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# The Role of ECOWAS in Security Governance in West Africa

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## Abstract

*The end of colonial rule in West Africa witnessed the rise of different transnational security threats in the region, such as civil wars, political instability, international organized crime, terrorism and the smuggling of illicit arms to member states. While civil wars have transcended regional conflicts as the primary cause of casualties for decades in West Africa, it seems that ECOWAS and international organizations like the UN have become increasingly supportive to security governance in the region. Member states have also seen the growing role of non-state actors in the provisions of security governance in their various countries. As a result of the present global system which contains internal or regional wars that can have severe and immediate consequences for states in the region. The regional organizations such as ECOWAS and sub-regional organization like the Mano River Union (MRU) have contributed to regional security peace and stability. In this sense, they either function as elements of regional organizations, or complement to the international organizations like the UN, UNOWA, and other multinational institutions like the World Bank and IMF. Africa also had a Pan-African organization created in 1963, known as Organization of Africa Union (OAU). This organization was later renamed as the Africa Union (AU), in the year 2000.*

**Keywords:** Theoretical Framework, Security, Concept, Governance, ECOWAS

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

After the independence of Ghana in 1957, the former president of the Gold Coast present day Ghana had this to say: "I see no reason why the independent of African states should not, with advantage to each other, join together in an economic union". The concept of West African Unity was emerged from the second generation of post-colonial leaders. These ideas paved the way for a regional treaty to be signed in Lagos in 1975, which brought about the establishment the Economic Community of West African States. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The early initiave of this regional organization was to promote the economic integration, security governance, peacekeeping and the settlement of the political crisis of the fifteen member states. The regional organization has been gradually transformed in the 1990s, under the circumstance of recent political instability in West Africa into an organization responsible for finding solutions to regional crisis and security governance of its member states.

Concept of security governance in the world is among share values of the West African states in this 21st century. It is one of the priorities of ECOWAS and sub-regional organizations like the Mano River Union (MRU) etc., in establishing that member states within the region implement

the protocol of security governance for the prospect of peace and security in the region. Security governance has been an essential element of development in any part of the world.

Security governance depends on three assumptions that states are no longer the single most important source of threat to international security, and that the nature of security threats constrains state sovereignty. The policymaking and the legitimacy of the state no longer depends on the monopoly over the provision of security but the cost-efficient delivery of state security. [1]

Global security is defined as a global system of collective security backed by institutional interactions and coherent guidance in response to breaches in international security. This world system is characterized the existence of global powers and, "a multiplicity of combined and coordinated actions" in responding to the challenges of global security threat. The interaction of of states and non-state actors in relations to their identical characters as well as their collective purpose. In this respect, the rise of security governance is presented as a consequence of countervailing dynamics of geopolitical interests driven by decision-making trends of global players.

Security governance is defined as a framework of formal and informal "coordinated arrangements and regulations of issues by multiple and separate authorities purposefully directed toward a particular policy outcomes." Security governance is structured by the extent to which institutionalized forms of behavior have occurred among the relevant actors in the steering, managing, and regulating security tasks to the appropriate organization. The process and procedure of security governance depends on policy-outcomes reflecting the primary motives behind the agent(s) of governance. Such understanding of security governance discloses that it has not been able to address the complex transformations in world politics. Also, security governance deals with policies aiming at coordinating, managing, and regulating the collective response to the threats of regional stab. This system of rule relies primarily on the political authority of agreed-upon norms, practices, and institutions, as well as on the identities, rationalities, technologies, and spatial forms, around and across which international and transnational security activity takes place.

## 1.2 Theoretical Framework

The past two decades have witnessed ECOWAS commencing a new phase of security and peace policy. A major question has been set on the political agenda. Should any steps be taken by ECOWAS to ensure peace outside of West Africa? There are a number of theories and concepts that attempt to explain the meaning of security governance in West Africa, therefore, ECOWAS actions at regional and international levels.

Different theories provide the theoretical framework for the threat to security governance and challenges of sustainable economic development in West Africa after independent. These theories are relevant in the explanation of security governance in West Africa region; they include Social Conflict Theory, Power Theory, Neo-Malthusianism Theory, Security Community Theory, and Security Regime Theory.

