T.C.

ISTANBUL KÜLTÜR UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

ECOWAS HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT AND FUTURE LEGACIES

Master of Arts Thesis by

JOHN ABIODUN BABALOLA

1900004431

Department: International Relations

Programme: International Relations

Supervisor: Prof. Dr Mensur Akgun

JUNE 2021

T.C

ISTANBUL KÜLTÜR UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

ECOWAS HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT AND FUTURE LEGACIES

Master of Arts Thesis by

JOHN ABIODUN BABALOLA

1900004431

Department: International Relations

Programme: International Relations

Supervisor and Chairperson: Prof. Dr. Ibrahim Mensur AKGÜN

Members of Examining Committee: Asst. Prof. Dr. Ahmet Cemal ERTÜRK

Asst. Prof. Dr. Nihan KÖSEOĞLU

(Fenerbahçe University)

Substitute Members: Asst. Prof. Dr. Nazlı Çağın BİLGİLİ

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emirhan GÖRAL

(Marmara University)

JUNE 2021

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First of all, I dedicate this work to Almighty God the source of wisdom and strength, for the inspiration and the constant supply of help at all junctions.

I equally appreciate my ever realible supervisor Prof Dr Mesur Akgun for the mentoring and guidance all through the process of writing this thesis. Sir, your type is rare. I say a very big thank you to my course adviser, Seyyide Sena Türkdoğan for quick response in time of need, may help never be far from you.

To my parents, Elder and Dns Babalola, I say thank you for believing in me and making the huge investment on me, you are my source of inspiration, your prayers and series of advice worked. To my siblings, Tope, Blessing, Dayo, Dupe and Isaac Babalolas thank you for the push and the support, I made it with you by my side.

My gratitude is incomplete without mentioning your contributions, Prof Olutope Fayemi my mentor, John Odudele, Gbemi Olaore, Foluke Fagbewasa, Ayantunji Taiwo, I can tell you, all your contributions are valued. I appreciate all you did, Teşekkür Ederim.

University : **Istanbul Kultur University**

Institute : **Institute of Social Sciences**

Department : **International Relations**

Programme : **International Relations**

Supervisor : **Prof. Dr Ibrahim Mensur AKGÜN**

Degree Awarded and Date : **MA – June 2021**

ABSTRACT

JOHN ABIODUN BABALOLA

This thesis revolves round resolving the problem of understanding the historical trend of the birth of ECOWAS, its formation and the general performance since it was born in 1975, it is believed that ECOWAS is the only organization that binds the West African states together and its main aim is to integrate the region economically and politically and to foster unity among the member states. ECOWAS is made up of 15 members with Lagos Treaty that was signed in 1975 which marked its birth. Integrating West Africa states together was a bit difficult because of the different colonial administration, languages, currency, and the characteristic of multi ethnic group that made up of the region. The thesis thus, looks into the performnance of the community so far.

This thesis extensively answers some questions related to the existence of ECOWAS. It explains and focus on the origin of ECOWAS, looking at the history of the organization from the period the idea was conceived since 1945 when the CFA currency was merged together by the francophone countries which was the first move to unite the countries in the sub region together

and later the idea was spread wide to all the regions of West Africa states before it was eventually concluded and a treaty was signed in May 1975 in Lagos.

The main idea of the work is to familiarize the reader with the sub region in Africa and equally to answer the frequently asked questions whether ECOWAS is working or not, and also the question of whether there is need for the ECOWAS or not, maybe it should be dissolved and each member state go different ways, having all these as an underlying problems, the thesis is aimed at resolving these problems and give a clearer picture to these issues, thus the clear picture will be established.

The thesis was executed through the use of some articles, textbooks and journals that talk about the sub region. ECOWAS report such as ECOWAS Annual Report, Convergence Report of ECOWAS, ECOWAS Commission Annual Report and other rich articles was consulted in doing justice to the work so as to have a clear and factual evident regarding the intended project work.

Conclusively, this work is a rich source of evaluating the performance of ECOWAS from 1975 till date and considering the operation of the organization on the integration process of all member states and how well it has fostered unity among the states in the sub region, and explaning some recommendations for the betterment of the community.

Keywords: History of West Africa, West Africa Economy, Formation of ECOWAS, Achievements of ECOWAS.

Üniversite : **İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi**

Enstitü : **Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü**

Dalı : **Uluslararası İlişkiler**

Programı : **Uluslararası İlişkiler**

Tez Danışmanı : **Prof. Dr. İbrahim Mensur AKGÜN**

Tez Türü ve Tarihi : **Yüksek Lisans – Haziran 2021**

KISA ÖZET

JOHN ABIODUN BABALOLA

Bu tez, ECOWAS'ın doğuşunun tarihsel eğilimini, oluşumunu ve doğduğu 1975'ten bu yana genel performansını anlama sorununu çözmeye yönelik olup, ECOWAS'ın Batı Afrika devletlerini birbirine bağlayan tek örgüt olduğuna inanılmaktadır. amaç, bölgeyi ekonomik ve siyasi olarak bütünleştirmek ve üye ülkeler arasında birliği teşvik etmektir. ECOWAS, 1975 yılında imzalanan ve kuruluşuna damgasını vuran Lagos Antlaşması ile 15 üyeden oluşmaktadır. Batı Afrika devletlerini birbirine entegre etmek, farklı sömürge yönetimi, diller, para birimi ve bölgeden oluşan çok etnik grup özelliği nedeniyle biraz zordu. Bu nedenle tez, topluluğun şimdiye kadarki performansını incelemektedir.

Bu tez, ECOWAS'ın varlığıyla ilgili bazı soruları kapsamlı bir şekilde yanıtlamaktadır. ECOWAS'ın kökenini açıklar ve odaklanır, organizasyonun tarihine, fikrin ortaya çıktığı dönemden itibaren, alt bölgedeki ülkeleri birleştirmek için ilk hareket olan CFA para biriminin frankofon ülkeler tarafından bir araya getirildiği 1945 yılından bu yana bakar. Birlikte ve daha

sonra fikir, sonuçlanmadan ve Mayıs 1975'te Lagos'ta bir anlaşma imzalanmadan önce Batı Afrika devletlerinin tüm bölgelerine yayıldı.

Çalışmanın ana fikri, okuyucuyu Afrika'daki alt bölge ile tanıştırmak ve ECOWAS'ın çalışıp çalışmadığı ile ilgili sıkça sorulan soruları ve ayrıca ECOWAS'a ihtiyaç olup olmadığı, belki de olması gerektiği sorusuna eşit derecede cevap vermektir. çözülecek ve her üye devlet farklı yollara gidecek, tüm bunları temel problem olarak gören tez, bu sorunları çözmeyi ve bu konuya daha net bir resim vermeyi amaçlamakta, böylece net bir resim oluşturulacaktır.

Tez, alt bölgeden bahseden bazı makaleler, ders kitapları ve dergiler kullanılarak yürütülmüştür. ECOWAS yıllık raporu, ECOWAS'ın Yakınsama Raporu, ECOWAS Komisyonu Yıllık Raporu ve diğer zengin makaleler gibi ECOWAS raporlarına, amaçlanan proje çalışmasına ilişkin net ve olgusal bir kanıt olması için işin hakkını vermek için başvurulmuştur.

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma ECOWAS'ın 1975'ten bugüne kadar olan performansını değerlendirmek ve örgütün tüm üye devletlerin entegrasyon süreci üzerindeki işleyişini ve alt bölgedeki devletler arasında birliği ne kadar iyi desteklediğini açıklamak için zengin bir kaynaktır. Topluluğun iyileştirilmesi için bazı öneriler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Batı Afrika Tarihi, Batı Afrika Ekonomisi, ECOWAS'ın Oluşumu, ECOWAS'ın Başarıları.

LISTS OF TABLE

Table 1: Table showing the member state date of signing ECOWAS treaty ……..32

Table 2: Table showing the first ECOWAS Treaty summary…….35-42

Table 3: Table showing the 1993 ECOWASRevised Treaty Summary……....….47-54

TABLE OF CONTENT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT……..i

ABSTRACT…….....ii-iii

KIZA OZET……..……..iv-v

LIST OF TABLE…….……vi-vii

ABBREVATIONS……..ix-x

CHAPTER 1

I. INTRODUCTION……1

II. RESEARCH QUESTION…….2

III. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES…….……..3

IV. HISTORY OF WEST AFRICA……...…….4-11

V. EXPLORING WEST AFRICA ……11-13

VI. INTRODUCING ECOWAS……..……...13-14

CHAPTER 2

I. AFRICA PRIOR TO INTEGRATION IDEA……...15-24

II. THE IDEA OF INTEGRATING WEST AFRICA……24-27

III. THE BIRTH OF ECOWAS……...28-30

CHAPTER 3

I. ECOWAS TREATIES……31-45

II. TREATIES REVIEW……..……46-60

CHAPTER 4

I. ECOWAS ACHIEVEMENTS…….61-74

II. THE CRITICS OF ECOWAS……..74-78

III. THE EFFECTS OF ECOWAS ON THE SUB REGION……79-83

CHAPTER 5

I. CONCLUSION……....……84-87

II. RECOMMENDATIONS……...…….87-93

BIBLOGRAPHY……..93-97

ABBREVATIONS

AFDP	Africa Development Bank
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	Africa Union
CARIFTA	Carribean Free Trade Association
CEAO	Communaute Economique De L'afrique De L'ouest
CEAD	Center For Democracy And Develoment
CET	Common External Tarriff
CFA	Communaute financiere d'Afrique
COE	Council Of Europe
CTC	Counter Terrorism Committe
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

E U	European Union
HIV	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
NAFDAC	National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control
PPDU	Ecowas Unfrastructure Projects Preparation And Development
SARA	Salon International De L'agriculture et des Resources Animal
UDAO	Union Douanière de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
UNECA	United Nation Economic Commission for Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational and Cultural Organisations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
US	United State
WAHO	West Africa Health Organisation
WEMA	West Africa Monetary Agency
WAEC	West Africa Examination Council
WAEMU	West Africa Economic Monetary Union

CHAPTER ONE

1:1 INTRODUCTION

Economic Community of West Africa State (ECOWAS) was founded on the 28th of May, 1975 as Lagos treaty was signed to mark the official birth of the organization. ECOWAS is the community of all the states in West Africa, it is the only body that unites all the states in West Africa regardless of their colonial experience. This thesis is to familiarize the reader to what is happening the sub region. West Africa was merged together to form a solidified union that will help in achieving synergy in line to realization its aims and objectives. The main aim of the community is to promote economic cooperation among member states in the view to raising the standard of living of the member states and the entire populations.

The thesis is descriptive as it focuses on West Africa history from the pre history era to the period of awakened consciousness, which led to independence from the colonial masters and later to the period of regional politics and formation of different allignments. Elites in West Africa caught this vison of synergy and this led to the birth of West Africa community.

This work explains the birth of the community with lagos treaty of 1975, and the course of its programmes, which led to apprasing it performance and understanding the legacies for the future. The whole idea is to point out the achievemnets of the community since inception and what the future holds for the community years to come.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis is meant to answer the following questions.

1. Is ECOWAS a reality or a shadow of itself?
2. What are the achievements of ECOWAS since inception?
3. Has ECOWAS fulfilled its mandate in the sub region?
4. What is ECOWAS scorecard so far?
5. What are the future legacies of ECOWAS on the sub region?

1.3 AIMS AND OBEJECTIVES

ECOWAS is Economic Community of West Africa States and it comprises of 15 independent states with three different official languages (English, French and Portuguese) with over 300 million people, and over 100 different ethnic groups. It is very vague to know how these groups were integrated politically and economically. The main reason to write this thesis is to study how these groups were integrated and came under a single umbrella called ECOWAS.

The main idea of ECOWAS is to foster inter-state economic and political cooperation among its member states, this thesis is pointing out the structure of ECOWAS and how much achievements it has gotten and how far with its integration promises and policies in the sub region. The later part of the thesis will explain the future legacies and the community as well as spell out some recommendations for the growth of the community.

This descriptive work aims at establishing the necessity of the community in the sub region. It will be interesting to understand the values of ECOWAS on the sub region so as to answer the question of its integrity in the sub region, and equally lay emphasis on the future legacies of the community in the region. It is quest to understand the performance of ECOWAS in West Africa.

1.4 HISTORY OF WEST AFRICA

West Africa is the part of Africa, bounded by Atlantic Ocean in the western and southern axis, it is bounded by Sahara desert in the north. West Africa as we have it, is a result of the craving and drawing of the United Nations in craving out six regions in Africa (Fage, 1962). West Africa region has 16 countries to its credit which includes Nigeria, Mali, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Cote D'Ivoire, Niger, Liberia, Togo, Benin Republic, Mauritania, Cape Verde, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Burkina Faso, and Senegal (Arushi, 2015). West Africa has a mixture of history of human migrations, incursions, displacement, and inter mixture of people in the peopling process before establishing or forming its social economic and political organization. The history of West Africa is vague, and formed in series as one event leading to the other. It started with the birth of kingdoms, fall of kingdoms and empires, the era of partitioning of the region by the Europeans, the slavery years, colonial era and de-colonial era, the rise of the nationalist and the war of independence leading to the independence for the different West Africa states in the 20th century. The region is coined and formed as a result of the colonial boundaries that was designed which cut across different ethnic and cultural lines of Africa.

The first settlers were said to have arrived in 12000BC as the West Africa ancestors were recorded to be arriving the boarder of West Africa, their history could be splitted into these categories; the pre historic period, the historical era which began during the Stone Age (Stephen 2021). West Africa was dominated by the negroid race, with little incursions of the causoid race. The negroid race dominated the present Sahara desert, it was suggested that their dominance made the act of rock painting popular with animal rearing, as the negroes descendants are still present in the desert. According to Chami 2007, peopling of the West Africa could be explained with these two fundamental theories.

1. Diffusion theory
2. Materialistic theory

Diffusion theory, entails that during the colonial period, Africans were classified by some anthropologists on the basis of physical appearance and features such as, color, hair, height etc. these anthropologist equally believed that Africans are shorthand, they were called bushmen, pygmies, Khosian etc. They claimed that Africans were cultureless and just mere hunters and gatherers (Lee, et al, 2001). While the diffusion theory believes that, those short people were later joined by the light skinned people from the South-West Asia, which are known as the Hamites who were tall and dark in completion, there were light skinned people from the South East Asia called the Negroes who came and settle in West Africa. They regarded the south east Asian migrants as the ancestor of the Yoruba, Ashanti, Mende, Malinke etc. It was even suggested that the Hamites brought a new dimension of transition into the iron age, better put the Hamites influenced the transition into the iron age, as they were said to be the people who introduced iron technology, sophisticated agro skills which were the better equipment for farm cultivation, hunting and rearing of animals (Kessy, 2005). It was prior to the advert of the European into West Africa in the 15th century who brought more advanced technology and marine technology. This theory is justified by the European colonization of Africa.

Materialist theory, is more recent and it came into limelight in the 20th century, and aimed at opposing the diffusion theory, it was based on the internal and empirical evidence such as, archaeological evidence (Lee et al, 2001). This was the desire to advance on the archaeological evidence in West Africa from the Paleolithic man or the Stone Age man. The extract of discovery has formed the basis of argument rather than the diffusion theory that has no empirical evidence.

Contrary to the European believe that Africa has no history and culture, according to Hegel, he said "Africa is not a historical continent it shows neither change nor development and its Negro people were capable of neither development nor education as we see them today, so they have always been" (Kuykendall, 1993). This argument was baseless because West Africa has its own history and its own form of historiography was unique even before the contact with the European. European notion that they were the originator of history for the Africa and the west Africa was baseless. Oral tradition has been the source of transmitting history down to succeeding generations. West Africa have the culture of using formulae, poetry, list, tales, commentary, myths, and folks in preserving their history down to the next generations (Adegbindin 2015). Although after the 25th century, different information in West Africa were written by the colonial giants such as French, British, German and Portuguese etc.

