis 1

Opinion	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
Agree	15	50.0	50.0	76.7
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	90.0
Strongly Disagree	3	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

This table displays the responses to the research questions and hypothesis: Calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS.

Table 26. Hypothesis response: hypothesis 2

View of respondent	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	10	33.3	33.3	33.3
Agree	5	16.7	16.7	50
Undecided	5	16.7	16.7	66.7
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	80
Strongly Disagree	6	20	20	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022

Table 27 proves that ECOWAS uses mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region.

Table 27. Hypotheses responses: hypothesis 3

View of respondent	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	2	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	15	50	50	66.7
Undecided	8	26.7	26.7	93.3
Disagree	5	6.7	6.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 27 proves that treaty revision for armed conflict-based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflicts.

Table 28. Responses on whether ECOWAS has achieved more than it has underperformed in the resolution of armed conflicts in the community

View of respondents	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	17	56.7	56.7	73.3
Undecided	2	6.7	6.7	80
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	93.3
Strongly Disagree	2	6.7	6.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 28 proves that ECOWAS has achieved more than it has underperformed in the resolution of armed conflict in the community.

Table 29. Responses on whether calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS

View of respondents	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	12	40	40	56.7
Undecided	5	16.7	16.7	73.3
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	86.7
Strongly Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 29 proves that calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS

Table 30. Responses on whether calls for self-determination among minority groups is one of the key causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS

Opinion	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
Agree	15	50.0	50.0	76.7
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	90.0
Strongly Disagree	3	10.0	10.0	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

This 30 proves that calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS

Table 31. Responses on whether ECOWAS applies the input of mediation, the involvement of UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts

View of respondent	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	10	33.3	33.3	33.3
Agree	5	16.7	16.7	50
Undecided	5	16.7	16.7	66.7
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	80
Strongly Disagree	6	20	20	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022

Table 31 proves that ECOWAS uses mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region.

Table 32. Responses on whether ECOWAS applies the input of mediation, the involvement of UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts

View of respondent	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	2	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	15	50	50	66.7
Undecided	8	26.7	26.7	93.3
Disagree	5	6.7	6.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 32 proves that treaty revision for armed conflict-based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflicts.

Table 33. Responses on whether ECOWAS applies the involvement of the United Nations and civil society groups for mediations

View of respondents	Number	%	Valid %	Cumulation %
Strongly Agree	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	17	56.7	56.7	73.3
Undecided	2	6.7	6.7	80
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	93.3
Strongly Disagree	2	6.7	6.7	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 33 proves that ECOWAS applies the involvement of the United Nations and civil society groups for mediations.

Table 34. Responses on whether ECOWAS initiatives include the creation of a Military Observer Group in August 1990 called ECOMOG

View of respondents	Number	%	Valid %	Accumulation %
Strongly Agree	5	16.7	16.7	16.7
Agree	12	40	40	56.7
Undecided	5	16.7	16.7	73.3
Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	86.7
Strongly Disagree	4	13.3	13.3	100
Total	30	100	100	

Data Collection: February, 2022.

Table 34 proves that ECOWAS initiatives include the creation of a Military Observer Group in August 1990 called ECOMOG.

4.3. Research Hypotheses Confirmation

H₀: Calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS

H₁: ECOWAS uses mediation, the UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflicts in the sub-region.

H₂: Treaty revision for armed conflict-based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflicts.

Table 35. Showing the test statistics

	Treaty revision for armed conflict-based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflicts.
Chi-Square	26.333 ^a
Df	4
Asymp. Sig.	.000

4.4. Decision Rule Formula

The hypothesis that treaty revision for armed conflict-based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflicts is accepted.

T-Testing the responses using sample correlations.

Table 36. The paired samples correlations

	N	Correlation	Sig.
Pair no 1: Calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS	30	.781	.000

Table 37. The paired samples correlations

	Paired Differences				t	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Lower Bound	Upper Bound			
Pair 1	.067	.828	-.242	.376	.441	29	.000

The table 37 above accepts and proves the hypothesis that calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS.

Calls for self-determination and political interests are the main causes of armed-conflict in ECOWAS.

CONCLUSION

Evaluation

The key question bothering on ECOWAS presently is whether or not the idea of bringing the states in the sub-region together for economic, social and political cooperation has been fruitful. If it has, to what degree is the success? If it has not, to what degree is the failure?