### Social Conflict Theory

This theory provides theoretical analysis for competition among social classes, state actors and non-state actors in their attempts to protect their selfish interests. This class struggle leads to the acquisition of weapons and ammunition for self-preservation thus leading to social conflicts and

[1] William Zartman (editor) Governance as Conflict Management: Politics and Violence in West Africa (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press, 1997), p.1

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threats to national security, human security, environmental security and sustainable economic development. Member states of the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS), entangled in this situation just after independence in the 1960s and 1990s after the Cold War era.

Since the end of the 1990s, national and international development organizations have also been increasingly involved in the reform and further development of social security systems. Recent social conflict theory has developed the concept of deprivation by noting that it is the shift from absolute to the relative demoralization that is significant in producing this kind of critical awareness. Absolute demolition refers to the condition of being destitute, living well below the poverty line where life is dictated by uncertainty over the essentials of life (food, shelter, and clothing). People in such a condition have neither the resources nor the willpower to become involved in the war and social change. Relative demoralization, however, refers to a sense of being underprivileged relative to some other persons or the state governments. The basics of life are merely the sense that others are doing better and that they are losing out on their countries' wealth. These individuals and groups have the emotional and material resources to become involved in the conflict and social change. It is not relative deprivation itself that motivates people, but the shift from absolute to the relative deprivation that may spark a powder keg of revolt. Individuals who are upwardly mobile in this way have the available resources, and they may experience a sense of loss or deprivation if the economic structural changes can't keep pace with their rising expectations.[2]

[2] DODSON DAN W "The Creative Role of Conflict in Intergroup Relations" Merrill-Palmer Quarterly 4, 3 (July 1958) 189-95.

**Power Theory**

This theory came to light during the Cold War period as two superpowers fighting for supremacy in the world, and the world became a bipolar world of the United States and the Soviet Union. However, this situation creates insecurity and the problems of security all over the world as both countries are fighting for the supremacy of the unipolar world. This scenario brought about conflicts in Africa and West Africa states with no exception, as both America and the Soviet Union were supporting different governments, revolutions and political movements in West Africa region to achieve their interests.

The situation was entirely different from almost all parts of Africa which was not colonized by Britain or France; the only exception was Guinea which deliberately broke off ties with France. In countries most directly influenced by the Cold War in West Africa, another important consequence was the politicization of armed forces and the militarization of politics.[3] West African countries whose internal political structures were still underdeveloped during that period, it was only to be expected that the military would become more involved national politics if international tensions affected national security. The cold war provided internal conditions in most West African states favored an expanding role for the military, whether its leaders were already part of the elite or had to force their way into the elite.

6 RICHARD C SNYDER "The Analysis of Social Conflict—Toward an Overview and Synthesis," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1, 2 (June 1957), 212-48

7 Walt, S. M (1991) "The Renaissance of Security Studies", International Studies Quarterly 35(2): 211-39

8 SIMMEL GEORG "The Sociology of Conflict," American Journal of Sociology, 9 (1903-04), 490-525, 672-89, 798-811.

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By then the situation of civilian leaders was often quite weak, military Commanders had inherited troops and equipment which were intended to maintain peace and order, but which were equally used to stage coup d'état in West Africa countries.

**Neo-Malthusianism Theory**

This theory focuses on the relationship between population growth and food required for basic subsistence. Thomas Malthus who was the proponent of this theory explained about the modern times security governance and the conflicts happening in the region which fit into model of threat to national security often caused by dispute among state actors and non-state actors over ownership and control of natural resources in West Africa states like Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, and Niger.

He emphasizes that the rising population in the region combined with scarce natural resources threatens national security as a result of cut-throat competition and survival of the fittest race among interest groups in society. These diverse social groups employed available legal and illegal means to gain control over scarce natural resources. West Africa's natural resource politics has brought out some of the extremes in regional security difficulties.

Among the problems that have been thrown up are violent ethnonationalism, acrimonious intergroup relations in Mali, youth revolts in Togo, the Gambia , small arms and light weapons proliferation in Sierra Leone, Liberia, corruption , money laundering, warlords in Ivory Coast, cross-border looting in Benin, Niger, Nigeria , mercenaries in Liberia, and alleged links with global terrorism in Burkina Faso and Nigeria.[4]

The role of ECOWAS in the conduct of its member states over issues that concern the utilization of natural resources; while the international covers the activities of important factors like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), United Nations, development agencies, international NGOs, and others, on issues relating to the management of natural resources. The diversity of these sources arises because of the inherent superficiality of the typical postcolonial African state, which continues to struggle to find ways of accommodating different modes of governance in the continent.