People of Africa could best be distinguished by their language, primarily, West Africans were agriculturalist, their major occupations were hunting, fishing, gathering and merchant trading with other communities as well as the European traders and Arabs. Some West Africa nations mine gold, salt, iron, copper and diamond. Africa has an art and act of being religious and each community has artisan skills that pleases the community at large (Alan & Helene, 2017). Technology advancement in West Africa was a bit slow because West Africa relied on wooden, stone and bone implements. In Gambia, River, Senegal, and Chad. Pebble tools were used and common for a long period of time. This retarded the technological advancement and innovation in the region unlike other regions. The transition as slow as it was, started from the era of wood age, to stone and bone age, and later to the Iron Age which was complemented by the European colonial masters. The wood age could be approximated to be 5000BC, people were using wooden materials to cultivate the soil. Axe and handling implements were made of wood (Hubbe, 2012). The earliest

wooden axe in West Africa was claimed in Senegal, Guinea, Mauritania and Ghana. This era was an era of primitive communism, thus making technological innovation very slow. The basic economy activities was farming, gathering and fishing, it used to be a community activity. It used to be a community activity with simple division of labor which is based on gender and different categories of age class (Cheryl. 2011). Wooden age gave rise to stone age/bone age, which was more sophisticated than the wooden age. It was the Neolithic age, it was dated from 8000BC – 3000bc

West Africa economy was controlled by food production and fishery, it was this that spurred diffusion among the West Africans states. Prior to the advent of the Europeans, West Africa states economy transited into different forms of trading, from gold, mining, pottery, making, ceramic carving etc. In this arrangement, we can deduce that, revolution came out of the process of farming and economy trend, the revolution brought about new dimensions to farming tools and implements, bringing out the art of grinding stone, horn, bone, ivory tools, pottery making and later to the use of bows and arrows for hunting and fishing. In the same way, during the period of revolution and advancement, domestication of animals and the cultivation of grains, planting of fruits trees began in some settlements. Nomadic farming gave way to community settlement and various agricultural base. This transited the West Africa into Stone Age.

Analyzing the development of West Africa states, the city states didn't just grow or developed over night, it actually evolved, different states started as settlements and later grew to become an empire. Most of the empires became prominent in the 4th century CE with some empires swallowing the other or conquering the other via war or conquest. For clarity, Sosso Empire was defeated and succeeded by Mali Empire in the 13th century, Songhai and Sokoto caliphate followed suite and were succeeded by other forest empires (Fage, 1962). In history, the first empire that

collapsed was the Songhai Empire, and many other smaller states arose across West Africa such as Bambara Empire, Fula/Makinde kingdom, the Kenedougou Empire etc. At the fall or collapse of the various empires, city states arose or sprang up.

Consequently, the fall of the old empires and the emergence of the city states changed the old business pattern and out look. It was a new adventure and a new trend of business grew up between the European, the Americans and Africa. 1530 to be precise, Trans-Atlantic slave trade commenced, the carriage and evacuation by the European African slaves across the Atlantic sea for sales in America for the expansion of labor and tilling the soil. A trade which depleted the able body of the West Africa populations for about three and half centuries. Spain possessed the trading base in West Africa and was regulating the sales of the slaves sold out of West Africa. This trans-Atlantic slave trade marked the massive influx of the European in the shore of West Africa. The history of the influx could be traced to the expedition of Christopher Columbus expedition in 1492. Series of voyages started, as there were increment in the need for labor both in the US and Europe. West Africa became a good source of cheap labor. West African merchant emerged as the intermediary between the Europeans business mogul and West Africa. Different empires sourced for more slaves via war and conquest, thus, exchanging slaves from Africa for European incentives (Alex, 2005). The European needed the slaves for tilling the soil, while the Africans needed the European finished products, such as gun powders, mirrors etc. Criminals found guilty of any kind of offence were equally sold out as slave across the Atlantic sea. By the 18th century, some Europeans saw that it was wrong to continue to transport slaves across the Atlantic sea. They believed it was inhuman, and an act of injustice to be trafficking fellow human being through an exploitative means. This made them slow down the process and halting the idea of buying slaves and selling them to United State of America. The ports that halted the process was at Liverpool,

Nantes and Amsterdam. Equally, the catholic preached and was against the trade. The catholic forbade its member in engaging in such trade. Thus, slave trade was halted in England in 1772, in Denmark in 1804, in USA in 1808, Sweden in 1813 and in Netherlands in 1814. This prompted so many anti-slavery movements which were preaching against the act of slavery. This continued until there was a strong legislation to prohibit slavery in Africa across the Atlantic sea route (Smith, 2017).

By 1880, the European presence in West Africa became visible, tough largely in the coastal district such as Niger, Senegal, and Gambia. The European brought some tactics to win the heart of the leaders, some came with Christianity, while some came with some sort of sophisticated business idea to woo the West Africa leaders, and this led to the scrambling and partition of the West Africa (Fage, 1962). The European started traveling inward and deep into West Africa to take over the region for pure expansion and commerce purpose, a typical example is the exploration of Mungo Park (1771-1806) who made his first exploration and expedition into the deep interior region tracing the river Niger (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017). This resulted into scrambling for land and resources of the West African states. In the mid-19th century, the Europeans have started colonizing the West Africa nations, the major reason behind this, was due to the fertile land, natural resources and the favorable weather in the region. This arrangement could be termed as the Anglo/ French competition. There was a major and stiff competition between the former and the later who got higher portion of land in the region. Both competed over the ownership of the region. France eventually became the master of the coastal area, a majority of the West African was taken by the French which some parts went to the English British colonial master.

This period was followed by the struggle for independence which had been succeeded by the post slave trade and the growing of different political parties in West Africa as a result of self

consciousness and the believe that, the black nations can stand on their own and fought to break-out from the yolk of the colonial lord. The West African nations have smelt the exploitative prowess of their colonial master and sought for independence. This led to the birth of some nationalist movements. They warned the Europeans to leave the shore of their country and leave them to administer the government themselves without any interference from the colonial powers. It was seen as a deliberate mean of enriching the European nations. 20th century marked the period of agitation for freedom from the European masters. There was series of rallies and different political association to gather support and might needed to fight the battle of independence. Notably among them was Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. In 1947, he organized a nationalist movement with mass support, the main focus was to go against the British leaders in Ghana and wanted a government that is controlled and supervised by the native indigenes. This movement gave Ghana her independent from the British colonial masters in 1957, with other African countries following suite subsequently (Fage, 1962). By mid-20th century, all the West African countries had got independent from the colonial masters. Leaving the West Africa free from all colonial masters.

Conclusively, the history of West Africa is rich and was in sequence, as one event leading to the other, it was preserved during the prehistory period, not minding the European explorer who thought it was their adventure that brought history to West Africa. This could not be compared to the likes of East and Southern Africa that has an impressive archaeological facts. Despite the fact that West Africa didn't have a rich archaeological fact, the historiography was preserved via oral tradition, and it was a good source of preserving the history of the native and aborigines of the West Africa states (Fage, 1962). The history is a mixture of the ancient human race, human migration, and incursions into West Africa region, the peopling, trading and communal living.

This period was succeeded with the influx of the Europeans into West Africa through the Trans-Atlantic slave trading, taking the agile and able body across the Atlantic to the US for the purpose of agricultural expansion and then in exchange for European finished products. West Africa history equally continued with era of abolition of the inhuman trading followed by the proclamation of an end to the Trans Atlantic human traffic. This was followed by the partitioning of the region by the Europeans, they came in disguise of economy partners (trade) religious reformation etc. Thus, they took on the shore of West Africa and splitted it among themselves for the purpose of economy gain. This sprout up the growth of nationalist, educated elites and influencers to get rid of the European colonial masters and leave the administration of the country to the indigenous rulers. This gave birth to the song of independence which started from Ghana and spread across the region. Thus, we could conclude that, the history of West Africa is as good as being preserved even before the coming of the Europeans which claimed that they brought West Africa history to lime light.

1.5 EXPLORING WEST AFRICA

West Africa is the part of Africa that is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean in the West and South. It is equally bounded by the Sahara desert in the North. It is the west region of Africa. Sixteen sovereign states as recognized by the United Nations make the region of West Africa. They include Nigeria, Senegal, Cameroun, Niger, Togo, Mali, Sierra Leone, Guniea, Gambia, Benin Republic, Burkina Faso, Liberia, Mauritania, Guinea Bissau, Niger, Ghana, the population of West Africa is estimated about 381million as of 2018. West Africa has an area in excess of 6,140 000km square and approximately 1/5 of the whole of Africa land mass. West Africa lies along 10 east longitude, West Africa is the most populated region in Africa, and equally the fastest growing region in terms of population. West Africa has over 1000 languages, and over 250 languages are been used as

instructions in schools and education centers (Orekan, 2010). The West Africans has a good skill of architecture, arts, music and dance. They are very religious people as Christianity and Islamic dominated the religion's believe (Parrinder, 1960).

Before now, barter system was the system of trading that was in-vogue, the economy of West Africa was based on cash crops, which was equally exported to boost the economy of different countries in the region, the common cash crops includes, cotton, rice, cassava, coffee, cocoa and livestock farming, all these are being enhanced by the availability of fertile land and wet soil areas. West Africa states exported this to the E.U community's states, China, and USA. West Africa has a fertile soil which support the rise of agriculture, which is supporting the growth of the economy.

West Africa has two distinct climates, it is a tropical climate and heavy rainfall of high humidity, the most dominated is the dry season. West Africa is the home of 5% of the world's population. The population of the West Africa is projected at one billion by 2059, meanwhile, half of its total population are Nigerians with Ghanaians coming second with 7.5% of the West Africa population. The population is growing at about 2.75% annually, it is massively increasing in the past centuries. The largest and biggest countries in West Africa are Nigeria, Cote D'Ivoire, the Gambia, Ghana, and Senegal with big cities such as, Lagos, Abuja, Abidjan, Accra, etc. These cities are growing economically with favorable macro-economic tendency. They require their population strength to develop.

Historically, West Africa is controlled by empires, kingdoms, such as Kanuri Empire, Benin kingdom, Oyo kingdom etc. There were influx of people into the region due to the presence of trade routes most especially, the Tran-Saharan trade routes which came from the North Africa and the route stopped in Nigeria. The West Africa states were partitioned by France, Britain, Portugal, and Germany. Though Germany lost its colony at the defeat during the first World war. Portugal

colonized Guinea Bissau, Togo was previously colonized by Germany before it was taken over by France. Britain got Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Gambia, while France got Cote Divore and every other remaining West Africa states except from Liberia which was not colonized.

Economically, technologically, West Africa growth has been stunted, comparing to other regions in Africa or Europe, the economy growth is low and weak. Thus, it has been insufficient to reduce or eradicate poverty. The basic business activities were farming, hunting, fishing and trading. The farming process was localized, thus it could rarely export out and even compete with the international market. The factors behind this could be lack of highly industrialized farming tools, insufficient transportation facilities, peasant farming and lack of man power and industrialized farming implements. These and many more, are the root causes of the poor farming system which ultimately have negative effects on the economy generally.

1.3 INTRODUCING ECOWAS

Economic Community of West Africa State is a West Africa regional organization that was created on the 28th May, 1975, with the Lagos treaty marking the birth of the organization. With 15 independent West African states in attendance namely, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia , Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. The Lagos treaty was signed and kudos to the deed of the then Nigeria and Togo president, General Gowon and President Gnassingbe Eyadema who fought and toured round, mobilizing for the support of other head of states and the consequence was the eventual signing of the treaty which marked the official kick start of the regional organization. The organization was formed basically to promote multi-dimensional cooperation to bring economy

unity, peace and to sustain development in the sub Saharan region. ECOWAS is a combination of states with different colonial experiences. The official languages in the region are, English, French and Portuguese with over 1000 different local languages. The aims of the organization varies from integrating the economy of the countries in the region by bringing out programs to annex the economy of the member states. It aims at equal food distribution, natural resources and setting up different economy reforms. It equally looks into an act of harmonizing policies for protection of environment and equally set up a common market with the frame work of the member states. The desire is to boost the economy of the region and to increase the standard of living of the entire populace of the West Africa region, the targeted areas to integrate are transport, telecommunication, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce and monetary values.

CHAPTER TWO

2:0 WEST AFRICA PRIOR TO INTEGRATION IDEA

Before the birth of ECOWAS, West Africa particularly in the 18th century, the Europeans most especially the British was ready to extend her commercial, missionary and sometimes her political influence in West Africa. There was considerable growing interest from other Europeans states such as Portugal, France, Germany etc. This intrest took an active influence of slave trade and which later changed to legimate trade when slave trade was in decline. Legitmate trade inform of weapons sales to fight slave trade and European finished products (Fage, 1962). Another important factor to this was that consequently in 1815, after the Napoleonic wars were over, French merchant resumed activities in West Africa because both French and British had lost some of their Asia and America empires, thus Africa became one the oversea areas which could afford them the golden opportunity of growing a bigger and rich subject, they needed more colonial expansion to boost their economy (Fage, 1962). The partition of West Africa was a big reflection of struggle between the European powers, it was an expansion mode, an expression of comtemporary belief that the Europeans were better, fitter than other people to govern and to administer the world and to manage resources. It is equally believed that the Europeans believed and were convinced that the golden key to human development was in their custody (Fage, 1962). This prompted the influence of the Europeans into the shore of West Africa for resources management and also for better human administration which was lacking in West Africa. The assumption was that if the Europeans got west African nations they will establish in West Africa same sort of laws and order which they

believed themselves have established in Europe which was lacking in West Africa, they hoped to bring the sort of forces of trade, industry, education, science, philosophy and religion which had transformed Europe (Fage, 1962). This largely influenced the influx of the Europeans into the shore of West Africa hugely.

Before the birth of ECOWAS, West Africa state has a growing economy, and a teeming growing population which just escaped from the administration of the colonial masters and was saddled with the responsibilities of growing and improving her economy by her own indigenous rulers. Economically, West Africa was relatively poor and the infrastructure distribution was not evenly distributed among the different states. The economy of West African states relied on agriculture, better put, it was an agrarian economy that is based on cultivation and distribution of agricultural produce. Exportation was the order of the day and it was the only source the economy rested on, it focused on exporting various agricultural produce to the European states and the United States of America. The two third of the total export earnings was from agriculture. The main four items were cocoa, coffee, oil seeds and cotton, these are the items that are West African products, that were been shipped across to the European countries (Blein et al 2008). The Europeans were smarter and more experienced in business and political administration. They have the believe that the Berlin conference have given them two fold duties, to extend their rule in Africa by bringing the European civilization and other benefits of European cultures to the West Africa states. Another point was the move to help the West Africa stop the slave trade. In a nul shell, the Europeans were better than the West Africans in their business performance and execution in regards to the European achievements and the industrial might or advancement.

The West Africans in their dealings with the Europeans were being under paid because of the business execution plan which was not well laid out. West Africans were not so smart enough,

they were competing against each other in the international market, rather than cooperating with each other. This reduced the foreign exchange values because the European capitalized on this and drastically reduced the commodities values that was purchased in the region. This ultimately reduced the value of West Africans stocks in the foreign transaction and commodities. The business gain is not commensurable to the input. Yielding low profit at the detriment of the quantity of the stocks and input.

Analyzing the West African economy backwardness, it could be argued that the European took advantage of the weakness of the African leaders, their economy analyst and their economy settings, notably, not until the war of 1939/1945, there was shortage of essential commodities in the world dues to the devastating effect of the war, Britain, France and its allies needed raw materials and food stuff, many traditional supplies routes were shut down and distrupted as a result of the war. These events made them fell back to Africa where they could source for these essential commodities (Fage, 1962). To say it was not properly arranged is not a point out of contest, can we argue that it was because West African lacked economy expert and expert advice to the ruling government against the economy arrangement that was visible to be denying the West Africa total maximization of their agricultural proceeds? The answer is not far fetched, West Africans leaders were myopic and was so much concerned on their countries interest rather than the regional interest a typical example is Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, between 1957-1960 after Ghana had got independence from the British colonial masters, Nkrumah aimed at converting all the former possession into a single nation state, this idea domintated his personality and that of his party (Fage, 1962). This looked like building Ghana as the center of West Africa power rather than building a unified city states that will benefit all the West Africa states. Each state tended to protect the interest of her state rather than protecting the interest of the economy of the region at large.

The main focus or question is that, why was individual state interest was more of concern to them rather than the regional growth and economic advancement? The answer is not farfetched, the leaders believed so much in their states rather than the region, also they were more concerned to build the states having just coming out of the bond of colonial masters. Unlike the European states that was busy building the regional strength with the establishment of different regional association such as European Union (EU), Council of Europe (COE), Central European Initiative etc. Building a community states brings an effective ways to solving problems, in this line, members come together and bring synergy where there is deficiency, there is member to member relationsip that helps to solve problems easily, growth becomes easy in this set up. But West Africa leaders focused more to build their state into the pattern they wanted. Thus keeping the company of the region was far from the plan. Thereby, the leaders of various states refused to annex the wealth discovered from the natural resources and published a solid sales plan which will incorporate all the states in West Africa that are producing same products. Thus, this will bring uniform price and reduce the tendency of cheating from the buyers and ultimately make more money from their proceeds. It is also established that West Africa could not compete industrially. It was a one sided business affairs. The West Africans relied on the Europeans finished industrial products, equally, looking at them for market for their finished agricultural produce. Statistically, West Africa has only 2% of the world industrial production, which most of them came from processing of mineral products which is concentrated in few West Africa states, majorly Nigeria, Cote D'Ivoire, Senegal and Cameroun.