From 1957 to 1960, West African nations experienced independence (Milestones, 1952). The wave of independence began with Ghana in 1957 and Nigeria followed in 1960. Other countries in the sub-region have also joined the fold. ECOWAS was the materialization of the idea to integrate the West Africa states just like other integrations in international politics like the European Union. (Williams, 2015, p. 23), the EEC (1957), Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) (1968) etc. The aforementioned integrations were aimed at solving key economic problems within their regions and this inspired the West African idea of ECOWAS (Milestones, 1952). However, analysis outcome show that unlike the unions mentioned above, ECOWAS is faced with severe crisis of armed conflicts and it is yet to find a long term mechanisms, although some already are in use: Adoption of Protocols on Non-aggression (1978), the Mutual Assistance on Defense (1981), the Mechanism for Conflict Resolution (1999) etc. (Onwuka, 1980).

Because of West African riches in land mass and natural resources that economically put the region in attractive economic position, many differing interests create environment of conflicts. The region is rich in gold, crude oil, diamonds, cotton, iron ore, bauxite, uranium etc. (Irwin, 2015).

The idea of integration was geared towards economic cooperation for development while winning the battle against external economic sabotage and competition. Consequently, ECOWAS since its formation on the 28th of May, 1975 in the Lagos treaty has been involved in economic and political operations despite religious and cultural pluralism. There is already the increasing challenge of armed conflicts situations that stem from calls for self-determination among member states. In response to its search for armed conflicts resolution mechanisms, ECOWAS initiatives include the creation of a Military Observer Group in August 1990 called

ECOMOG, and the involvement of the United Nations and civil society groups for mediations. The Group which initially comprised of 4,000 troops derived from Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, has increased exponentially, but yet, armed conflicts remain within ECOWAS.

The sub-region community is composed of 15 independent states that signed the treaty. The treaty which was signed in Lagos in May 1975, had the following countries in attendance: Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Niger, Cape Verde, Mali, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Benin, Togo, Liberia, Gambia, and Guinea. Credits for the formation of ECOWAS and the Lagos treaty have been largely given to former Nigerian and Togolese presidents; General Yakubu Gowon and President Gnassingbe Eyadema. There are 300 million people and also more than a hundred different ethnic groups within ECOWAS. Following the plagues of armed conflicts springing majorly from cultural and religious pluralism, armed conflict resolution mechanisms are required by ECOWAS. This does not negate the fact that ECOWAS was formed primarily to promote economic cooperation in the sub-region. The call for armed conflict resolution mechanisms also does not discard the fact that ECOWAS has made commendable gains. It does not also confirm that ECOWAS does not have some flaws to correct.

ECOWAS has been proven to be challenged by political and economic challenges. These challenges connect to armed conflicts that are now posing serious security threats on the sub-region. Resolutions of the bloc also suffer lack of compliance from some member states. There have been military coups in countries such as Mali and Burkina Faso, and despite ECOWAS effort of mediation, compliance has not been achieved. This resounds the question of ECOWAS armed conflict resolution mechanisms and their functionality. There are also immigration challenges which come from political and economic insecurities. The borders are still suffering prevailing spread of contra-band goods, drugs and human trafficking and ECOWAS is yet to resolve the issues. ECOWAS challenges were also underlined during the covid-19 pandemic in terms of cooperation among member states. (Wusha, 2021). Member states still consider their national interest ahead of the interest of the bloc. This makes objective decisions usually difficult and fruitless.

Then there is the issue of availability of multi currencies in the region. This has been considered by some analysts as demonstrating cooperation problems unlike what is seen with the European Union (Memphis, 2018). The author has argued in support of currency harmonization to step up the economic and financial unity of the community. Criticisms of ECOWAS in other forms are showcased in the area of existing sub regional organizations which operate contradicting objectives and ideologies. It is factual that ECOWAS' treaty recognizes the formation and operation. This legality resulted in the formation of CEAO (Eswanie, 2019, p. 23). The Anglophone bloc of ECOWAS, has argued that such a situation has the potentials to bring differences in opinions and approaches to ECOWAS (Grondo, 2014).

ECOWAS has faced critical criticisms for the rising political instability, violence, uprising, civil wars and military coups in the sub-region (Grondo, 2014). This is one of the reasons why ECOWAS has been tagged as a non-performing body (Ezeogidi, 1990). The author's argument is that ECOWAS has been too dependent on foreign states with issues of corruption adding to crippling other efforts.