**Security Communities Theory**

Adler and Barnett, 1998:30, look at the theory of security communities as a region of the countries whose people maintain dependable expectations of peaceful change. This was demonstrated in West Africa during the 1990s in countries like Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana and Liberia as people want to see a peaceful transition of authoritarian and military governments in the region. Security community are facilitated by three main factors in the region: (1) the modern era, such as changes in technology, demography, economics, the new interpretation of social order and external threats (2) factors conducive to mutual trust and the development of a collective identity, such as transnational, groups and social learning, and (3) necessary conditions, such as joint trust and a collective identity.

**Security Regimes Theory**

According to (Krasner, 1983:2), security regimes are sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which states and other actors' expectations in the area of security governance became of global concern. After the turbulent decades of political instability states in West Africa undergone in the Cold War period and the post-Cold War era in the 1990s, security regimes came into being which fosters political stability because countries value

9 Wohlforth, W.C. (1999) "The Stability of a Unipolar World, International Security 24(4): 5-41

peace and cooperation. 5 The creation of new institutions in the international system and the strengthening of regional organizations like AU and ECOWAS have addressed the threat perceptions involve considerations about the source (nature or geographic location) and target of threat (state or society) in the region.

**2.1 ECOWAS' Security Governance Framework in West Africa**

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is the region's principal organization for security governance and its contribution to the African Peace and Security Architecture. The organization was initially created as an economic organization without a security mandate. But in the 1990s, the region witnessed conflict and insecurity which were major obstacles to economic development; ECOWAS developed its central conflict mechanism and management frameworks and tools, namely the *Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security* (1999) and the *Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance* (2001). Together they formed the basis for the *ECOWAS Conflict and Prevention Framework* (2008).

The ECOWAS regional Mediation and Security Council under which the Council of the Wise and the ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF) and the Defense and Security program reside within the ECOWAS Commission, the Office of the Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security and its three directorates (Political Affairs, Early Warning, and Peacekeeping and Regional Security) are responsible for issues related to security governance. [6]

The ECOWAS regional Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) is a structure composed of several Stand-by multi-purpose modules (civilian and military) in their countries of origin and ready for immediate deployment.

Member States at this moment agree to make available to ECOMOG units adequate resources for the army, air force, navy, gendarmerie, police and all another military, paramilitary or civil formations necessary for the accomplishment of the mission. Each Member State shall provide ECOMOG with a unit the size of which shall be determined after consultation with each Member State of ECOWAS Organs for Security Governance in West Africa

•2008 ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework;
•2006 ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons,
•2001 Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security;
•1999 Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security;
•1994 Convention on Extradition;
•1992 ECOWAS Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters;
•1982 Convention for Mutual Administrative Assistance in Customs Matters;
•1981 Protocol on Mutual Assistance in Defense;
•1977 Framework Agreement of the Protocol on Non-Aggression and Assistance in Defense[7]

**2.1 The Concept of Security Governance in West Africa**

The international community widely uses the concept of security, international organizations like the UN, regional organizations

10 Bar-Tal, D. (1990) Causes and consequences of delegitimization: Models of conflict and ethnocentrism, Journal of Social Issues, 46, 65–81

14 ECOWAS Conflict Protocol, *supra* note 140, art. 56.
15 Wippman, *PDI*, *supra* note 119, at 315.

like AU and ECOWAS, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and regional governments. The twentieth century marks the introduction of different concepts of security in the world and West Africa region with no exception. The ideas of global security, regional security, and collective security have been put forward by many countries around the world. These include national/traditional security, human security, comprehensive security, and non-traditional security.

"Security is increasingly seen as an all-comprising situation in which people in states and regions get freedom, peace, and safety, participate fully in the governance of their countries, enjoy the protection of fundamental human rights, have access to the natural resources and aspects of life, and inhabit an environment which is not detrimental to their health and well being. […] the security of people and the security of the State are mutually reinforcing."