Before the integration plan or idea, West Africa economy failed to challenge for industrial development as mentioned earlier, mineral products dominated the scene against industrialization advancement which was supported by the food production, beverages, iron and steel production.

Analytically, West Africa growth was stunted because of the way the economy was set up and being ran, it was terrible that diversification was missing, technological advancement was poor and was paid for in two ways. The first one was, the Europeans merchant could dwell on the visible loop hole and took advantage by reducing the purchasing price, as the weak market strategy was capitalized on across the West African states, who are into production of one item or the other, then sell to the European merchants, this in turn reduced the capital income of these states. The Europeans formed a cartel against them. On the other hand, the West African could not break up with the ties with the European merchants. Rather than breaking up, the dependency ratio or level increased, they needed them for survival both on the basis of buying their finished products and equally in the aspect of acquiring the European finished products.

West Africa countries equally failed to open up intra West African trade platform or association. There was practically no trading relationship between any of the West African nations, signing of bilateral trade agreement was never a thing of the regional independent states. It was a case of being neighbors but never shared any business ideas and thoughts. West Africa economy setting was designed in a way to rest foreign countries and formed a unified trade relations with them, this arouse a strong business trade bound because there was organized trade relationship with them. The argument is that, why West African states would go as far as seeking for trade relationship with the European rather than having a trade bound with their neighbors. Objectively, West Africa nations were not as rich as the Europeans, and the strong market required could only be sought in Europe which has the population, the required technical advancement to make use of the raw materials and above all, Europe stood as the place where these items could be turned into money which completed the chain of production. A typical example is Nigeria, after the discovery of crude oil, this boosted Nigeria European relations, Ghana could use the discovery of precious

stones as a baton to build ties with the Europeans. European transaction was more on the table and more pleasant to both parties. Statistically, West Africa trade with the developed western economy between 1968 and 1974 was about 87.0 percent while within its community (West Africa was about 3.4 percent) during the same period. Basically, their natural and raw resources were shipped in large quantity abroad which was about 89.0 percent while exportation within the community was about 3.3 percent (Economic community of West Africa state, 2016). West Africa nation's economy was more euro centric. It was the European merchants that were dictating the pace of the business.

Analytically, this suggested that, the level of bilateral relations was low and weak compared to the level at which they operated with the Europeans. If the African leaders and elites were liberated enough and volatile enough, they would have understood the power of synergy and cooperation between the lines of their community which is West Africa community. The business level between 1960 and 1974 was controlled by the European cartels, the resources in West Africa were taken out with exchange for European finished products which was not commensurable to the value of the raw materials that were shipped abroad and even the monetary value that was exchanged for it, it was the level of exposure and literacy that allowed the Europeans merchants to explored and exploited West Africa nations. This led to the event of scrambling and partioning of West Africa. It was a big move to empower their political and economic power. The West Africa elites were disadvantaged because they never had required or sound level of education, if they had, they would have administer better.

West Africa before the birth of ECOWAS was largely dominated by movement of people across different geographical territory between different Africa states and beyond. Migration was largely the order of the day as it was a means of fighting for survival, security, fertile land for farming and

a better life or favorable condition of living. We could deduce from the West Africa states that, some of the major or primary ethnic group in the sub region migrated and settled in or outside their region, they migrated and occupied the new zone if found comfortable and convenient for them, unlike where they are coming from or their original settlement. A typical example is Hausa –Fulani of Nigeria could be seen in more than eight countries in West Africa, like the Gambia, Senegal, Niger, Mali, Cameroun, Ghana, Cote D'Ivoire, and Benin Republic. Yoruba, one of the major tribes in Nigeria are equally found in Togo, Benin Republic and Niger (Fage, 1962).

Prior to the period of West Africa community birth, West Africa was governed indirectly with the form of government called indirect rule by the Europeans (Forte, 1948). The Europeans were so wise in their way and used this to manipulate the West African elites under this arrangement. The West Africa communities were governed indirectly by the western leaders and used the black chiefs as the front runner of the administration, but in practice, it was the Europeans that were paddling the affairs of the administration. In my opinion, this act weakened the development of the West Africa region. The novice was empowered but couldn't administer properly, but the population was blind folded and the European wishes were carried out, this in turn stunted the growth of the region. During this era of indirect rule, it was only the council and the chiefs that were supervising, and that were controlling the natives settlers, the elites, the educated and the influential were not allowed to rule, the westerns imposed the chiefs and had enough powers to govern the people, the elites were subjected to the ruling of the chiefs, though the ruling was indirect. Having this at our fingers tip, we could now argue that, was it right for the European to be ruling indirectly? What was the rationale behind the act of ruling indirectly? Africans should have been allowed to rule directly being an independent state and equally a sovereign entity, because governance act and position in Europe and Africa could be different, there could be

different approach to the successful governance both in Europe and Africa, Europeans seems to be more civilized than the black nations and well exposed than the Africans especially the West Africans. Thus, the conceived or the standard practice of governance of the European might not work in West Africa. According to Morris Siegel 1947, his argument was that, the black chiefs should have been trained and tutored on the act of governance, this would have helped in the structuring and building the West Africans empire, Morris opined that, to rule indirectly was a big act to impoverish the West Africa nations, he opined that the black chiefs have the capacity to rule and govern properly, Morris gave an example of Felix Eboue, he furthered that " General Felix Eboue is considered as the creator or the recreator of a native elite as central to political organization of French Equatorial Africa. He further said that, in every society, there is a leading class, born for leading class, born for leadership and without which nothing can be accomplished" This claimed that the foreigner might not have performed better like some of the black elites. The local chiefs could then not operate beyond their capacity.

West Africa economy in the past was agrarian and was equally supported by the internal trade, the Tran Saharan trade made its own point at that time, during the post-colonial time, West Africa country's banked on the plantation of sufficient food and crops and was traded by barta system. Their economy was based on cash crops for export, the most common of the cash crops are peanuts, sorghum, cotton, rice, cassava coffee, cocoa e.t.c. The most important of them is cocoa which is grown in the fertile soil of the wet areas. The countries of West Africa made large income from the international market rather than the local export. There was a developed coastal trade route developed by the European, using people along the coastal region as the middle men in the trade line. In all, there was total dependence of Africa economy on the advance European countries which means Africa economy rested heavily on the European economy to survive as the European

economy was the major market which consumed the African product through the coastal trade route. They depended on the European for market and also European manufactured goods.

In my opinion, West Africa leaders failed to learn from the developed nations such as the United State of America, Germany and the United Kingdom e.t.c. They failed to realize the strength in synergy. If the states in west African were closed and bounded economically as they were geographically, they would have formed a formative united west Africa state, strong enough to resist the hegemonic ruler ship of the western world, strong enough to command a noticeable development and advancement in the region and strong enough to co-ordinate and build a more powerful economy structure that will be strong enough to compete with the Europeans economy.

West Africa is a rich region. The sub region is blessed with gold, diamonds, oil, cotton uranium, iron ore, and other valuable natural resources, the abundant natural resources speaks volume of the richness of the region (Irwin, 2015). The region has all it required to build a strong city states and region. Starting from Nigeria with abundant fertile land mass with its 59% of the entire West African population, Nigeria has a fertile land which supports the growth of agriculture more importantly, there is availability of crude oil which makes 90% its annual export. Crude oil is never a problem in Nigeria. Going to Benin republic, the weather was a bit calm in Benin, the cultivation of cassava, coffee, yam and sorghum was the order of the day. Togo is equally a very rich and fertile country which has about 78% of its labor force in the agricultural sector, this means agriculture was striving so well in the land. Togo was also a great producer of phosphates, looking at Ghana, which was initially called Gold Coast, a British colony, and a very large exporter of cocoa, which was planted by the indigenous farmers. Ghana equally exported coconuts and coconut oil, tobacco, citrus fruits and other important farm commodities. Ghana is known for gold and diamond business compared to other African countries. In Burkina faso, they were known for

deposit manganese, gold copper and iron ore. These were the deposits the country traded on for economic survival and balance. Cote D'Ivoire is equally an agrarian based country, they make use of its rich soil to cultivate cocoa and coffe in large quantity. Analyzing these few African states, we can rightly establish that West Africa is a rich region, that each country has one or two peculiar things attributed to it, and this is the basis for her economy survival. These natural deposits ranges from fertile land to gold, diamond. (Economic Community of West Africa State , 2016).

Consequently, there was rise of nationalists which were elites, they predicted a glorious future for west Africa as against the supremacy of the western culture, they sought to end the hegemony of the westerners and to be more active in the decision making process of their father's land. According to Boahen, he opined that, the consciousness on the part of individual or group of Africans or membership of a nation state either already existing, or to which they aspire and of a desire to achieve political and economic freedom, overall social and economic development as well as the cultural revival of that nation state (Boahen, 1981). It was viewed that the West African were marginalized, they later formed a group to a common front to make their grievances known, which resulted to protest, some of these protest manifested via article publications, newspaper, journals. Write up, and leaflets. These leaders understood the necessity for struggle for decolonization, they have the knowledge of political struggle to emancipate for the freedom of the West African countries. These move led to the declaration of independence of the West African nation nations, starting with Ghana in 1957 which spread round the West African states in the mid 19th century.

2:1 THE IDEA OF INTEGRATING WEST AFRICA

The year 1957 to 1960 was a remarkable period in the history of West Africa, these are the period of emancipation of the West African nations. Having struggled over the years for independence, it was these years that they got the baton to rule and got independence from their colonial masters. The wave which first started in Ghana in 1957, spread round the whole region except for Liberia. This new experience of independence sharpen and broaden the idea of the Africans leaders to emulate the Europeans in the implementation of the Marshall plan which was drafted after the world war II which was to reconstruct and rehabilitate the terribly affected European states (Milestones, 1952). It was a four years drafted plan of reconstructing cities and infrastructures that were terribly damaged during the war and the idea of removing trade barriers between all the Europeans states and neighbors so as to foster trade and commercial relationship between the European states and United State. Basically, the Marshall plan was mainly an integration plan for the Europeans. Thus there was an awareness of economy relationship for the global economic interdependence (Milestones, 1952).

Strategically, West Africa nations came to birth at the period when regional integration was at its peak in the world politics, it was not a distant time to when the second world war was fought and there was need to rehabilitate the damages and devastated destruction that the world war has caused. Having a good understanding of the fact that, regional integration helps country overcome the challenges that come with the flow of goods and services, integration helps developing countries to enjoy synergy and be able to overcome whatever challenge or short comings. Regional integration was prevalent shortly after the birth of West Africa states. Examples are EEC in 1957, the Latin American Free Trade Association in 1960, The Central American Common Markets in 1961, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967, and Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) in 1968. This is a good proof that the world politics was dominated by

the idea of regional integration either for economic reasons, political allies or socio cultural relationships. All these integration and allies were in place to solve a problem or the other or equally to correct some existing anomalies or future occurrence of such abnormality. Regardless of the European experience and the Marshall plan, integration is highly needed in West Africa to foster development and advancement, in international trade, West Africa was backward and to balance this unequal arrangement, there is need to come together under the same platform in other to be able to achieve synergy after annexing different natural resources together. Also the population of West Africa were spread across the region each major ethnic group has its own members among some other sub ethnic group in West Africa which means each major ethnic group has its people spread through to other country rather than its aboriginal country. Example is the Hausa-Fulani of the Yoruba which settled in over eight countries in West Africa e g Nigeria, Niger, Mali, Ghana, Senegal, Cote D'Ivoire, Togo and Benin Republic etc. Yoruba a major ethnic group in Nigeria are found in Togo, Benin republic and Cote D'Ivoire etc. This is a good set up to integrate the sub region as this will lead to proper interaction and great friendship relationship which will lead to growth and development for the sub region.

The integration process of West Africa into the body of ECOWAS was basically influenced by the experience gotten from the Westerners and America. It should be established that, West Africa integration was more political than the economic, the core value of ECOWAS was to promote unity, but the political will overrules the economic. To understand the political will, integration requires that, a state should surrender its national power and might to a supernatural regional authority, also it allow that, a state and members to be actively involved in the regional politics and policies regardless of her view or position, the will and the policies of the regional politics should be ultimately respected. Integration idea in West Africa could be analyzed be several

attempts of the leaders of West Africa, who had the desire of building a united West Africa state, and to build a formidable unit and force around the shore of West Africa, thereby, improving the standard of living of the populace, by implication, building a strong economic unit and system that can compete with other African state. We cannot base the integration on a single effort. (Milestones, 1952).

Geographically, West Africa has a rich land mass, with its rich land mass and natural wealth, it still has some of the poorest countries in the world. Examples are Benin, Cape Verde, Guinea and Guinea Bissau, Liberia and Burkina Faso. Although the African continent is blessed with gold, diamonds, oil, cotton, bauxite, uranium, iron ore and other valuable resources. Its inhabitants have long numbered among the world's poorest. While a few sub-Saharan African nations are doing relatively well, most are mired in poverty (Irwin, A. 2015) . The West African elites thus initiated the idea to integrate the region economically in order to achieve a strong establishment of institution for human development, agricultural and industrial development and also monetary cooperation. A typical example was the speech of General Ignatius Acheampong he opined that " the major purpose of the formation of the community was to remove centuries of division and artificial barriers imposed on West Africa from outside and to recreate together the kind of homogeneous society which existed before the colonialists invaded our shore" (Onwuka, 1980). West Africa integration idea arouse as a form of resistance and struggle against external aggression that the people have suffered throughout history time and ages, it is thus the idea of unity, regional and continental integration in West Africa. It was a quest to establish West Africa states as a single nation. Conclusively, in integration, there is a complementing strength to tackle different problems, seeking for huge security, socio economic balance, cultural development and advancement.

2:2 THE BIRTH OF ECOWAS

ECOWAS became official in May 1975 in Lagos, as Lagos treaty marked the official declaration of the organization. The main objective is to promote economic cooperation and integration among the West African State (Ezeogidi, 2020). The move was to boost the economic growth and to boost the development level of the West Africa states, where there would be free entry and exit of goods and people between the lines of the West Africa state. The treaties was signed between the fifteen (15) different countries which are, Benin, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Cote D'Ivoire, Togo, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, and Sierra Leone. In 1976, Cape Verde joined the member to add up the number of the members to sixteen (16) by 1999 Mauritania pulled out to reduce the member state to fifteen (15) which is the update number till date (Roberto, 2011).

ECOWAS was the first body that brought different West Africa states together regardless of their colonial past, varied background differences and linguistics barriers, ECOWAS is a body that brought the West Africa leaders under the same umbrella which is beyond social and economic legacies of the colonial era and enhance their different pre-colonial ties. We should understand that before the birth of ECOWAS, the territory of West Africa was made up of states with different colonial and historical experience and different kinds of administrators which made up the land that ECOWAS occupied.

There were so many efforts in the process on conceiving ECOWAS, all the process requires the formation of one regional group or association, though not strong enough but died a natural death

until the birth of ECOWAS. All the groups laid a good foundation for the birth of ECOWAS. Organization such as West Africa Economic Community (CEAO) this was the last attempt and the third attempt in the build up to establishing a regional organization. It was created in 1973 and was preceded by UDAO and UDEAO which were created in 1959 and 1966 respectively. CEAO was created to build an economic ties between all the West African francophone nations. The previous organizations failed because of their historical interest, technical challenges, administrative issues as well as political and economic reasons. CEAO came with a better and structured set up unlike the previous organizations that could not stand the test of time and has six members which are, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast. It was all these organizations that laid the foundation for ECOWAS and gave it a soft landing at inception which eventually led to the signing of Lagos treaty in 1975 (Roberto 2011).

ECOWAS was not just created, there were so many attempts that led to the eventual birth of the regional organization, critically thinking, the death of Charles De Guale in 1970 was part of the reason that eventually led to the creation of the regional union, he advocated for a united Africa nation until his death, after his death, the attempts was pursued and was achieved by 1975 (Matthew 1957). There was move to pursue cooperative endeavor by the francophone nations and working in line with their own policies and believes. The CEAO, the African Community which was created in 1973, couldn't stand the test of time because of lack of trust from their counterpart because Liberia and Nigeria which is tagged the giant of Africa was not part of the group, the omission of Nigeria and Liberia made Togo and Benin refused to join the association on the ground that it was not a solid or formidable union. This mistrust made it die, and could be said that, they were all the groups that gave ECOWAS soft landing on arrival.