Recommendations

Despite the huge achievements of ECOWAS, there are key criticisms of ECOWAS highlighted by critics that require to be addressed in order to solve the problems of armed conflicts in the sub-region. One key problem is that member states still put their national interest ahead of the interest of the community. This problematizes the objective deliberations in the community as a whole. First and foremost, there is need to review the ECOWAS treaties to catch up with modern realities. The last review was done in 1993 in Niger since the first treaty in Lagos Nigeria in 1975. The usage of multi currencies in the region has also been considered one area the community has not demonstrated sufficient cooperation like the European Union for instance (Memphis, 2018). The author argued that currency harmonization in the sub-region can step up the economic development of the community. Much the European Union, the revised treaty should work towards currency harmonization for a relative mutually inclusive economic growth and stability in the sub-region.

There are other criticisms of ECOWAS in form of the existing sub regional organizations with contradicting objectives and ideologies. ECOWAS' treaty recognizes the creation of sub regional organization which led to the formation of

CEAO. This sub union later changed into UEMOE in 1994 with the objective of bringing together the economies of the different francophone states in the region. Cote d' Ivoire was made the headquarters of the sub regional union in 1994 upon formation (Eswanie, 2019, p. 23). The response from the Anglophone bloc of ECOWAS, with Nigeria and Ghana leading was not welcoming (Uchegbu, 2019), bringing differences in opinions and approaches to ECOWAS (Grondo, 2014). There is need for sub-regional harmonization in terms of ideologies and objectives. The proposed revised version of ECOWAS should address this concern.

ECOWAS has been greatly criticized for the severe political instability springing from violence related to uprising and and civil wars in the sub-region (Grondo, 2014). Due to this situation, ECOWAS has been regarded as non-performing community as it has achieved technological advancement, yet with low standard infrastructure that compound the political, social and economic problems (Ezeogidi, 1990). The author argued that ECOWAS high dependency ratio is another area of ECOWAS criticisms. The author also noted the issue of corruption. According to ECOWAS in response to these criticisms, it is greatly bewildered (ECOWAS Report, 2020). Rather than been bewildered, the leadership of ECOWAS and the various institutions should be made the version of proposed treaty revision to accept responsibilities for scandalous failures. This is related to solving the issues of corruption within the governing bodies and institutions as well as the prioritization of state interests above the community's interests.

Conclusion

This research has shown the factors and impact of the integration of ECOWAS member states as a sub-regional organization through ECOWAS conflict resolution mechanisms. The study has examined the armed conflict resolution mechanisms of the sub-regional organization and the achievements and criticisms of those mechanisms. In doing this, the study outlined the various 1975 treaties of ECOWAS including the revised version of 1993, and how the sub-regional organization functions. These mechanisms include the Adoption of Protocols on Non-aggression (1978), the Mutual Assistance on Defense (1981), the Mechanism for Conflict Resolution (1999) etc. (Onwuka, 1980).

The research answered the following questions; 1) what is the cause of armed conflict in ECOWAS? 2) How does ECOWAS resolve armed conflict in the sub-regional organisation? 3) How can ECOWAS improve on its mechanism for armed conflict resolution?

The research argued that; 1) calls for self-determination and political interest are the main causes of armed conflict in ECOWAS; 2) ECOWAS uses mediation, UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflict in the sub-region 3) Treaty revision for armed-conflict mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflict.

The study was conducted for the following purposes:

- a) To examine the reasons for ECOWAS integration.
- b) To investigate how ECOWAS cooperate economically and politically
- c) To assess the mechanisms that ECOWAS have and uses in resolving armed conflicts
- d) To study the ways in which ECOWAS can improve on its armed conflict resolution mechanisms in the face of rising armed conflict in the sub-region.

The outcome of the research has shown to be important in the following ways:

- a) The outcome of this study is significant for ECOWAS treaty review
- b) The research contributes to new knowledge and therefore important for academics
- c) Future researchers have in this research useful data

This research was limited to the factors that lead to armed conflicts within ECOWAS, the armed conflict resolution mechanisms of ECOWAS, and the achievements of ECOMOG as the military arm of ECOWAS in the application of its armed conflicts.