**National Security** which consists of military defense, strategy security, conventional war, civil war, ethnic conflict, genocide, regional war, revolution and nuclear proliferation. The concept of national security is focused on defending the state against internal and external military threats. The domestic concept of national security embraces two unique features on security governance. First, security is equal to national survival in the international system and the state is the central unit of analysis. Second, state capabilities of national security and sovereign state develop a military policy for interstate conflict. ''Security is seen as the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile and the bottom line of security is survival" (Buzan 1991, p.432).[8]

**Human Security**, this concept of security, focuses on the protection of individuals and regional states from hunger, poverty, natural disaster and diseases in the communities of member states. "Human security means protecting important fundamental human rights. It means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. It also means creating systems that give people the building blocks of survival, dignity, and livelihood. Human security connects different types of freedoms – freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to take action on one's behalf."

This concept of security also has to do with the outbreak and the rapid spread of diseases among specific target populations (such as Ebola viral, HIV/AIDS, and Cholera diseases).

The scarcity of water and natural resources in specific regions for drinking and irrigation, the decline in food production and the need for increase imported food and the lack of a nearby system for natural disasters and environmental impacts-from earthquake and mudslide flood. Human security is one of the most important components of the global political and development agenda. The two most concept of human security is: firstly, the protection of individuals is a strategic concern for national as well as international security; secondly, security conditions for people's development are not bound to traditional matters of national defense, law, and order, but rather encompass all political, economic and social issues enabling a life free from risk and fear.

[8] William Zartman (editor) Governance as Conflict Management: Politics and Violence in West Africa (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press, 1997), p.1

**Comprehensive Security** looks at the broader security spectrum of both national and international level. It focuses on the national and external community at large, which shows that the environmental forces and the globalization effects are beyond the ability of the state to contain them by its resources. Comprehensive security shifts from the state as the central unit of security to broader perspectives of analysis. It focuses on the environmental security, economic security, national and human security.[9]

The concept of comprehensive security is strongly related to the fact that in a more and more interdependent world, cooperation across national borders and over administrative bodies is strongly necessary. However, the 1990s have witnessed an unprecedented rise in intra-state conflicts and violence centering on ethnicity, religion, and separatism. As a result, the world faced a new period of uncertainty, characterized by the feeling of insecurity.

**Non-Traditional Security** threats in the world are an emerging problem of concern, given the fact of the weakness of national borders of states and more especially West Africa region. The issue of traditional security is not limited to one country or one region alone, but spillovers into widening global threats. These threats are defined as challenges to the survival of and well-being of peoples and state that arise mainly out of nonmilitary sources, such as climate change, cross-border, environmental degradation and resource depletion, infectious diseases, migration, people smuggling, drug trafficking and other forms of transnational crime. Non-Traditional Security threats are primarily nonmilitary in nature, multinational in scope that is neither domestic nor purely interstate, come with short notice, and are transmitted rapidly due to globalization in the world.

**2.2 ECOWAS' Responses in Security Governance in West Africa**

ECOWAS has played a tremendous role in addressing the challenges to security governance to member states in West Africa since its inception in 1975 to date. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the region had witnessed different forms of security challenges to member states.

In that regards regional organization responses to the primary sources of insecurity in West Africa over the past decade to maintain peace and security in the region.[10]

***Armed Conflict to the Member States***

ECOWAS intervention in Liberia (1990–97), Sierra Leone (1997–2000) and Guinea-Bissau (1999) have shaped the creation of the ECOWAS Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security in 1999. Before this ECOWAS agreement, Francophone countries had signed a Non-Aggression and Defense Assistance Agreement (ANAD) in 1971 to foster security within the WAEMU region. It was integrated into the ECOWAS Mechanism for Conflict Prevention in 1999 to create a single regional security system and institutionalize structures and processes ensuring consultation and collective action for the whole of West Africa. The organization responses to the *Mali* security problem was initiated VHGUHYI after the March 2012 coup d'état, at which point the insurgency was already ongoing.

The plan was to deploy the ESF as part of a multidimensional mission – MICEMA – that would constitute a regional response to the conflict. The role of ECOWAS as a regional

[9] Steven Walt, the Renaissance of Security Studies," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 2(June 1991), pp. 211-239.