Another pivotal point is the plan of Nigeria to use the organization as a link up bridge between Nigeria and other Francophone West Africa nations that supported the Biafra nation during the Nigeria civil war of 1967-1970. This was essential for Nigeria to use ECOWAS as a tool to build a solid relationship with other West Africa nations. The only idea to the birth of ECOWAS that did not require the creation of any association or group was the integration of the CFA franc currency by the West African francophone countries. It was a move to made the currency of these region a single currency, this was a great foundation to the eventual birth of ECOWAS. Later on in the year 1964, Liberian President William Tubman proposed an economic inion of West African which prompted the signed agreement in 1965 by four independent states, Cote D'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Having made these attempts which could not cover the entire region, by 1972, there emerged the proposal for the union of West Africa. (Economic community of West Africa state of people 2016). The move was spear headed by the Nigeria head of state Gen Yakubu Gowon and his Togolese counterpart Gnassingbe Eyadema. The duo started touring the region preaching the gospel of unity and integrating the region. The tour was basically to gain support for the integration move. The move was fruitful as it eventually led to the signing of Lagos treaty in 1975 by fifteen independent West Africa states (Economic Community of West Africa State, 2016).

Conclusively, the birth of ECOWAS in 1975 with Lagos Treaty was a conceived idea of decades back, historically, the first move was the creation of a uniform currency (CFA) for the French West Africa countries in the year 1945 even before they got independent, this idea was followed up with 1964 plan of creating an economy union by the Liberian president, President William Tubman which was supported by just four West Africa states. This was followed by the creation of different regional groups though not as powerful as the latter which is ECOWAS, above all, there were

different attempts that were made to integrate the region before the ECOWAS treaty was eventually signed by 15 different states, with the aim of integrating the region and promoting inter state economy and political cooperation among the member states.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 ECOWAS TREATIES

The Economic Community of West Africa State treaty is a multilateral agreement that binds the member states that made up the community, the treaty is an endorsement, a binding document, and the constitution signed by the 15 member states who were present to sign the Lagos treaty, and this made the community became a legal entity. It was the written document that encompasses the process and procedures of ECOWAS thus, it was the binding law that the community must respect and be obliged to. This treaty came into force provisionally on May 28, 1975, in respect of the date which the representative, better put, the head of states made official declaration or signed in accordance to the article (1) of the first chapter of the treaty which was titled Establishing and Membership of the Community. Which states that;

a. By the treaty, the high contracting parties establish among themselves an economic community of West African States (ECOWAS) herein, referred to as the Community.
b. The members of the community hereafter referred to as the Member States, shall be the states that ratify this treaty and such other West Africa states as may accede to it (ECOWAS Website. 2007).

The treaty came into force for the member states on different date that was confirmed and signed. The table below indicates the date each state became binded by the treaty.

3.1 TABLE SHOWING THE MEMBER STATE DATE OF SIGNING ECOWAS TREATY (Essien, 2006).

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

Having signed the ECOWAS treaty, it translated that, the member states have agreed to the conducts, decisions and practice of ECOWAS. thus, the treaty became the guilding principle and constitution of the community (Essien, 2006). The body according to the treaty is made up of institutions and specialized agencies. These institutions are; The Authority of Head of States and Government, The Commission, The Community Parliament, The Community Court of justice, Council of Ministers, Specialized Technical Committees as well as the ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development. There are equally ECOWAS specialized Agencies. They includes; West African Health Organization (WAHO), West African Monetary Agency (WAMA), Inter-Governmental Action Group against money laundering and Terrorists Financing in West Africa (GIABA) ECOWAS Gender and Development Center, ECOWAS Youth and Sport Development Center, ECOWAS Water Resources Coordination Center, West African Power Pool, ECOWAS Regional Center for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency (ECREEE), ECOWAS Regional Electricity Regulatory Authority (ERERA), ECOWAS Infrastructure Projects Preparation and Development Unit (PPDU) and ECOWAS Brown Card Scheme (Gavua, 2007)

On the 28th of May, 1975, the 15 independent states of West Africa, Nigeria, Liberia, Ghana, Mali, Senegal, Cote D'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea Bissau. Togo, Gambia, Benin, Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone, Niger and Mauritania came together in Lagos and signed the 65 articles of ECOWAS Treaty which comprises of 14 chapters, this made the first treaty of the community. ECOWAS treaty was provisionally signed by their head of state to mark the beginning of the reign of ECOWAS as an integration plan for the community and the region. The 65 articles formed the guiding document of the community and the ultimate goal of the treaty was to promote economy and political development in West Africa, by integrating the region to form a formidable unit which

aspire to develop and grow, not minding their political background (Human Right Law in Africa, 1975)

ECOWAS treaty of 1975 summarizes that, there is a conscious mission of the overriding need to accelerate, foster and encourage the economic and social development of their member states in the view to improving the standard of living of their people, it was conceived that there should be development to enhance the unify economic development of their states and a massive call out for cooperation. The is backed up with the comment of the former Ghana president in Lagos on the eve or ECOWAS birth, General Ignatius Acheampong he opined that " the major purpose of the formation of the community was to remove centuries of division and artificial barriers imposed on West Africa from outside and to recreate together the kind of homogeneous society which existed before the colonialists invaded our shore" (Onwuka, 1980). Having said this, it could be assumed from his comment that, the whole 15 head of states on seat who signed the treaty had concluded and convinced that they wanted a more united and coordinated West Africa states which convinced them to sign the treaty that pronounced the organization a regional organization, which they are all responsible to.

This made the provision of the ECOWAS treaty became imperative, because they needed a structure, organized, value system, procedures and guidelines, that will form the basis of the community operations. The member states should believe and have in mind that, there is a fair and equitable distribution of the benefits of cooperation among member states if the system works as planned. In this line, wider cooperation is required in the sub region for bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation. The treaty, revisited the declaration of African cooperation, development and economic independence adopted by the tenth assembly of head of states and government of the organization of African unity. They bear in mind that, the efforts of regional cooperation should

not bring conflict and there should be wider cooperation effort in the sub region. This treaty there by, affirm the ultimate objective of their efforts to sustain economic development of their states and the birth of a homogeneous society leading to the unity of the countries of West Africa, as they aimed at eliminating all types of obstacles to the free movement of goods, capital and persons. In the light of all these summaries, the Economic Community of West Africa States thus agree to the 65 articles of the treaty of ECOWAS. These 65 articles would be analyzed and critically interpreted and see the inter connections between each articles and how it was designed to achieve the aims and objectives of the Community.

3:2 THE TABLE BELOW SHOWS THE TREATY SUMMARY

S/N	ARTICLE NUMBER	CHAPTER NUMBER	CHAPTER TITLE	ARTICLE TITLE
1	1	1	Principles	Establishment and membership of the community
2	2	1	Principles	Aims of the Community
3	3	1	Principles	General Undertaking
4	4	2	Institutions of the Community	Institutions
5	5	2	Institutions of the Community	Authority of head of state and government establishment composition and functions
6	6	2	Institutions of the Community	Council of Ministers, establishment compositions and functions
7	7	2	Institutions of the Community	Decisions of the authority and the council of Minister

8	8	2	Institutions of the Community	The Executive Secretariat
9	9	2	Institutions of the Community	Technical and specialized Commission establishment, composition and functions
10	10	2	Institutions of the Community	External Auditor
11	11	2	Institutions of the Community	Tribunal of the Community
12	12	3	Customs and trade matters	Liberation of trade
13	13	3	Customs and trade matters	Customs Duties
14	14	3	Customs and trade matters	Common customs Tariff
15	15	3	Customs and trade matters	Community tariff treatment
16	16	3	Customs and trade matters	Deflection of trade
17	17	3	Customs and trade matters	Revenue duties and internal taxation
18	18	3	Customs and trade matters	Quantitative restrictions on community goods

19	19	3	Customs and trade matters	Dumping
20	20	3	Customs and trade matters	Most favored nation treatment
21	21	3	Customs and trade matters	Internal legislation
22	22	3	Customs and trade matters	Re-exportation of goods and transit facilities
23	23	3	Customs and trade matters	Customs administration
24	24	3	Customs and trade matters	Drawback
25	25	3	Customs and trade matters	Compensation for loss revenue
26	26	3	Customs and trade matters	Safeguard Clause
27	27	4	Freedom of movement and residence	Visa and Residence
28	28	5	Industrial development harmonization	General principles

29	29	5	Industrial development harmonization	Exchange of information on major industrial projects
30	30	5	Industrial development harmonization	Harmonization of industrial incentives and industrial development plans
31	31	5	Industrial development harmonization	Personnel exchange, training and joint ventures
32	32	5	Industrial development harmonization	Remedial measures
33	33	6	Cooperation in agriculture and natural resources	Cooperation among Member States
34	34	6	Cooperation in agriculture and natural resources	Harmonization of agricultural policies
35	35	6	Cooperation in agriculture and natural resources	Evolution of a common agricultural policy

36	36	7	Cooperation in monetary and financial matters	Cooperation in monetary and fiscal matter
37	37	7	Cooperation in monetary and financial matters	Settlement of payment between Member States
38	38	7	Cooperation in monetary and financial matters	Committee of West African central bank
39	39	7	Cooperation in monetary and financial matters	Movement of capital and capital issues committee
40	40	8	Infrastructure in the fields of communication	Common transport and communication policy
41	41	8	Infrastructure in the fields of communication	Roads
42	42	8	Infrastructure in the fields of communication	Railways

43	43	8	Infrastructure in the fields of communication	Shipping and international water ways
44	44	8	Infrastructure in the fields of communication	Air transport
45	45	8	Infrastructure in the fields of communication	Telecommunications
46	46	8	Infrastructure in the Fields of Communication	Pan African telecommunication network
47	47	8	Infrastructure in the Fields of Communication	Postal services
48	48	9	Energy and Mineral Resources	Cooperation in energy and mineral resources
49	49	10	Social and Cultural Matters	Cooperation in social and cultural matters
50	50	11	Fund for Cooperation Compensation, Development	Establishment

51	51	11	Fund for Cooperation Compensation, Development	Resources of the Fund
52	52	11	Fund for Cooperation Compensation, Development	Uses of the Fund
53	53	11	Fund for Cooperation Compensation, Development	Budget of the Community
54	54	11	Fund for Cooperation Compensation, Development	Contributions by Member States
55	55	11		Financial Regulations
56	56	13	Settlement of Disputes	Procedure for the Settlement of Disputes
57	57	14	General and Final Provisions	Headquarter of the Community
58	58	14	General and Final Provisions	Official Language

59	59	14	General and Final Provisions	Relations with other Regional Associations and third Countries
60	60	14	General and Final Provisions	Status, Privileges and Immunities
61	61	14	General and Final Provisions	Settling up of the Institutions
62	62	14	General and Final Provisions	Entry into Force, Ratification and Accession
63	63	14	General and Final Provisions	Amendments and Revisions
64	64	14	General and Final Provisions	Withdrawal
65	65	14	General and Final Provisions	Depositary Government

Analyzing the 14 chapters of the 65 articles that formed the bed rock of the community, it has three main highlights, the first part introduced the community and did settle the aims and objectives of the community, while another part which is part of the body of the article did itemize and analysed the different institutions, compositions, duties and obligations and their general meeting schedule, while the third part analyzed the core duties and functions of the organization and equally did settle the financial provision as well as the spending of the community, lastly the concluding part discussed the call for readjustment, the procedure to withdraw and the deposition of government in the community as required by the treaty of the community.

The treaty provided for the governance structure of the community, the community is governed by the three arms of government, which are, The Executive, The Legislature and The Judiciary. The Head of the Community is saddled with the responsibility of overseeing the affairs of the community. The Council of Ministers is headed by the minister in charge of the ECOWAS affairs in the country of the chairman which automatically becomes the Head of the Community Council of Minister, this made him responsible for presiding over all the statutory meetings for the stipulated period of his tenure. The general overseer is the President of the Commission, which is appointed by the authority for a non-renewable period of four years and has an assistance, a Vice President and other thirteen Commissioners (Human Right Law in Africa, 1975).

The Legislative Arm is the community parliament, headed by the speaker of the parliament. This is supported by the Secretary of the Parliament. And the Judicial Arm of the Community is The Court of Justice, that is headed by their President. The Court is in charge of legal assignment, dispute settlement and treaty interpretation and every other legal related duties.

The treaty of ECOWAS, committed the members states into agreeing to unite the region and thus, seeing integration as the main aim of the community. Having agree to this point, the treaty thus created this four major organs to implement and realize its objectives. According to Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States (1975).

1. The Authority of the Head of the State and the Government
2. The Council of Ministers
3. Four Specialized Commission which are,
    a) The Tribunal
    b) The Executive Secretariat
    c) Fund for Cooperation

d) Compensation and Development

4. The Legislative Arms

The treaty gave the name community to the organization, and the name member state to the states that made the community. The article equally established the aims which is to promote cooperation and development in all fields of economy activities particularly in the field of industry, transport, telecommunication, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary, financial questions and in socio and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its people by increasing and maintaining economic stability of fostering closer relations among its members, and contributing to the progress and development of Africa continent. Another important section of the treaty was to liberate trade in the community. In this sense, the treaty made room for removal of trade restriction between the member states, removal of custom traffic and thus, came to allow free movement across the community. This is to point out the harmonization plan of the community.

The treaty equally set up the institutions that will help the functionality of the Community. They are setup to make the Community works and these institutions are given their required constitutional power, they are saddled with the responsibility of working within the limit of their power. The treaty set out the composition of this institutions and their various duties. The treaty articles laid so much emphasis on integrating the trade aspect and position, it refused custom trade tariff, removal of obnoxious fairs, levies and taxation.

All these are moves to create friendly trade relations between the member states, it frowned at discrimination on the goods from any of the member state. ECOWAS 1975 treaty was a comprehensive document that touched all the aspect of the Community set up. It touched

compensation package for a distress state or challenged state in terms of economy challenge. The treaty embraced freedom of movement and residence of the citizen across the community, it removed the obstacles to them moving freely within the community.

Conclusively, the treaty of ECOWAS encouraged the transformation of the region into a centralized community that operate freely into each other, harmonization is key, integration is paramount, industrial development is one of the fundamental cries of the treaty. Also, cooperation, agreement, exchange of resources and ideas and inter relation, another point is the inter connection agreement and set up of that community is embedded in the treaty. There is communication, telecommunication and networking agreement in the community, ranging from railway connection, international water ways, and air transportation facilities. This is clearly stated in view of connecting the region just to make the community a single entity (Human Right Law in Africa, 1975).

ECOWAS 1975 treaty lasted for eighteen years (18) 1975-1993, with the previous giving room for a revised treaty with the developments and the trends of events allowing the call for a more comprehensive and detailed revised treaty, which took note of the lapses of the old treaty. Thus, July 1993, ECOWAS revised treaty was signed in Cotonou and marked the end of the road to the old treaty (Olayiwola et al, 2015). It was not completely discarded, but the relevant articles and conventions of the treaty became relevant to the revised treaty. After many years of rolling through the previous treaty, it was believed by the member states that, achieving its aims and objectives was not looking close or visible, because so many challenges the community was facing at that was not prepared for in the treaty. The 1975 treaty spoke more of economy stability. Meanwhile, at that time, the community was faced with political issues and security instability, all these hampered the development and realization of the dream of the community and made the treaty

looked surplus to requirement. Thus, there emerged the call for adjustment for the realization of ECOWAS dream, this led to the review of the treaty in Cotonou on the 24th of July, 1993 (Olayiwola et al, 2015).

3:3 1993 ECOWAS REVISED TREATY

The head of states of the member states of ECOWAS unanimously agreed on the 6th July 1991 to revise and review the treaty of May 28 1975, which formed the basic bedrock of ECOWAS, the reason for this is not farfetched as it was, there was a call to improve on the existing protocols and to block the loop holes in the previous treaty (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2015). The revised treaty came with an expansion and depth of realizing the economic cooperation and political stability. The move was sponsored by the committee that was set up to look into the review of the treaty and pushed for the way forward having seen some lapses in the initial treaty. It was in line to have a better and more sophisticated and volatile treaty as against the previous treaty. It was also obvious that the old agreement has little testimonies towards the regional commitment and integration success story or progress. Noncompliance from the part of the member states is equally another point the new treaty hopes to address and lack of resources to finance the integration plan. Thus, the revised treaty is more comprehensive and coherent. It began in Abuja at the 14 ordinary session of the authority of head of states and government on the 6th July 1991. Looking at the frame work, ECOWAS revised treaty is more detailed than the initial one, as some articles were included to make the new treaty 95 articles which is coded into 24 different chapters (Olayiwola et al, 2015).