The study has showed that while ECOWAS continues to economically unite all the states in West Africa irrespective of cultural and religious pluralism, it continues to face increasing armed conflicts situations springing from calls for self-determination, political interests and terrorism. The common argument is that the colonialists amalgamated people of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious

incompatibility without considering the conflict consequences (Agyei and Clotney, 2007). In response to its search for armed conflicts resolution mechanisms, ECOWAS initiatives include the creation of a Military Observer Group in August 1990 called ECOMOG, and the involvement of the United Nations and civil society groups for mediations. Following the success of ECOWAS in the resolution of the bloody Liberian war (1989-1997), there is an increasing level of armed conflicts within ECOWAS. Responsively, there are renewed mechanisms put in place to address issues of armed conflict.

In the classification of the research, five distinct function as the classification. The first chapter of this study is the introduction which featured also the hypotheses of the research, the research questions answered, the problem statement of the research, the purpose for which the study was carried out, the significance of Study, and the scope of the research. Chapter two focused on the literature review and theoretical framework. It reviewed landmark debates on related issue areas. The review began from a historical background of Western Africa, and after the exploration of West Africa, what followed is the introduction of ECOWAS, Africa before ECOWAS, purpose integrating the countries of West Africa, the birth of ECOWAS, ECOWAS treaties/armed conflict resolution mechanisms, tables showing ECOWAS Member States, tables showing ECOWAS Treaties/armed conflict resolution mechanisms, table Summary, 1993 ECOWAS revised treaties, tables showing revised treaties, ECOWAS conflict resolution mechanisms and achievements, criticisms of ECOWAS, and the overall achievement of ECOWAS internally and externally.

Chapter three is the research methodology, and discussed the description of study area, sampling technique, sampling size, technique of data collection, and technique of data analysis. Chapter four is the result presentation section and it discussed the Data analysis and interpretation, featuring the Bio data of respondents, Tables on research questions and results, Research hypothesis confirmation, Table of Test Statistics, Conclusion Based on Decision Rule, Table on Paired Samples Correlations, and Table on Paired Samples Test.

Chapter five is the conclusion. It integrated the various aspects of the study, beginning with evaluation. It concludes with recommendation aimed to addressing the

issues of conflict resolution mechanisms of EOWAS and the community's harsh criticisms for under-performance.



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SAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE USED

The questionnaire sample below is a copy of the one administered. It provides information on the validity of questions asked.

INSTRUCTION

Please, answer the questionnaire provided below.

SECTION A: Personal Information

1. What gender are you?

Male

Female

2. What age grade are you?

Below 20yrs

21-30yrs

31-40yrs

41-50yrs

50-60yrs

Above 60yrs

3. What is your educational Qualification?

63

WASCE

BSC

MSC/PHD

Others

4. What is your marital status?

Single

Married

Divorced

Widowed

5. What is your years of experience in ECOWAS? (Exclusive)

1-3yrs

4-7yrs

8-11yrs

Above 11yrs

SECTION B: questions on the causes of armed conflict in ECOWAS

1. Do you agree that calls for self-determination and political interest are the main causes of armed conflict in ECOWAS?

Strongly agreed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Agreed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Undecided	<input type="checkbox"/>
Disagreed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly disagreed	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Do you agree that ECOWAS uses mediation, UN, and civil society groups to resolve armed conflict among member state?

Strongly agreed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Agreed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Undecided	<input type="checkbox"/>
Disagreed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly disagreed	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Do you agree that treaty revision for armed based mechanism is required in ECOWAS to solve rising armed conflict?

Strongly agreed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Agreed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Undecided	<input type="checkbox"/>
Disagreed	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly disagreed	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. Do you agree that ECOMOG was successful in resolving armed conflict in the sub-region?

Strongly agreed

Agreed

Undecided

Disagreed

Strongly disagreed

5. Do you agree that the review of ECOWAS 1975 treaty in 1993 has yielded both economic and political results?

Strongly agreed

Agreed

Undecided

Disagreed

Strongly disagreed

6. What is the cause of armed conflict in ECOWAS?

7. What armed conflict resolutions mechanisms does ECOWAS have?

8. How does ECOWAS resolve armed in the sub-regional organization?

.....
.....
.....

9. How can ECOWAS improve on its mechanisms for armed conflict resolution?

10. What are the achievements of ECOWAS in the areas of economic cooperation that formed the basis of its formation?

11. What are the achievements of ECOWAS in the area of armed conflict resolution?

12. What are the armed conflict resolution mechanisms of ECOWAS?