[10] Afolabi,T.B. "ECOWAS and Conflict Mediation in West Africa", in U. Eagle(ed) New Mediation Protection in African Conflicts (Leipzig: Leipziger Universlti GmbH (2012), PP. 169-93

organization for peace and security in West Africa, beyond peacekeeping and conflict management and resolution, could be developed further if ECOWAS were involved in providing a regional framework for DDR programs implemented at the states level.

**ECOWAS Controls on Small Arms and Light Weapons in West Africa**

Small arms and light weapons in the region have mainly caused conflicts in Ivory Coast, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo and the Sub-region is still struggling to survive ongoing conflicts in which small arms play a central and destabilizing role.

It is also rapidly changing the cultural and traditional fabric of the Sub-region, drifting towards self-destruction where uneducated and semi-educated youth who wield the power of the gun are ruling the educated and the older generation with their wisdom. ECOWAS Protocol on good governance, the Sub-regional organization (ECOWAS) is trying in various ways to control the proliferation, misuse and illegal possession of SALW. [11] It started with the setting up of ECOWAS Small Arms Unit (SAU) in its Sub-regional secretariat in Abuja and has been using it to initiate and implement several programs and projects through the ECOWAS Small Arms Projects (ECOSAP) aimed at ensuring adequate control of SALW in the Sub-region. In 2006, ECOWAS passed a *Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons, their Ammunition and Other Related Materials* and launched a small arms initiative (ECOSAP) based in Bamako, Mali, as a capacity-building program to assist member states and civil society organizations in dealing with the problem of proliferation of SALW. The Sub-regional heads of state adopted the Moratorium in 1998 which is now transformed into the Convention to shift the focus from mere 'moral persuasion' in curtailing the spread of illicit weapons to 'enforcement' of the protocol.

**ECOWAS' Role in Democracy Restoration in West Africa**

The past decades in West Africa have seen unconstitutional changes in governments in Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Guinea, and Niger. ECOWAS as regional organization sought to promote democracy in two perspectives. The organization has expanded its role in election monitoring, thereby trying to prevent leaders coming to power through less than fair elections. Second, the adoption of the *Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance* in 2001 practically translates into a zero-tolerance stance against unconstitutional changes of power, and grants the right to impose sanctions against such illegitimate governments. Over the past years, ECOWAS has made significant contributions as a regional organization in promoting democracy in the region, though challenges remain. Successes include helping to restore democracy in Sierra Leone 1997; Ivory Coast 2005, Guinea 2010 and Guinea Bissau 2012 organize an interim government in Burkina Faso following the ousting of long-time president Compaoré in November 2014 and help prepare the country for democratic elections.

The ECOWAS mission responsible for supporting national security forces during the subsequent electoral process and security sector reform has been helping member states to stabilize their countries, as exemplified by the peaceful presidential elections in the region. In the past five years, ECOWAS having taken on a more prominent role in election-related activities to promote good governance issues linked to human

[11] E. Baimu and K. Sturman, 2003, *Amendment to the African Union's Right to Intervene. A Shift from Human Security to Regime Security?* ISS, Vol. 12, No. 2, Pretoria.

security in the region. All but three of the ECOWAS member states (the exceptions being Ghana, Senegal, and Cape have a low level of human development according to the UN.[12]

**ECOWAS Responses to Transnational crime in West Africa**

Transnationally organized crime activities in the West African region must be regarded as an issue of growing concern in the region. To underscore the problem, an overview of the development of the phenomenon in the region , Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone—is provided, tracing both its extent as well as the range of illicit activities that are engaged in.

These are diverse and include drug trafficking, advanced fee and Internet fraud, human trafficking, diamond smuggling, forgery, cigarette smuggling, illegal manufacture of firearms, trafficking in weapons, armed robbery and the theft and smuggling of oil. In early 2000, a series of more than 20 major seizures were made in the West African region, involving thousands of kilograms of cocaine. Most of the seizures were made at sea, but some involved private aircraft or caches detected on land. These seizures appear to have been the tip of the iceberg: most were made due to the assistance of European navies or external tip-offs, and some were stumbled upon by accident. *Piracy activities* affect all ECOWAS member states that all depend on regional harbors for their activities. It is common in the cost of Guinea Bissau, and therefore a great threat to commerce and by extension to economic development in the region. Even though member countries had received support and training from international partners, including China, the United States (US), the EU and Japan, most West African navies still operate near-obsolete naval ships, naval defense systems, and maritime aircraft. In responding to this predicament, ECOWAS has established an *Integrated Maritime Strategy* that, among other things, seeks to create the common maritime zones. The first zone to be set up includes areas Judged by some to be the epicenter of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea. It consists of the waters of Nigeria, Niger, Benin and Togo and a monitoring center in Cotonou, Benin. Collaboration, including with Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), as well as cooperation and intelligence sharing has improved, capacity is a big concern.[13]