3:4 THE TABLE BELOW SHOWS THE 1993 REVISED TREATY SUMMARY

S/N	ARTICLE NUMBER	CHAPTER NUMBER	CHAPTER TITLE	ARTICLE HEADING/TITLE
1	1	1	Definition	Purpose of the treaty
2	2	2	Establishments	Establishment
3	3	2	Establishments	Composition
4	4	2	Establishments	Aims and Objectives
5	5	2	Establishments	Fundamental Principles of the Community
6	6	3	Institutions of the Community	Institutions
7	7	3	Institutions of the Community	Authority of Heads of states and government
8	8	3	Institutions of the Community	Sessions
9	9	3	Institutions of the Community	Decisions
10	10	3	Institutions of the Community	The Council of Ministers establishment compositions/functions

11	11	3	Institutions of the Community	Meetings
12	12	3	Institutions of the Community	Regulations
13	13	3	Institutions of the Community	The Community Parliament
14	14	3	Institutions of the Community	The Economic and Social Council
15	15	3	Institutions of the Community	The Court of Justice Establishment and Functions
16	16	3	Institutions of the Community	Arbitration Tribunal Establishment and Functions
17	17	3	Institutions of the Community	The Executive Secretariat Establishment and Compositions
18	18	3	Institutions of the Community	Appointments
19	19	3	Institutions of the Community	Functions
20	20	3	Institutions of the Community	Relationships between the staff of the Community and Member States
21	21	3	Institutions of the Community	Fund for Cooperation, Compensation and Development Establishment States and Functions

22	22	3	Institutions of the Community	Technical Commissions Establishment and Compositions
23	23	3	Institutions of the Community	Functions
24	24	3	Institutions of the Community	Meetings
25	25	4	Cooperation in Food & Agriculture	Agricultural Development and Food Security
26	26	5	Cooperation in Industry Science and Technology and Energy	Industry
27	27	5	Cooperation in Industry Science and Technology and Energy	Science and Technology
28	28	5	Cooperation in Industry Science and Technology and Energy	Energy
29	29	6	Cooperation in Environment and Natural Resources	Environment
30	30	6	Cooperation in Environment and Natural Resources	Hazardous and Toxic Wastes
31	31	6	Cooperation In Environment And Natural Resources	Natural Resources

32	32	7	Cooperation in Transport Communication and Tourism	Transport and Communication
33	33	7	Cooperation in Transport Communication and Tourism	Post and Telecommunications
34	34	7	Cooperation in Transport Communication and Tourism	Tourism
35	35	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Liberalization of Trade
36	36	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Customs Duties
37	37	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Common external Tariff
38	38	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Community Tariff Treatment
39	39	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Trade Deflection
40	40	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Fiscal charges and Internal Taxation
41	41	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Quantitative Restrictions on Community Goods

42	42	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Dumping
43	43	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Most Favored Nation Treatment
44	44	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Internal Legislation
45	45	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Re-exportation of Goods and transits Facilities
46	46	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Customs cooperation and administration
47	47	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Drawback
48	48	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Compensation for loss of Revenue
49	49	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Exceptions and safeguard clauses
50	50	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Trade Promotions
51	51	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Money and Finance Payment
52	52	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Committee of West African Central Banks

53	53	8	Cooperation in Trade Customs	Movement of Capital and Capital Issues committee
54	54	9	Establishment and Completion of Economic and Monetary Union	Establishment of an Economic Union
55	55	9	Establishment and Completion of Economic and Monetary Union	Completion of Economic and Monetary Union
56	56	10	Cooperation in Politics	Political Affairs
57	57	10	Cooperation in Politics	Judicial and Legal Matters
58	58	10	Cooperation in Politics	Regional Security
59	59	10	Cooperation in Politics	Immigration
60	60	11	Cooperation in Human Resources	Human Resources
61	61	11	Cooperation in Human Resources	Social Affairs
62	62	11	Cooperation in Human Resources	Cultural Affairs
63	63	11	Cooperation in Human Resources	Women and Development
64	64	11	Cooperation in Human Resources	Population and Development

65	65	11	Cooperation in Human Resources	Information Radio and Television
66	66	11	Cooperation in Human Resources	The Press
67	67	12	Cooperation in other Areas	Harmonization of Policies in other areas
68	68	13	Cooperation in other Areas	Land Locked and Island Membership
69	69	14	Financial Provisions	Budget of the Community
70	70	14	Financial Provisions	Regular budgets of the Community
71	71	14	Financial Provisions	Special budgets of the Community
72	72	14	Financial Provisions	Community levy
73	73	14	Financial Provisions	Contributions by Members States
74	74	14	Financial Provisions	Financial Regulations
75	75	14	Financial Provisions	External Auditors
76	76	15	Settlement of Disputes	Settlement of Duties
77	77	16	Sanctions	Sanctions applicable for non fulfilment of obligations
78	78	17	Relations between the Community and African Economic Community	The Community and the African Economic Community
79	791	18	Relations between the Community and other Regional Community	The Community and other Regional Economic Communities

80	80	19	Relations between the Executive Secretariat and Specialized Institutions	The Executives Secretariat and the Specialized Institutions
81	81	19	Relations between the Executive Secretariat and Specialized Institutions	Relations between the Community and Regional Non-Governmental Organizations
82	82	19	Relations between the Executive Secretariat and Specialized institutions	Relations between the Community and Regional Socio Economic Organizations and Associations
83	83	20	Relations Between The Community Third Countries And International Organization	Cooperations Agreements
84	84	21	Relations between	Agreements concluded by member states
85	85	21	Relations between member states, nonmember states regional organizations and international organization	International negotiations
86	86	22	General and final Provisions	Headquarters of the Community
87	87	22	General and final Provisions	Official and working Languages
88	88	22	General and final Provisions	States Privileges and Immunities
89	89	22	General and final Provisions	Entry into force and Ratification
90	90	22	General and final Provisions	Amendments and Revisions

91	91	22	General and final Provisions	Withdrawal
92	92	22	General and final Provisions	Transitional and savings provisions
93	93	22	General and final Provisions	Depository Authority

The preamble of the treaty re-affirms the establishment of the community that was born on the 28th May 1975, having been conscious of an over-riding need for improved ECOWAS plans in order to achieve its aim and objectives, being convinced that, there is need for concerted policy, determination, in order to achieve state promotion, economic development of the states. This also goes with the state pooling of national sovereignties to the community within the context of political will and equally accepting to establish various community institutions with relevant power. In this new arrangement, the state accept to be more united, as they tend to jointly face both present and future challenges, and they pulled their resources together to combat any challenge. In this view, they are mindful of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community that was signed in Abuja on the 3rd of June 1991. This was a strategy to modify the communities approach to its plan for a better future with a more comprehensive and exclusive channel having understood the benefits of economic co-operation and integration would be shared among the member states justly. Thus, with this framework, the treaty of May 28 1975 was unanimously agreed to be revised into 94 articles and stretched across 22 chapters (Revised Treaty Of The Economic Community Of West African States Ecowas, 1993).

There are four striking highlights of the revised ECOWAS treaty, the first part introduced the treaty and the organization in form of a community, having done this, it thus discussed the aims and the objectives of the community to the member state, so as not to shift focus and attention outside the aims at which it was designed for. The second striking highlight is the set up or the governing body, the treaty made us to under the organogram of the community, from the head of authority

which is the central leader with other protocol reporting to the council of ministers, to the Community Parliament and lastly the Court of Justice. This part discussed the various institutions and the values they are meant to add to the community. The treaty also examine the functions and the fundamental assignments they have on their desks. What they are made to do in the integration process. This now takes us to the next point, which is the functionality of the treaty, the treaty defines the operation of the community, how and what it was designed to do. This is the major assignment of the treaty to discuss the performance of the community leaders, and the realization of the aims of the community. This is clearly stated and visible for all to take note of. This made scoring ECOWAS performance easy because the performance will be evaluated in line with the achievements of the community on the member states. The concluding part now tells us the relationship between the community and other external group. This tells us the position of the community that, all community members should not join any other community or organization that has a contrary believe to that of ECOWAS (Revised Treaty Of The Economic Community Ofwest African States Ecowas, 1993).

In the same manner, the community treaty dealt with economy situation, it also pays attention to the political situation and operation, starting from the early chapter of the treaty, it focused on ensuring cooperation is the political settings and operation of the region. It affirms judicial and legal cooperation between the communities. This is to establish or confirms that the treaty did not only want the economy prosperity of the community, but also wants the political, legal and judicial progress and unity within the community. This is in move to achieve the integration objective of the community. We can thus agree that the treaty was a complete package as it improvised for both economy unity and political unity of the member states, not only the two points are discussed in the treaty, the regional security mechanism was equally mentioned and given a deep attention.

Logically, it addressed all the key fundamental tools that can propel or sustain booming economy in the community. A state or regional organization with security threat cannot grow economically not to talk of planning an integrated economy alliance. Thus, it is provided for a solid foundation to build on the quest to building an integrated economy plan in the community. Also, it touched the political arena which was a vital player in the quest to build a solidified West Africa economy pattern.

Having settled the political and security issue, the treaty then moved to other sector of human sphere, it discussed the cooperation in human resources, the distribution of the member states cultural arrangement and practices. It moved to provide for social affairs relationships which includes sport, different organization, labor law etc. This was important as it opened the region to an avenue of cooperation and unity. This is also a great work put together in the treaty in reconciling the member states together, with this arrangement, members will be united even without any official agreement or arrangement, this cultural mix will literally bring the unification thereby integration becomes easy. Much credit to the draft of this treaty, as it treats issues in line with scale of preference, having settled cultural ties, it thus make provision for eruption of dispute and the likely ways to dispute settlement in the region, the treaty is comprehensive enough to have dealt with any form of dispute matter and the possible ways to the settlement within the community. The member states are obliged to respect the guidelines set out in the treaty for dispute settlement in the community. In as much the dispute could not be completely written off. Thus, in an ugly situation where there is conflict or crisis, the treaty has provision for peaceful settlement of dispute. This is another pointer towards uniting the community.

The treaty established a central bank of West Africa to see to the affairs of currency central and annex the monetary issues of the community. This article opened that, there shall be committee of

all central bank chairman or governors of the member states who shall be controlling the affairs of the West Africa Central bank, also there is provision for movement of capital committee that ensures the proper way of transferring of capital in the community, and there is economy union that are in place to maintain stable and unified monetary policy in the community. This is move to equally integrate the economy of the community as 2020 was predicted as the year to unite the region into the use of a common and single currency (Revised Treaty Of The Economic Community Ofwest African States Ecowas, 1993).

We can equally agree that the treaty is wide and flexible. In the later part of the treaty, it provided for involvement of non and states actors in the integration process. The treaty demanded cooperation with the likes of producer, operators, workers in the private sectors, employers and employees, university teachers etc. This is visible in chapter 5 article 27 which is titled Science and Technology, which reads "In their co-operation in this field, Member States shall: Co-Ordinate their programmes in applied research, research for development, scientific and technological services, promote exchanges of researchers and specialists among Member States in order to make full use of the technical skills available within the Community and harmonies the educational systems in order to adapt better educational scientific and technical training to the specific development needs of the West African environment. (Revised Treaty Of The Economic Community Of West African States Ecowas, 1993). This set of organizations were mobilized to enhance the integration process. This is to say that, all players in the community are essential and their inputs are required for the integration process. The treaty equally discussed the relationship of the community with other international organization. This opens the community to other international input either regional or global in achieving its aims. This suggests that the

organization is not myopic as it seeks for the benefit of cooperating with other international bodies to be able to benefit the member states.

The concluding chapter of the treaty discusses the importance of communication to the integration process. The approved language or official language to be use is French, English and Portuguese. The reason behind this is that, these three languages are the most celebrated languages, not only that, they are the most popular and they made the three official languages of the region. The Western African states were portioned between the British, French and the Portuguese. This made these languages become the official languages of the region. It should be noted that there is provisions for innovation and improvements. In this regard, member states can raise motion or motions for amendment through the executive secretary which will bring it to the notice of all the member states. This implies that, the community is liberal and democratic enough to receive amendment from any of the member whose might have got any addition to improve the community. Thus, we can say it is not a rigid agreement or a rigid community.

In conclusion, a committee of elites were set up in the community to see to the request that was submitted in 1991 for the review of the treaty. This ultimately led to the revised treaty in Cotonou on 24th July 1993. The revised treaty still reaffirmed the 1975 treaty intentions of economic freedom, consolidated trading, market freedom and above all, integration and cooperation that will improve the standard of living of the entire population of the community. 1993 treaty has more depth, as it dwell not only on economic matters but touched the political life of the community, it thus added West Africa parliament, different political institutions and security mechanism was structured out to curb and prevent the escalation of conflict and regional crisis. During the time of review, globalization was on the rise, thus initial treaty could not withstand the externalities of the effect of globalization. Thus having signed in Cotonou in 1993, the revised treaty of 1993 became

the official constitution of the community, which is the path way to the realization of the dream of ECOWAS which was to foster economic integration. Having said this, it is important to state that, the revised treaty was a step forward to the realization of the dream of the community and the community leaders which is the conglomerate of the sub region, all the achievements of ECOWAS has its roots and foundations from the different articles of the treaty. These treaty articles will lead us to the next chapter where the achievements of the community shall be exposed in line to the functionality and evaluation of the effectiveness of the treaties.

CHAPTER FOUR

4:0 ECOWAS ACHIEVEMENTS.

Having analyzed the historical framework of ECOWAS, the origin and birth, with its aims and objectives and having built the solid foundation on the treaties and protocols of the community, it is thus expected to analyze the achievements of the community since its birth and to evaluate it performance so far on the sub region. In exploring the achievements of ECOWAS, we must pay a close attention to the aims and objectives of the community at birth, this will give us an objective evaluation of its achievements and impacts in the sub region. This is detailed in the article (3) of the revised treaty of ECOWAS in 1993. The main aim of the community is to promote cooperation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the standards of living of its people, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among member states and contribute to the progress and development of the Africa continent at large (Revised Treaty Of The Economic Community Ofwest African States Ecowas, 1993).

To justify the achievements of ECOWAS, it is important to note that, ECOWAS has been playing a more wider role in integrating the region, ECOWAS has not only promoted trade, free movement, policy harmonization but has also been involved in the conflict resolution, environmental issues, enforcing humanitarian projects, and many other political related issues.

The most visible achievement of the community is the enforcement of the protocols on free movement of persons in the community, this is significant because it allows free movement of people across the community without restriction. Citizens of the community enjoy cross boarder movement without presenting visa to do so. The protocol on free movement thus has abolished visa requirement for all the member states across the community for the period of 90days which could be extended if need arise. ECOWAS at birth has the basic assignment of economy integration and to foster business relations between the communities, it is important to dwell on the fact that, it has stretched across economy platform to political, education, security, disease control and youth coercion in the community. All the above points make the major exploits of the community since inception.

The main gain of the community is the successful bound and interaction that has been born among the member states making the community a boarder less community, historically, West Africa region is blessed or filled with people of different background and who has different colonial experience, this arrangement made them look like strangers to one another because of their antecedents and colonial background, even with the coming of the Europeans which partially encourage migration and mobility of labor across the region, it was not a move for integration, rather it was a move for survival and individual quest for a better living. In this regard, ECOWAS deserve big thumbs up for annexing this region together both politically and economically. Don't let us forget that, it was European merchants that started imposing tax and different levies on each territorial boundary during the Trans Saharan trade after the region has been successfully partitioned. ECOWAS first move and one of the biggest achievements is a boarder less West Africa. According to Dr. Nelson Magbagbeola during the Abuja Debate that marked the 40 years celebration of the community, titled Appraising ECOWAS in the last 40 years, He said "As an

ECOWAS citizen travelling across 15 states of the sub region, you do not need a visa" This is a way forward in achieving a boarder less community. This is a classic achievement because, it is a gateway to achieving its aims and objectives. This has allowed free trading around the community, not only that the artificial barriers or boarders across the community has been partially cancelled it has stimulated the homogeneity of the community. Thus, it did not only appear in the paper but it became evident to the world that the process of integrating West Africa into a solid unit is on the horizon. In another way, it promoted and advertised the ECOWAS idea and intentions to the wider world as the whole world could see it and see the reality. Free trading, and trading integration lies on free movement of person, this is the foundation check to building a unified system and integrating the economy under a single platform (Bruce, 1978).

This is the bedrock, and free residence of community citizens in another state rather than his in the community. Recalling the last part of Article 3 of the treaty of ECOWAS, as the treaty aimed at establishing a common market through "the removal between member states of obstacles to the free movement of the persons and goods, services and capital, and to the right of residence and establishment" without this, economy liberation may not be possible in the community. ECOWAS has achieved its aims on this by creating an avenue where a citizen would travel round all the states in the community without acquiring a visa. This is similar to the Schengen kind of visa arrangement in Europe. This is a huge step in the integration process in the region. It was a gradual process, and in all, it was achieved after three different occasions and events. The right of entry and abolition of visa was implemented between 1980-1985, followed by the other phase, which was the right of the residence which came to law in 1986. The other phase which was the right to establishment and signed and became law in 1990. (Aderanti et al, 1991). Meaning that,

before the year 1980, all these arrangements were not in place. Looking at this feat, we can rightly say ECOWAS has made a big land mark on this.