**ECOWAS' Counter-Terrorism Measures in West Africa**

The West African region is adversely affected by the occurrence of terrorism, and that the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism are multifaceted groups and require robust and proactive policies aimed at addressing the underlying economic and socio-political factors that give rise to or fuel terrorism. Terrorist activities within the region, notably terrorist bombings, suicide attacks, kidnappings, hostage-taking, kidnapping, mass murder, wanton assassinations, piracy and acts of sabotage of public and private properties, as well as the torching and desecration of religious and sacred places. Terrorist groups in the West African region are many and have one primary objective. They include Boko Haram which operates mostly in the Northern part of Nigeria, Northern Cameroon, Niger, Chad and Northern tip of Central African Republic, AQIM, which operates in Northern Mali, Mauritania, the organization for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), the

[12] Abatan, Ella, and Yolanda Spies (2016), African Solutions to African Problems the AU, R2P and Côte d'Ivoire, in: *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 23, 1, 21–38.

[13] K. Annan, 2004, *Security Council calls for regional approach in West Africa to address such cross-border issues as child soldiers, mercenaries, small arms*, SC/8037, 4933rd meeting.

Janjaweed of Southern Sudan. These terrorist groups have their primary objective to do away with western civilization.

Thus, they have as their primary agenda to bring back the classical Islam which had existed in the region since the 10th Century. ECOWAS adopts the Counter-Terrorism approach and developmental Plan, based on an integrated approach and which elaborates a comprehensive set of measures to be undertaken by various agencies in the region and provides a strategic policy direction towards the containment and elimination of the threat posed by terrorism to the Community. Initially, the Authority approves the establishment within the Community, as called for in the Strategy, of a) an ECOWAS Counter-Terrorism Coordination Unit; b) an ECOWAS Arrest Warrant; ) an ECOWAS sanction of Terrorist and Criminal Networks, in order to facilitate coordination and information-sharing among Member States and d) a sub-regional Counter-Terrorism Training Centre. The United Nations, including technical assistance institutions, development partners, relevant international organizations and regional civil society groups, to coordinate their activities with ECOWAS and to strengthen financial, material and technical support (including training, research, and exchange of information) for the effective implementation of this Declaration and the Strategy mentioned.[14]

**ECOWAS' Mechanism on Cross-border Activities in West Africa**

Cross-border crimes in West Africa have been in existence since post-colonial era, porous borders of West Africa continue to engender transnational crimes and instability in the sub-region. It was as a result of lack of an appropriate mechanism for monitoring movements and illegal activities across these borders. Cross-border problems facing West Africa were all threats to peace, security, and stability and that those risks stemmed from activities of organized gangs with networks in several countries of the sub-region and eternal, most of those gangs, which usually had political roots and might mutate into criminal groups, survived by means of arms and drugs trafficking, money-laundering and human trafficking, and very often controlled the wealthiest areas of the region.

ECOWAS has adopted the ECOWAS Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation, and Manufacture of Small Arms and Light Weapons in West Africa, promoting disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, encouraging security sector reform, reducing extortion at roadblocks and "naming and shaming" parties who contravened humanitarian norms and international law.

**3.1 Relationship between UN, AU, AND ECOWAS**

The role of international organizations like the UN (whether regional or global level) to promote security governance in West Africa is crucial to member states. The United Nations has responsibility for the maintenance of international and regional peace and security. Its involvement in Africa security governance has also increased substantially. At the end of Cold War in 1991, the UN Security Council passed twenty-five Resolutions out of which four were for Africa, and in 2014, the Council also adopted twenty-five Resolutions on Africa out of a total of forty Resolutions. The UN Security Council supports the concept of cooperation between the UN and regional organizations such as AU and sub-regional organizations like ECOWAS in promoting security governance. Since 2002 after

[14] Emily W. Schabacker, *The Use of Force to Restore Democracy: International Legal Implications of the ECOWAS Intervention in Sierra Leone*, 14 AM. U. INT'L L. REV. 321, 379 n 334 (1998).

the changing of the organization's name from OAU to AU, the AU has adopted a much more ambitious approach regarding the issues of safe guiding peace and security in the continent.

Security governance dilemmas rose by the principle of sovereignty and noninterference in the 1990s, have been superseded by more interventionist commitment and by the conviction that "African solutions to African problems" should be provided. In the past decades since independence, this initiative has been reflected by the presence of the AU and some African organizations in some "peacekeeping" mission in the continent. Regional organizations have been seen very important during the past two decades, especially in promoting peace, security, development and the prevention or mitigation of conflict. According to the UN Charter, Chapter VIII: '[nothing] difficulties in the existence of regional arrangements security as are appropriate for regional action provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.' (Article 52.1).[15]

These regional or sub-regional agencies have been given the task to "Try every effort to achieve soothing settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council' (Article 52.2). Since the end of the Cold War the blockage within the UN has changed, and with the UN system increasingly overburdened, the newly discovered 'new regionalism' (Hettne 2008) seems protracted violent conflict and the development crisis in sub-Saharan Africa led to two important African economic and security initiatives: the New Partnership for Africa's development and the transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU). Both institutions were launched to facilitate 'African solutions to African problems.'

The UN decided in 2009 to strengthen its capacities in Guinea Bissau, establishing an integrated mission on 1st January 2010. The SSR unit is the most substantial substantive component of United Nations Peace-Building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau, and it represents its operational arm on the ground. The UN office is mandated to coordinate actions of partners, in particular, the African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African Countries (ECOWAS), for assistance in the area of SSR. It is important to highlight the nascent partnership between ECOWAS and the CPLP in providing security for state institutions. In its charter, the AU claims far-reaching competencies. Article 4 opened up the possibility of military intervention under two circumstances: first, 'pursuant to an agreement of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity'; and second, upon request of a member state 'in order to restore peace and security' (African Union 2000).

By this charter, the AU has engaged in several peace operations and has adopted an interventionist policy.

It seems that a basic African security architecture to address African security needs is emerging. At its top are the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC), the political decision-making body, consisting of fifteen rotating members, as an organ 'for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts?' It is intended to be 'a collective security and early-warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa' (African Union 2002). Under the PSC four pillars

[15] U.N. Charter art 2, 39–42
U.N Charter art 103.

are being formed.[16]

### 3.2 Agencies Involve in Promoting Security Governance in West Africa

Different agencies have contributed to promoting of security governance in West Africa. These organizations are in collaboration with ECOWAS to help member states to maintain peace and security in the region, and also in their various countries. These regional and international agencies have been given the task to 'make all necessary efforts to achieve peaceful settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements. The West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) has been engaged by ECOWAS to assist in data collection for early warning. WANEP is a sub-regional civil society organization based in Ghana.

WANEP collects data on human security issues; most important are human rights and democracy, food shortages, unemployment, arms flows and civil-military relations and droughts and flooding. Civil society groups have been at the forefront of the constant struggles against dictatorship and bad governance in West Africa over the years and continue to lead the processes to strengthen human security. While the media-survey pro-democracy and human rights organizations are more likely to capture the headlines, it is the community groups, women's associations, and traditional and faith-based groups who have made a real impact on conflict management and human security. For example, the Mano River Women's Peace Network and the traditional and religious communities were instrumental in bringing warlords to the negotiating table and mitigating the effects of infrastructure collapse and displacements in the conflicts in the region. Likewise, the promotion of conflict-sensitive development is led by local developmental advocacy groups. Organizations grouped under the West African Action Network on Small Arms (WAANSA) are at the forefront of the campaign. And the West African Civil Society Forum (WACSOF) has been set up with the objective of facilitating capacity enhancement and networking among CSOs, popularizing ECOWAS initiatives in member states and mobilizing critical civil society and research inputs across the region to strengthen and accompany regional integration efforts. [17]