Though we can argue it that most of these success stories could not be attributed to ECOWAS but the world politics, which was characterized with series of integration process. A typical example was the creation of EEC in 1957, The Latin American Free Trade Association in 1960, The Central American Common Market in 1961 etc. Culminated the global politics at post World War II. To say the world politics is dominated with series of regional integration is not wrong, but it took ECOWAS through it special commissions and council of minister, protocols, treaties and conventions to achieve this great feat. In a bid to be successful in this quest, ECOWAS on the 12th of May 2000, agreed to have three types of uniform international passports. The red passport is designed for diplomatic personnel, blue for the service men while green passport is for the ordinary group (Bruce, 1978). This arrangement has made uniform and easy on the implementation of human trafficking across the community. The boarder less arrangement has made it possible for free flow of people around the region, thus, there are immigrants across the various states in the community. For example, Ghana immigration service showed that, the least one-third of all arrivals in Ghana between 1999 and 2002 were from ECOWAS states (John & Ezekiel 1995). It is even believed that the number of unofficial human traffic through the land channels were more than what the official channels recorded. The gain of this is that, there is free flow of movement around the shore of the community. This is the first point of the integration which form the basis of ECOWAS aims and objectives.

ECOWAS through it initiatives and plans have made a huge progress in the area of transport and trans-national transport facilities. It could be recalled that, one of the aims of ECOWAS is infrastructural development in the region. Which is stated in the ECOWAS revised treaty in the

article 32 which state that "ECOWAS is saddled with the responsibility of ensuring the harmonious integration of the physical infrastructures of Member States and the promotion and facilitation of the movement of persons, goods and services within the Community. Thus, ECOWAS through its mechanism lunched an ECOWAS ECOAIR, which is a private sub-regional air transport system that will connect all the member states which is a big move to ease the tension and pressure of transportation within the community. In the same way, ECOAIR will boost the easy connection within the region, both goods and services. Meanwhile, recalling the achievement of ECOWAS on transportation, to have this objectives achieved, ECOWAS has set up a committee with the aims of doing feasibility study and cost of implication of road from Accra to Lagos and Accra to Ouadougou (Olayiwola et al, 2015). This is a huge project for the community but the implication is that, it will connect the region by land. It could be recalled that the commission has agreed that the only required travelling document will be the ECOWAS passport.

Another achievement to the credit of ECOWAS is the level at which ECOWAS has liberated trade within the community, this liberation has made trade integration easy, it has even helped to increase the trade performance within the community in the last 2 decades, the trade integration has hit 14 percent in the community while across other non-West Africa states is about 5 percent. With this figure, it is believed that not all the trade arrangement or trade executed were recorded, there are several of trades that were not captured or recorded, this implies that, the trade liberation has got positive effect on the trade relationship within the shore of the West Africa States (Olayiwola et al, 2015).

It is right to say that, there is justification for chapter 8 of the ECOWAS revised treaty. This chapter called for the cooperation, in trade, customs, taxation, statistics, money and payment. Article 35 of the treaty says "there shall be progressively established in the course of a period of 10 years

effective from January 1, 1990 as stipulated in article 54, a custom union among the member states within this union, customs duties or other charges with equivalent effect on community originating imports shall be eliminated" The goal was to make sure there is free movement of goods and persons in the community, this will be followed by removal of all tariff and non-tariff barriers of trade. The goods under these categories are agricultural products, handcrafts and industrial goods produced within the ECOWAS region. This arrangements has equally dismantled all illegal boarder patrol teams and substitute them with police and supervising trained personnel.

The testimony of the article 59 which explicitly talk about "citizens of the community shall have the right of entry, residence and establishment and member states undertake to recognize these rights of community citizens in their territories in accordance with the provisions of the protocols relating there to. Also member states undertake to adopt all appropriate measures to ensure that community citizens enjoy fully, the rights to referred to the paragraph 1 of the same article. This article simply could be interpreted that, ECOWAS wanted a community citizenship across all its member states. In this again, member states are enjoyed to remove all barriers from a citizen of another member states not to have enjoyed all benefits and total freedom in the residence state within the community. As a citizen of Nigeria, I can enjoy the same civic right in all the states in the community. This is liberty and a move to achieve a unified West Africa State.

ECOWAS now a multitask community rather than an economical inclined community. ECOWAS is now economically minded, political alerted, security conscious and educational oriented. All these are now the basis on which ECOWAS stands on. For this reason, more attention will be focused on the political and security achievement of ECOWAS. According to Danjuma Aku, one of the speakers during the Abuja debates on the occasion of ECOWAS at 40, he opined that, no development can be achieved without security. This gradually shifted the attention of ECOWAS

slightly during post- colonial era when the community was faced with series of political uproars. ECOWAS has stood so strong in the aspect of political stability in the region, it has intervened in series communal clashes Coup de'etat, and also has helped in cease fire intervention, thus far, ECOWAS has lots of achievements in this area. The situation of things or as events unfolded, ECOWAS has contributed immensely on the security checks and reforms of the community, it has played a front role in installing peace and security control, political stability, it is equally one of the achievements of ECOWAS. ECOWAS frowns at unlawful hijack of power in the community, ECOWAS could be said to have zero tolerance for unlawful political hijack of power. It has been a major challenge for the community from inception, as this was rampant in the community and it is not a good channel for the progress of the community, the community frowns at such act. A good example was in Mauritania and Guinea in 2008, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast etc. ECOWAS has never been in support of military coups, tenure prolongation and unconstitutional change of constitution to suit the sitting Government, it equally have no tolerance for any form of political manipulation, election rigging on the side of the incumbent government or refusal to accept defeat from the ruling party, refusal to cede to defeat in a democratic election. It is important to state that, these factors are retrogression to the development of a state and the community at large.

ECOWAS, with the intention of integration would perceive such act as an act of retrogression. ECOWAS in its capacity is fighting such arrangement from all its member states regardless of its status and strength. This is a testimony on the revised treaty of ECOWAS on good governance protocols. A good example was the action of ECOWAS on the Ivory Coast election of November 28, 2010, Laurent Gbagbo was voted out but refused to cede to defeat, having tried all means to restore peace and to avoid another outbreak of war or conflict, ECOWAS aligned with United

Nation to use its armies and forces to pull out the forces of the ousted president and to establish the conduct of democracy to which the election ousted him from office. ECOWAS was seen at the center of the issue as President Goodluck Jonathan the then chairman of the community led the move to remove the ousted President from power. ECOWAS was pro-active as it eventually forestall peace to the country to avert any form of civil war (Ezeogidi, 1990).

More importantly, ECOWAS from 1978 has paid a serious attention on the security affairs of the community and conflict management. This is attributed to the article 4 of the revised treaty which is titled Fundamental Principles. This article, established the objectives of the community. The fifth article, stated that "the community shall maintain regional peace, stability and security through the promotion and strengthening of good neighborliness" The sixth article also specified that, "the community shall peacefully settle dispute among the member states, have an active cooperation between neighboring countries and enhance promotion of a peaceful environment as a per-requisite for economy development" In summary, ECOWAS is obliged to promote peace and security stability in the region as it endures to integrate the community. This led to the formation of these three fundamental protocols and agreement.

1. Adoption of Protocols on Nonaggression in 1978
2. The Mutual Assistance on Defense in 1981
3. The 1999 Mechanism for Conflict Resolution.

The adoption of protocols on nonaggression was to basically make ECOWAS be able to maintain regional peace and the community security. It is also a move for the community to get to the point of stability, development across board and having a strong bound of cooperation. Lastly is to enjoy a collective power to fight poverty, and to be able to mount their own defense. It is just a means of using synergy to advocate for security, protection and economic enhancement in the community.

While mutual assistance on defense was created to enhance the community defense force and to jointly give mutual aid to build the defense of the community, not only that, the agreement was to mutually assist any state under security threat or aggression. Much credit to the intervention of ECOWAS in Liberia, Cote D'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau and Sierra Leone civil war. There was a major breakthrough for ECOWAS in 1990, as the Economy Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was formed by the Anglophone West Africa States, as a formal agreement for their separate armies to work collectively to combat insecurity and largely to support the under fire Liberia political setting (Ezeogidi, 1990). Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Lone, the Gambia, Mali, Burkina Faso which were the Anglophone members of the community aligned together to send troops to Liberia in 1991 to end the civil war in Liberia. It's started on the 29th May, 1981, as the community members signed an agreement on Mutual Defense Assistance in Freetown. It was a successful spell as Samuel Doe was disposed and this ended the civil war in 1996. So far, ECOWAS has had considerable achievements on the security stability and safe-guiding the lives of the citizens of the community. It has successfully preserved the security level and status of the community. It has been maintaining peace and security in the community. It forestalled peace in some parts of the community. Some distress places like Liberia, Sierra Lone, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Burkina Faso enjoyed in this set up having been attached by the men in Khaki.

ECOWAS in-line with its aims and objectives has had a marginal achievement in the issue of trade promotion, having the main aim of trade integration, ECOWAS has undertaken some steps in promoting the localized product internally, to make it popular and acceptable by the community members, part of this effort has been organization of periodic trade affairs within the community. A typical example was the SIPAL 2018 Trade Fair that was held in Senegal in 2018, this was the sixth time of such gathering in the West Africa. The reason was to gather professionals across the

region to commence and to bring these traders and experts together, making their products visible to those who may need their services. Another one was the Agro-Food trade fair, that was held in Nigeria, it was organized to showcase agricultural produce, raw materials, food-processors, food packaging and the latest technology advancement in this field, it is also a means of promoting trade in the community and lastly is the Salon International De l'agriculture et des Resources Animals (SARA) which was held in Cote D'Ivoire. It was an agricultural, trade fair that encouraged the countries in the Saharan Africa to develop interest in agriculture, relying on the fertile land and mass fallowed land at their disposal. Thus, ECOWAS has facilitated trade promotion in the community, the view of promoting intra-regional trading and also to promote the local business and commodity within the community. (Olayiwola et al, 2015).

Another obvious achievement of ECOWAS is visible in the area of transportation and the infrastructures that enhance the performance of good networking. ECOWAS as a community has been quick to respond to the basic needs of the member states. The transportation move solved two important problems, it is a means of bridging the gap between the states in the community, also an avenue that supports the flow of goods and commodities across the community. Having solved these fundamental problems, ECOWAS has been successful in developing a vast road network within the community. Lagos-Abidjan highway project has been realized and achieved, this project links Nigeria and Abidjan and cover several land locked countries in the region. It is a 2x3 highway running from Lagos Nigeria through Abijdan Cote D'Ivoire. It passes through Accra, Lome and Cotonou, as a matter of fact, the highway project is a massive project that cover a large portion of West Africa. It was a great feat for ECOWAS because the road network would encourage cross boarder movement with ease, and regional trading would be executed smoothly and seamlessly with this arrangement. The 1000 kilometers road of six lanes motorway was

powered by the African Development Bank (AFDP) with the total package of $22.7million as the cost of the project. Statistically, this highway alone is responsible for 75% of the total trade volume of the community. After decades of waiting, on the 21st of January, 2019 the 1.9 kilometer long bridge that linked Senegal Dakar and Gambia was lunched and opened. The bridge made possible easy connection between Dakar and Gambia and is a good move of promoting trade relations between the two countries, also through to the entire community. It was a ECOWAS project and was funded by Africa Development Bank which cost 65million dollars and was supported by the Gambia Government. The bridge put an end to the challenge of connecting Gambia and Senegal. Journey from the two states now take approximately five hours rather than the previous 24hours or more journey. In the same manner, ECOWAS has equally succeeded in linking Mauritania and Senegal with the completion of the Rosso bridge, the project has immensely contributed to the friendly and business activities between Mauritania and Senegal. It has majorly increased the commercial activities between the two states, on the other hand, it has supported the growth of trade relations between the West Africa nations. It was a $97million project supported by the African Development Bank. Equally ECOWAS has got thumbs up from the successful completion of the Sierra Leone Bridge that connects the state capital with the airport. A $2billion project of seven kilometers has been completed, and has made movement of people in and out of the country become very easy unlike when the capital commuters would have to use ferry connecting the airport. Having recorded this, we can point all these as justification to the treaty and aims of ECOWAS, because this has been followed up with great achievements under the watch of ECOWAS (Madamombe, 2006).

More to the success story of ECOWAS is the setting up of the ECOWAS Trans-West Africa railway. This is planned to undertake the construction of West Africa Coaster high speed rail

project. They include the construction of 1,178.84km railway connecting Nigeria, Togo, Benin, Ghana and Cote D'Ivoire. This project include railway stations, railway terminal bridge and administrative facility and tunnels. This is a move to complement integration process. There was a breakthrough with the conclusion of Abidjan- Ouagadogou railway, it is 1200 km single trap line, the rail trap links both Cote D'Ivoire and Burkina Faso. As of 2000, it has been transporting petroleum products and agricultural items between Cote D'Ivoire and Burkina Faso. This is a great move in facilitating trade activities between the two countries and equally stretching to the walls of the community. Equally on the achievement of ECOWAS on air transportation facilities to enhance and commence travelling and movement of goods and people around the community on the air, using ECOWAS facilities. ECOWAS intention on this agreement was to encourage a joint planned traveling agreement. It is a move to promote regional air transport facilities in a view to bringing the region transport service together under the same canopy (Olayiwola et al, 2015). The role in which ECOWAS air transport has being playing is to achieve the organization's aims of bringing the community together. ECOWAS air transport scheme tries to allow free flow of passengers and goods with a cheap fare, that is efficient and effective, making transportation a resolved issue in the community. In this regard, it has guaranteed a competitive market and enabling environment for airlines, it has advocated and achieved a quality services in the field of air freight, ECOWAS air transport has equally provided a high aviation security standards in compliance to the laid down regulations and it has successfully protected passengers rights. Having realized the challenges of the ECOWAS airlines operation, ranging from numerous and multiple weak and powerless airlines in the region, such as, Overload Airways, Asky Air, Burkina Faso and Africa World Airlines, ECOWAS air transport has addressed some of the shortcomings of these airlines and thorough reformation was carried out to bring the best out of the regional airways

(Paul, 2007). The mandate of the scheme was to have a strong and reliable airlines service that is conducive, cheap, and pocket friendly with air lines furnished with up to date aviation policies and regulations. In another means, it is a source of diversification and investment for the community to look elsewhere in fetching money for the community not relying only on commodities and goods.

Educationally ECOWAS has been successful, the community set up ECOWAS protocol on Education and Training under the watch of ECOWAS convention, this protocol so far has achieved promotion of school health and HIV/AIDS preventive education, they have made the teaching and training on science and technology more popular across the region, they have set up vocational schools and different training centers, Another great achievement of the community in the sub region is the establishment of equivalence certificate in the community such as, The West African Examination Council (WAEC). This was formed prior to the birth of the community but was reformed in 2004 with an organized well trained staff and the council was equally restructured. To the credit of ECOWAS in the community, is the establishment of ECOWAS Nnamdi Azikwe Academic Mobility Scheme (ENAAMS). The mobility scheme is a community scholarship scheme that is available for the exchange of both students and teachers in community, in order for the universities across the community to have mixture of culture, exchange of culture and languages mix. Apparently this will allow the universities to have a sizable number of qualified teachers and students mixture. This confirms the community plan of building a boarderless community in the sub region. This has been providing scholarship for Masters and PhD students in the community. This scheme equally promotes a high level of research and exchange of culture, information and academic materials among various universities in the community. And ultimately

education promotion is the primary aim of the scheme as scholarship is awarded to those who could not afford the bills and it is based on merit.

Parts of the better way to integrate the community is through sports and youth development, ECOWAS has successful explored this as a means of bring the community together. The youths in the region are being coordinated to be united. In participating in some of the social activities and sports. This is a way of uniting the youths bracket of the community. The most exciting is the West African games. This is a regional sporting event, started in 1977 in Lagos with 10 West Africa countries, it is also called ECOWAS Games, where all the states in the community come together and compete in different sporting activities. It is a uniting factor as it requires different state sporting men and women, professionals, trainers and organizer to come together for a speculated period of time, similar to the world's Olympic Games.

ECOWAS has had considerate achievements in the community to the realization of the aims and objectives of the community, looking back to all the performances and visible achievements in the region.

4:1 CRITICS OF ECOWAS

No matter how high we can evaluate and rate ECOWAS, it has got some flaws that worth dwelling on for an objective evaluation of the community and the performance since creation to the present time.

The community is plagued with series of crisis and problems that has dented the image of the community. With the understanding of free entry and exist of the community members within the community, this might expose the community to prevailing mixture of civil citizens or law abiding and mixture of criminals in this arrangement if not properly managed, it could allow the spread of

contra-band goods, illegal goods, drugs trafficking and many other vices in the community. In a situation where the boarder is not mounted and guided properly, this would lead to the spread of illegal business and trading freely across the community. This can equally lead to spread of disease which could not be managed or difficult to control.

Another objective criticism of ECOWAS is the fact that national interest is placed ahead of the regional interest. Basically, ECOWAS community states began to work or became independence in the mid 1990s and this is the period ECOWAS was formed shortly after the independence of the states in the community. States opted for advancing or developing their states rather than investing on the community. Most especially in the aspect of trade promotion, individual state preferred to promote her country's products rather than promoting the community goal or regional trade. In the light of this, it has caused serious set-back for the integration process of the community (Grondo, 2014).

Another draw- back to the community's target is the availability of too many currencies, many currencies are in use in the community, this has called for the service of different exchange controls, in the business setting, there is need for exchange control of currencies in a situation where there are two countries using different currency. The French block has a strong currency or monetary union via the CFA Franc through the union Economique et Monetaire. This is the most popular currency in the community, despite this arrangement, there are other asymmetrical currencies in the community. Such as naira, escudo, rupee, etc. This might slow down the community's efficient payment model between each country in the community. Asymmetrical currency in the region has huge impact in the integration idea of the community.

Another criticism of ECOWAS is the presence of sub regional organization within the circle of the community. ECOWAS as the mother of the community, allows the creation of sub region to

equally perform in their own capacity. CEAO which was created in 1973 as a monetary union for the francophone countries in the region metamorphosed into UEMOE in 1994. The idea was to bring together the francophone countries economy together under the same bloc, as this body has been regulating the economy of the francophone nations, Cote d' Ivoire is the headquarter of this sub regional organization. Another bloc is the Anglophone axis of the community, the Anglophone comprises of the British colonized arm of countries in the community. The economy is majorly controlled by Nigeria and Ghana. The countries of the community could be said to be divided into two blocs. In this sub region, each country established its own national currencies and conduct its own national trade policies for their domestic policies and operations, unlike the previous axis that has a central body, which is regulating the affairs of the economy of the entire sub region economy operation. It is important to state that, the community does not operate a single economy policy which might make the integration policy difficult and unachievable, judging from the mode of design of their economy and arrangement. The francophone countries have different approach to economy unlike their Anglophone countries counterpart.

Another short coming of the community is the fact that, there is presence of low or weak intra-regional trade in West Africa. There is a very low percentage of intra-state trading in the community. It is believed that, between 1998-2012, the intra-regional trade which comprises of import and exports was between $1250million and $212million while the regional trade with the Europeans equals about $8260million (Grondo, 2014). There is low trading activity between the community members which has dragged down the rate of development and integration in the community. The prevailing economy activities rolls between the most powerful countries in the community and the Europeans and countries outside the region. We could analyze it that, the community members has never in any way complemented each other, because they are into

production of similar goods or almost the same products ranging from agricultural products and some mineral resources. The goods for industrial production are usually sent to the Europeans nations for production. Europeans nations, Asians and the Americans benefitted mostly from the products and mineral resources of the community.

Political instability and violence and uprising with series of civil wars in the community has been a major set- back to the realization of the dream of the community. The fact that economy integration and advancement lies under the platform of a stable and peaceful environment. The political crisis in the community during the post-independence has under mined the political and economic development of the community. The post- independence period was characterized by couple of civil wars and violence in some parts of the community. Not only that, military intervention in government was rampant and prevalent in the community, not giving room for civil rule and rule of law. The community was characterized by the series of political instability and chaos. This is one of the vices to the integration plan of the community, as they have in one way or the other weakened the growth of the community and hampered the integration plan. At some point, rather than focusing on the integration and cooperation plan, the attention was shifted to injecting peace and stability to the sub region. In a large extent, it has lowered the rate at which the community could source for means on cooperating and integrating the community.

ECOWAS community is regarded as a back ward community with less technological advancement, low level of infrastructure in the community (Ezeogidi, 1990). The community does not have required facility to encourage the integration plan. Road network is bad, transport system is poor and the facilities are not adequate and enough, power surge or power outrage is another bane of economic development in the community. These and many more are militating against the advancement of the community with a bid to integrate the community.

High dependency ration has equally hampered the implementation of common policies and planned programmes of the community. The community which is made up of two blocs are of the Francophone and Anglophone axis. They are both loyal and answerable to each colonial power, thus most preference are given to the colonial power in term of loyalty and patronage. Even they have much believe in the products of their colonial lords. This led the community into another mode of problem of mis-trust among themselves as the smaller states are always scared of the fear of domination from the side of the bigger states or country. Lack of trust, fear and dependency ratio to the colonial power has negative impacts on the integration process and impacts on the integration process and plans of the community in line to protocols and programs of the community.

Rounding up the drawback of ECOWAS with the lackadaisical attitude, non-chalant altitude to some of the texts and calls of the community. Community members don't fully participate, they do on paper, but not committed to it. This is evident in the premiliary session held in Abuja on the 13th December, 2017. The President of the Commission of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Marcel de Souza, pleaded for prompt payment of Community Levy by Member States of the regional organisation. Making the appeal on Wednesday 13 December 2017 in Abuja Nigeria at the opening of the 79th Ordinary Session of the ECOWAS Council of Ministers. Mr de Souza indicated that the non-payment or delay in the logement of Community Levy by our Member States remains a major challenge. It is hoped that Member States would continue to honour their obligations to the Institution by providing the resources needed to finance projects and programmes, particularly the fight against insecurity and improving the living conditions of the people in the Community, he furthered that, they do not make their contributions timely, not being regular in the regional meetings and implementation protocols. ECOWAS has

be bewildered by all the afore mentioned points which has hindered or stunted it growth and the accomplishment of the aims and objectives of the community (Economic Community of West African States Report, 2013).

4:2 EFFECT OF ECOWAS ON THE SUB-REGION

With the commission working effortless to achieve its aims and objectives, the community has its pros and cons. It is on paper that, the advent of ECOWAS has brought in relative peace to the community, the state of the community as at mid-1990 after their independence, the political arena was saturated with political unrest, military junta which could be bloody and fell short of the rule of law. But, ECOWAS in its capacity frowned at such and sought out ways to make democracy popular and accepted in the community. Peace and political stability as one of the fundamental effect of ECOWAS on the sub-region. ECOWAS whose main aim is to integrate the economy system of the region by allowing free movement of people across the axis, thereby made the aims and objectives more explicit in the 1993 revised treaty which expanded the aims into political stability. It has been so active and ruthlessly fighting all forms of political instability of any form. To achieve this, ECOWAS partnered with UN, EU, AU, World Bank and with other countries within and outside Africa to the realization of this aim. This is evident in its action in 2015 to 2019 security and development agreement that was signed with the US Government, this agreements was to strengthen ECOWAS as a democratic institution, to foster peace and security (Akanji, 2019). In 2016, ECOWAS signed an agreement with the Tran-Saharan in countering terrorism, likewise is the membership of ECOWAS in the UN Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC) this

gave the UN the power to make peace resolution and to prevent terrorism within the region of ECOWAS (Akanji, 2019).

ECOWAS has established an Inter-Governmental Africa Group against money laundering and terrorist financing in West Africa (GIABA). This was established in December 10, 1999, as an agent or institution to deal with any form of money laundering in the community. In 2006, the institution scope was extended to combatting regional terrorism financing, this is a means of combatting regional terrorism. By this means, this institution has helped the region to create a task force group which helped the region with policies, advises, mentoring, purchase of equipment and making different tours to make sure that the region is safe from regional terrorism or any form of attack.

ECOWAS has been able to maintain status of the common currency of the Francophone states in the community. These are the eight West African Economic Monetary Union (WAEMU) they include Burkina Faso, Mali, Benin Republic ,Cote D'lvoire, Guinea Bissau, Niger, Senegal, Togo, they make up the sub-region in the community of ECOWAS and they have been maintaining a unified external tariff. The sub-region makes use of Communaute Financiere Africaine (CFA) as their currency and has the same rate as fixed rate against Euro and USD in the different countries. Non WAEFU have their own local currencies, and each controls their exchange policies and rate. The presence of ECOWAS has been sustaining the trend of events, and has been one of the factors that has upheld this single currency of WAEMU countries (Ousseni & Seydou 2020). The presence of ECOWAS is felt and has sustained such integration idea. It should be noted that, the move has been before ECOWAS but ECOWAS has been a sustaining factor either directly or indirectly. It is the mindset of ECOWAS to build a capacity of Central Bank of West Africa which will coordinate the affairs of the monetary policy of the region by building a profile of single currency

arrangement for the entire community. Therefore, ECOWAS is on the path of achieving its dreams and aims of integrating the community into a single bloc.

As part of adopting necessary regional economic policies to advance its regionalization development, ECOWAS has initiated the trade liberalization scheme within the sub-region. This is to encourage free movement of unprocessed goods and traditional handicraft, free from all duties and taxes and there is also elimination of duties and taxes on industrial products originating in the sub region. ECOWAS members have unanimously agreed to eliminate all forms of obnoxious levies for any of the member state products that meet these conditions. It must be approved by the appropriate bodies or agency, E.g. NAFDAC in Nigeria for food and drug products, it must be a product that originates from any of the member states. It must be a product produced from the community. The product must carry a certified document or certificate of exportation out of the originating country.

These arrangements are to create a suitable ground for intra-regional trading and transactions among the member states. In the past, inter-regional trading was low, and to achieve ECOWAS goal, inter-regional trading needs to be strong and active. This is to bind the states in the region together. Over 1500 industrial products have been approved by ECOWAS to benefit under the trade liberalization scheme according to Chambas.

Interaction in the community has become easy, due to the presence of ECOWAS, it has been so effective in fostering cooperation among the community. Thus, it has successfully harmonized the community. ECOWAS has increased the level of harmonization even with the fulfilment of article 59 of the ECOWAS revised treaty of 1993. The article which states that" Member state to ensure that citizens of the community shall have the right of entry, residence and establishment and member states undertake to recognize these right of community citizens in their territories in

accordance with the provisions of the protocol relating thereto". In regard to this treaty and its fulfilment, citizens of the member states can travel out of the country to any other country within this region and stay for 90 days without being required to apply for visa but only health insurance certificate is required to do so, and if willing to stay beyond, only an extension document is required for this.

ECOWAS has equally made its presence known by fostering a strong communication and linkage with the countries of the world and equally different international association that will be of great importance to the community. ECOWAS has formed a formidable partnering with other regional forces and different association that are more powerful than ECOWAS itself. This has helped the countries in the community in overcoming some of the challenges they are facing. ECOWAS presence has fostered its cooperation with other international actors globally. This is the fulfilment of article 83 of the revised treaty of the community which states that "The community may conclude cooperation agreement with third countries and in pursuit of its objectives, the community shall also cooperate with the organization of African Unity, the United Nations and any other International Organization". A typical breakthrough was the partnership with the European Union (EU) which has been a huge blessing to both the community and the individual countries. EU has helped in financing so many project in West Africa, also during the corona virus pandemic, EU has helped the region, and community with financial aid to combat the effect of the pandemic on the economy of the community, grants, and relief packages have been given to the community. European Union and West Africa relationship is over 40 years, E.U is the biggest trading partner which has supported the region in many areas where help is required, the main aim of the relationship is to improve the condition of living of the people and to ensure stable sustainable development in the region. E.U has been using series of agencies to bless the West

Africa region. European Development Fund (EDF) has helped in disburting series of funds to help the region, Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF) has helped to bring about stability, fought the root causes of destabilization. While E.U via Economic partnership Agreement (EPA) has been able to promote trade and agricultural products of the region which has brought abought economy stability (European Commission Report, 2020). There is equally ECOWAS – EU ministerial Troika meeting which happens periodically to discuss various issues on peace and security, governance, economic integration, industrial and political development of both the community and the member states. Not only EU has ECOWAS has got relationship with, closely, ECOWAS has collaborated with United Nations, in this set up, different agencies such as UNECA, UNESCO, UNDP, and UNICEF have been useful to ECOWAS in one way or the other and in their own capacity. ECOWAS has been working closely with (IMF) International Monetary Fund, World Bank, African Development Bank (AFDB). Partnering with these organizations, ECOWAS has benefited greatly. These organizations have helped in education, human resources, development, communication, infrastructural development.

Conclusively, ECOWAS has got a strong footprint in the community, the presence of ECOWAS in the region has been a positive response to integrating the region. West Africa is lucky to have ECOWAS has a factor of integration, advancement and development. ECOWAS has brought un precedent development to the region, and to a very large extent, it has helped in uniting the region. In a null shell, we can say that a deeper and tighter integration is near.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION

ECOWAS is a regional association that was formed in the year 1975 with Lagos treaty marking the official birth of the community union. The agreement was agreed by the 15 member states that were present in Lagos and signed the official documents. Nigeria, Cote D'lvoire, Mali, Ghana, Guinea, Cape Verde, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Niger, Liberia, Togo and Benin Republic were in Lagos to sign the treaty of Lagos which official recognized them as a member of the community. ECOWAS is a pan West Africa idea, not minding the history of the region. Thus, President Gnassingbe Eyadema and his compatriot General Yakubu Gowon toured round the region with the motive of receiving support to the big dream of bringing the states in the region under a single umbrella called ECOWAS. The community aims at promoting cooperation and integration of all the states in the community. This move eventually was successful as the plan saw the light of the day by May 28, 1975 which the treaty was drafted and signed in Lagos, and there were 15 states in the region to sign the official treaty of the community.

ECOWAS was officially declared a community organization of 15 independent states. With the main motive of economy cooperation, integration and above all, improvement of the standard of living of the nationals and the economy of West Africa. ECOWAS became the first body that

brought the whole West Africa states together regardless of their political background and history. Historically, ECOWAS had some predecessors integration groups, these are the groups that paved way for the birth of ECOWAS, among them were, West Africa Economic Community (CEAD), U.DAO etc. These group had the intention of merging the community, but not as strong as ECOWAS, they paved way for the coming of ECOWAS. Referencing all these groups either strong or not, either they were successful or not, ECOWAS came with better formation, structure and succeeded than all the groups which have headed to the point of moribund.

ECOWAS at birth was governed by treaties, this is the document that formed the basic guidelines and norms that binded the community members, and formed the basis of their guiding principles. ECOWAS treaty was signed by all the member states in 1975 in Lagos. This is detailed in the Article 1, paragraph B of the ECOWAS treaty of 1975 "The members of the community here after referred to as the member states, shall be the states that ratify this treaty and such other West Africa states as may accede to it." This means that, any member that has agreed to sign this treaty automatically became binded by the laws and by implication, becomes one of the members of the community. The 11 chapters of the 65 articles was signed by the 15 West Africa states and automatically became the constitution of the community. The major highlight of the constitution was that, it created the community, it formed the guiding principle, and explained the mode of operation of the community, and also spelt out the aims and objectives of the community. Basically, the treaty spelt out the whole set-up and the operation mechanism of the community. The treaty lasted for 18years before it was replaced by the 1993 revised ECOWAS treaty that was signed in Cotonou in 1993. The journey started on the 6th July 1991, when the community set up some committee to look into the possibility of drafting a more detailed treaty. This called for a more comprehensive document to pilot the affairs of the community both the leaders and the

subjects. In this arrangement, the lapses of the pioneer treaty was amended and this gave birth to the 1993 revised ECOWAS treaty. 1975 revised treaty was not completely abolished or removed but restructured and amended and was made to enable the community realize its goals and objectives in no distant time. 1975 treaty recorded low success story in line to the integration process. The players then deemed it fit to replace it with another one having assessed the previous treaty and its strength. In doing this, the community re-affirmed the intentions of the previous treaty. The new treaty has twenty-two chapters and 94 articles, well informed than the previous. These arrangements made it possible for ECOWAS to be more volatile and increase the scope of the organization. Initially, ECOWAS was more of an economic based organization, it main focus was centered on the economic perspective, while the 1993 revised treaty was expanded and covered both economic and political arena of the community, education, security and infrastructural development was equally provided for in the treaty as well as the general welfare of the existing community.

Having discussed all of these, it is important to note that ECOWAS with its structures and organization has got numerous achievements to her credit. This has cut round the major sector of governance. Economically the community is better, it has taken steps ahead and total integration is on the horizon. Politically, the biggest achievement of ECOWAS is that, it is the first regional community in the whole of Africa, the first regional community to unite the whole West Africa states. This is also one of the testimonies of ECOWAS, to have been able to institutionalized the policy of free movement of goods and people around the community, so far, it could be said that, the community has created a borderless community for the region, which is synonymous to economy freedom and integration. This has been the fugal point of the aims and objectives of the community from inception. There is political calmness unlike what it used to be, the community

was dominated by chaos, unrest, political instability in the past, but ECOWAS has come to the rescue, and what we have at the moment has replaced political instability for political calmness and stability.

Summarily ECOWAS has got this testimony, today, the interest of more than 300 million citizens of ECOWAS are being served through the accelerated implementation of sectorial programs for wealth creation. ECOWAS has labored to bring about greater entrenchment of democratic culture enhanced efficiency in dealing with conflicts crisis prevention and resolution as witnessed in the resolution of stability to member states caught in conflicts over the year (ECOWAS of States to an ECOWAS of People, 2016).

As stated in one of ECOWAS newsletter on its achievements, ECOWAS look forward for positive strides having made harmonization of macroeconomic policies, the implementation of the Common External Tariff (CET) multilateral surveillance, research and youth empowerment, trade liberalization, custom union, favorable industrial policy, mines development, agriculture and environment, infrastructure and transport, telecommunications and energy, when completed the Abidjan- Lagos highway project under the regional infrastructure development programs will support the ECOWAS regional integration agenda, stimulate investments, reduce poverty, improve security and enhance accessibility within the region (ECOWAS of States to an ECOWAS of People, 2016). This implies that, despite the tons of achievements of ECOWAS, the community is not satisfied, the community still thirst for more achievements, thus, it is right to say that, with this mind set and goals of the community, total integration which is the main aim of the community is closer than it can be imagined.

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

Having discussed the foundation and formation of West Africa to the present dispensation, and digging deep to the formation of ECOWAS in 1975, it objectives and goals, the procedures and the achievements, in the same manner, the commission was criticized and evaluated based on its performance. It is pertinent to further make some recommendations for the organization's growth in line to break forth new ground and be able to achieve its aims and objectives. These recommendations will be directed to the two players involved in this setup. The member states would have their own portion of the recommendations while there will be sort of recommendations for the central body which is the community. The most important thing is that, the community must be trusted by the member states, the member states should have maximum trust and believe in the community's projects and believe strongly in all the protocols and conventions that are in place to the realization of the objectives of the regional organization. Lack of trust should be totally fought and all the states should trust the community's setup including the work-forces that are appointed and elected to serve in one capacity or the other. With this regards, all their procedures should be trusted in line with the elections within the circle of the community such that, the elected players would be generally accepted and supported to succeed. Having sorted this out, the leaders should be dedicated to their assignments and works. They should be patriotic and pro active to the call of ECOWAS assignments and duties. For ECOWAS to have its ideas realized, it needs a more patriotic leaders and this can be done by occupying vacant seats of the office with capable and qualified persons based on merit and antecedents, not based on regional politics or with any form of regional political affinity.

In another dimension, unity is vital to the realization of the dream of ECOWAS. This must remove sectional politics, such as the Anglophone versus Francophone political division. The central aim

of ECOWAS is to integrate the community, thus, such sectional politics must be waved, removed and be replaced with a unified political arrangement which will make the community enjoy the benefit of unity.

Education is one of the bed rock of development, the community or regional government should invest more on the educational system of the community, the system and the practice should be up to international standard, this will eventually lead to unifying the educational system within the wall of the community. The member states should cooperate with the community as they implement structures for the educational system and come up with ideas to unify the educational system and practice (Global Migration Data Analysis Centre, 2016).

As integration is the objective of the community, ECOWAS in its capacity should encourage this in the member states political environment and later spread it round to the community. In a simple text, integration should be encouraged from the member states across the community. Using Nigeria as a point of reference, the three main ethnic groups in Nigeria, Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa must have a deep sense of oneness and unity, there should not be an iota of distrust among them. This implies that, all the member states should do their homework of uniting their different ethnic groups void of rivalries. Having done this, integrating the community would become an easy ride. Here, the integration plan should first start from the basics or homeland which will now spread round to the community.

Discipline wise, ECOWAS should be more strict and harsh on a member state that refused to comply with the mandates, that refuses to show up for its usual meetings and also member that refuses to pay up their dues. This will invoke discipline into the community by implication, all members will be active, up and doing. ECOWAS as a regional organization needs to be more disciplined and try to take strict measures and discipline any member state that default in any way.

Thus, this will allow a decent organization and decision making process easy by the community leaders. This will bring unprecedented development to the community. The courses of lackadaisical attitude to the course of the community to be completely remove and abolish. In line with this, actively, the development would be prompt and this will help build an active community where everybody's input is important and valued.

In an attempt to build a strong and reliable community that will quickly achieve its aims and objectives, ECOWAS should be actively involved in building a strong awareness system that will announce the mandate and the operation of the community round the community through the member states and also via different and popular channels that is accessible to all the community members. ECOWAS should organize a mass education and awareness on its aims and objectives, not only that, but to also propagate the method of achieving those aims (Global Migration Data Analysis Centre, 2016). This will make the community popular and have general acceptance from all the community, because they are all informed about the prospect and the capacity at which ECOWAS can operate as a regional organization, it aimed at integrating the community or sub region as a means of improving the standard of living of the community members.

In the same manner, ECOWAS should strengthen the information dissemination platforms and the links of spreading the operation news in the community. It is not a waste of time or finance if ECOWAS as a region establishes its own media channel. This may comprise of television and radio channels that will go round the community. The reason for this is to increase the level of awareness of the development in the community. In this, the community members will have a constant reminder of the progress of the community and the organization. ECOWAS should be more active in the use of social media platform to put information across to all her subjects in order to bring them closer to the community. This will build trust and strong believe in the capacity of

the regional government (ECOWAS Conference on Future Humanitarian Threats to West Africa, 2009).

Furthermore, ECOWAS in its capacity should improve on the capacity building of trainings and development of her community's members for the benefit of the community and the region at large. ECOWAS as a regional community should invest in her members for advanced improvement on different areas, such as, technological innovations, human resources and power, agricultural development and ICT. The argument is that ECOWAS should maintain pools of experts in West Africa and build crops of expert in different fields. Another point is the maximum use of science and technology. This could mean organizing series of workshops for its nationals to increase their skills.

ECOWAS members should learn and stand on its own, not depending on the legacy of the colonial masters. The legacy might be a long lasting, but ECOWAS members should think outside the box and stand independently with the ideology of integration as outlined in chapter one of the revised treaty of ECOWAS (ECOWAS Conference on Future Humanitarian Threats to West Africa, 2009).

A proper census should be conducted, there should be an harmonized census across the region, a general and coordinated census should be carried out across the sub region. This will allow for equal representation and allocation of resources to all the member states. Scientifically, accurate census data would help the community with economic development, equal infrastructural development distribution across the region. This will enable the community to be able to evenly distribute basic facilities such as, healthcare, education, business plan, transportation and decision making. Thus, it is expedient for the community to have a perfect and accurate figure of the population. Also, this will make room for regional inventory of data sources. This will allow the

community to make better decision in their programs and activities (ECOWAS Conference on Future Humanitarian Threats to West Africa, 2009).

ECOWAS has a big question to answer, it should ensure and answer the question of combining political freedom with economic freedom. The sub region saw the mid-20th century as a period of political freedom from the colonial masters, which began with Ghana in the year 1957, in this same way, all the member states should be economically dependent. West Africa economy is tied to different economies around the world, for the integration policy to work, West Africa states need to break out from this dependency level, the economy can be defined in line with the country and the regional philosophy not the euro-centric idea or increased dependency ratio.

The members of ECOWAS should be ready to pay the price of integration over the cost of integration. This might need that, the member states to pay some sacrifices for the course of integration. Member state should be positive and see that integration would benefit the whole community regardless the class or level of the country. Thus, the country in this community should respect one of the preambles of the 1993 revised treaty of ECOWAS which states that "the member states should be convinced that the integration of the member states into a viable regional may demand the partial and gradual pooling of national sovereignties to the community within the context of a collective political will, by implication, it means that, the community members should pool off part of their sovereignty to the community.

It is one of the prices to pay to the community to stand, and for the integration process to be effective. Part of the cost is time and money sacrifice. The community requires a lot of capital investment from the member states in order to fulfil its obligations and programs. ECOWAS has no source of income apart from the dues from the member states, this has to be fulfilled by the member states. Therefore, for this community project to materialize, all members should always

be ready to sacrifice one or two fundamental resources to this effect. In another way, ECOWAS can be proactive in the area of internal fund generation. This implies that, ECOWAS should look inward on the means of generating funds for its project externally rather than relying solely on the funds from the member states. ECOWAS can set up different businesse ventures which will serve two purposes, the business venture would be a source of income and also it will be a means of jobs creation which will solve the problem of unemployment in the community.

To round it up, ECOWAS should be ready or give room for a universal language. The community should look into a means of teaching and conversing with a singular or uniform language. This can be possible by different training centers, schools and on all social platforms. Unique or unified language will bring cohesion into the community, it will bring uniformity and better understanding. These are all pointers to the successful integration that the community demands and desire for (ECOWAS Conference on Future Humanitarian Threats to West Africa, 2009).

Summarily, ECOWAS needs these aforementioned recommendations to be able to perform better and fire on hot cylinder. More is expected from ECOWAS, thus if all these are exploited, they will get more medals, by achieving more. The journey of integration has started, but the destination is near.

BIBLOGRAPHY

Adegbindin, O. (2015). Critical notes on Hegel's treatment of Africa. *Ogirisi: a New Journal of African Studies*, *11*, 20-43.

Aderanti, A., Alistair, B., & Mariah, L. (1991). Promoting integration through mobility. https://www.unhcr.org/49e479c811.pdf

Agyei, J., & Clottey, E. (2007). Operationalizing ECOWAS protocol on free movement of people among the member states: Issues of convergence, divergence and prospects for sub-regional integration. *International Migration Institute, University of Oxford.* http://www. imi. ox. ac. uk/publications/operationalizing-ecowas-protocol.

Akanji, O. O. (2019). Sub-regional security challenge: ECOWAS and the war on terrorism in West Africa. *Insight on Africa*, *11*(1), 94-112.

Alan. M., Helene H. B. (2017). Mapping the Illicit Trade of Gold in Cote D'Ivoire, Mali and Burkina Faso. The West African El Dorado. ISBN: 978-1-897320-37-2. https://media.africaportal.org/documents/2016-Jan-The-West-African-El-Dorado-.pdf

Alex A. U. (2005). Edo University Iyamho. *Economic History of West Africa in the 19th And 20th*. Pg 21.

Blein, R., Soulé, B. G., Dupaigre, B. F., & Yerima, B. (2008). Agricultural Potential of West Africa (ECOWAS). *Report prepared for the FARM Foundation in collaboration with IRAM, ISSALA, and LARES. Can be accessed at: http://www.* fondation-farm. org/IMG/pdf/etudepotentialites_rapport. pdf.

Boahen, A. (1981). Topics in West Africa History, *Essex*, Longman.

Bruce, Z. (1978). The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). *An Analysis and Prospects. Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*. *10*(2) 93-102. file:///C:/Users/HP/Desktop/PROJECT%20MATERIALS/The%20Economic%20Community%20of%20West%20African%20States%20(ECOWAS)_%20An%20Analys.pdf

Chami, F. A. (2007). Diffusion in the studies of the African past: reflections from new archaeological findings. *African Archaeological Review*, *24*(1), 1-14

Cheryl. D. (2011). The Role of Women in Agriculture. ESA Working Paper, Retrieved from: http://www.fao.org/3/am307e/am307e00.pdf

ECOWAS of States to an ECOWAS of People, (2016). Achievements. *Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).* Retrieved on May 2, 2007 from https://www.ecowas.int/achievements-of-ecowas-at-40/

ECOWAS Conference on Future Humanitarian Threats to West Africa. (2009). Summary of Proceedings, Findings and Recommendations. *Humanitarian Future Programme.* King London, University of London. file:///C:/Users/HP/Desktop/RECOMMENDATIONS.pdf

Economic Community of West African States Report. (2013). ECOWAS Commission President Pleads For Prompt Payment Of Community Levy. Retrieved from: https://www.ecowas.int/ecowas-commission-president-pleads-for-prompt-payment-of-community-levy/

Economic Community of West Africa State (2016). Trade. Retrieved from: https://www.ecowas.int/ecowas-sectors/trade/

Edozien, E.C. and Osagie, E. 2001. The Economic Integration of West Africa. Ibadan, Ibadan University Press.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, (2017). Mungo Park Scottish Explorer, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mungo-Park

Essien, V. (2006). Regional Trade Agreements in Africa: A Historical and Bibliographic Account of ECOWAS and CEMAC. *Hauser Global Law School Program, New York University, New York. http://www. nyulawglobal. org/globalex/CEMAC_ECOWAS. htm*.

European Commission. (2020). International Partnerships. Retrieved from: https://ec.europa.eu/international-partnerships/where-we-work/west-africaen

Ezeogidi, C. (2020). The Historical Overview of the Problems of Ecowas in Effective Economic Integration and Conflict Management in West Africa. *Available at SSRN 3563488*.

Fagan, B. M., & Durrani, N. (2019). *World prehistory: A brief introduction*. Routledge.

Forte, M. (2018). Indirect rule in West Africa, Is democracy safe for the Negro world? *The Round Table, 39(153-156), 125–130.* doi:10.1080/00358534808451560

Gavua, I. K. (2007). Economic community of West African States Regional Integration Process: *A Study of the new regionalism phenomenon in Africa.* Retrieved from: http://liu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:208290/FULLTEXT01

Global Migration Data Analysis Centre, (2016). Guidelines for the harmonization of migration data management in the ECOWAS Region. International Organization for Migration. Retrieved from: file:///C:/Users/HP/Desktop/RECOMMENDATION2.pdf

Grondo. (2014). ECOWAS-EU - Trade and Investment Statistics. *Eurosat Statistics Explained.* Retrieved from: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php?title=Archive:ECOWAS-EU__trade_and_investment_statistics&oldid=167491

Human Rights Law in Africa, (1975), TREATY OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)[REVISED]. *Human Rights Law in Africa Online, 1*(1), 648-653.

Hubbe, M. A. (2012). The Wood Age - Part of our past, but should we wish for it as our future. *Bioresources.* Nc State University. https://bioresources.cnr.ncsu.edu/resources/the-wood-age-part-of-our-past-but-should-we-wish-for-it-as-our-future/

Irwin, A. (2015). Pass Blue Independent Coverage of the UN. *If Africa Is So Rich, Why Is It So Poor*. Retrieved from: https://www.passblue.com/2015/05/18/if-africa-is-so-rich-why-is-it-so-poor/

Kessy, E. T. (2005). The relationship between the Later Stone Age and Iron Age cultures of central Tanzania. *Doctoral dissertation*, Department of Archaeology-Simon Fraser University.

Kuykendall, R. (1993). Hegel and Africa: An evaluation of the treatment of Africa in the philosophy of history. *Journal of Black Studies*, *23*(4), 571-581

Lee, R. B., & Hitchcock, R. K. (2001). African hunter-gatherers: Survival, history and politics of Identity. *African study monographs. Supplementary issue.*, *26*, 257-280.

Madamombe, I. (2006). Highways link 15 West African countries. *Africa renewal*, *20*(3), 14-16.

Matthew, J. (1957). European Union European organization. *Britannica.* Retrieved from: https://www.britannica.com/topic/European-Union

Michael, A., (2016). You have no past, no history: Philosophy, literature and the re-invention of Africa. *International Journal of English and Literature, 7*(8), 2-11

Milestones. (1952). Marshall Plan, 1948. *Office of the Historian.* Retrieved from: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/marshall-plan

Olayiwola, W., Osabuohien, E., Okodua, H., & Ola-David, O. (2015). Economic Integration, Trade Facilitation and Agricultural Exports Performance in ECOWAS Sub-Region. *Regional Integration and Trade in Africa* (pp. 31-46). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Orekan, G. (2010). Language Policy and Educational Development in Africa: The Case of Nigeria, *Scotland National Center for Languages,* University of Aberdeen, Issue 21. https://www.scilt.org.uk/Portals/24/Library/slr/issues/21/21_Orekan.pdf

Onwuka, R. I. (1980). The ECOWAS Treaty: inching towards implementation. *The World Today*, *36*(2), 52-59.

Ousseni. I., & Seydou. O., (2020). West African Economic and Monetary Union. *Central Bankers Drive Basel Under IMF Pressure.* DOI:10.1093/oso/9780198841999.003.0007.

Parrinder, E.G. (1960). The Religious Situation in West Africa, *African Affairs*, Oxford University Press, Vol 50, No 234.

Paul, A.M.G. (2007). Improving flights Connections in ECOWAS Region. *Special Air Transport Meeting of ECOWAS Members States*. file:///C:/Users/HP/Desktop/CHAPTER%204%20II.pdf

Rodriguez, R. M. (2015). *ECOWAS: The Economic Community of West African States*. Lulu Press, Inc.

Siegel, M. (1947). Felix Eboué and Colonial Policy. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *16*(4), 534-544.

Stephen K. (2021). Archaeology in West Africa could rewrite the textbooks on human evolution. *The Conversation: Academic Rigour, Journalistic flair* https://theconversation.com/archaeology-in-west-africa-could-rewrite-the-textbooks-on-human-evolution-157610

Smith, A.E.D. (2017). A Comparative History Of Commercial Transition In Three West African Slave, Wageningen University, DOI: 10.18174/418497, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/132775387.pdf