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and ECOWAS have taken steps within its Emergency Response Team and the ESF to promote effective humanitarian crisis prevention and preparedness within the region and to create a bridge between relief and medium-term rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts in post-conflict and disaster settings. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) addresses three elements: causes of conflict, monitoring conflict escalation and strengthening conflict-resolution mechanisms. By information sharing on law enforcement and transnational organized crime in the region. The UNDP has developed a comprehensive understanding of human security resting on the concept that security should not focus exclusively on states, territory and military questions as individuals are at the heart of security concerns. The United Nations (including specialized agencies like the UNDP, UNESCO, UNHCR, and UNICEF) in tackling security challenges in West Africa. This is done through

[16] S.C. Res. 1968, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1968 (Feb. 16, 2011); S.C. Res. 1967,
U.N. Doc. S/RES/1967 (Jan. 19, 2011); S.C. Res. 1962, *supra* note 159; S.C. Res. 1951, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1951 (Nov. 24, 2010).

[17] UN (2001), *Report Of The Panel Of Experts Appointed Pursuant To UN Security Council Resolution 1306 (2000), Paragraph 19 In Relation To Sierra Leone*, New York: United Nations.
UNDP, 2009, *Human Development Report 2009:* Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development, New York: UNDP

various country missions in addition to a regional office recently established in Dakar, the UN Office for West Africa (UNOWA). This office is mandated since 2002 to enhance the contributions of the UN towards the achievement of peace and security in West Africa.[18]

**4.1 Civil Society in States Security in West Africa**

The western area of Sub-Saharan Africa, in particular, experienced a multitude of crises since independence in the 1950s and 1960s. Irrespective of its common usage in social and academic discourse, the term civil society consists of a simple definition, more especially when discussing it as a global peace and security (Barnes 2007). Generally, civil society is considered to include all features of organized social activities to be found outside the realm of active politics. The different school of thought distinguishes the civil society from the political society – the realm of government institutions and political parties. Others view civil society as the society itself, whether organized or not, as long as it is different from the sphere of active politics. The situation that prevails in West Africa can be classified in the four following categories:

The States in the region that have achieved considerable progress in handling violence, consequently enjoying relative stability, but with deep uncertainties, as regards the future of the democratic process (Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Mali, Cape Verde, etc.)

The States undermined from within by friction between elites and various political forces (Guinea, Mauritania, Nigeria, Togo, etc.);

The States which have toppled in a limited or recurrent manner in the confusion and war (Ivory Coast, Liberia, etc.); The States which have difficulty exiting from many years of armed conflicts (Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone, Liberia etc.). According to Lewis, this classification, however, is not impermeable where these conflictual situations have an effect on each other. The numerous conflicts, civil wars, cross-border disputes, mutinies, and government overthrows tend to go beyond borders and spread over larger areas than those where conflicts begin. That is to say, the sub-region henceforth faces serious risks, giving thus a particular undertone to the search for sustainable peace. Several authorities are undertaking mediation operations in order to confront these risks.[19]

**Development agency mediation:** The Civil Society initiatives' contribution to peace in West Africa have plenty of intentions but remain rather limited in concrete actions because of the lack of funds and above all because of the complex nature of the task at hand. However, civil society seems from afar the best placed in order to create the best conditions for dialogue and information because of its neutrality and the fact that it is the first victim of the conflict. Among these different means of action, three deserve mentioning.[20]

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**Conflict prevention in regional governments:** This most often takes the form of national and regional perspective of various factors of the crises. This analysis helps assure the quality of information on the causes of conflict and above all their consequences.[21]

[18] Clement E. A., (1995), The Liberian Conflict and the ECOWAS-UN Partnership, Third World Quarterly, Comfort Ero, ECOWAS and the Sub regional Peacekeeping mission in Liberia, *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*, 18(3).

[19] Lewis, D. 2002. "Civil Society in African Contexts Reflections on the Usefulness of a Concept" *Development and Change* 33 (4) 569-86.

[20] Ibid., pp.576.

[21] Barnes, C. 2005. "Weaving the Web: Civil-Society Roles in Working with Conflict and Building Peace"

Citizen's participation in security sector governance is gradually becoming an important issue within civil society organizations across Africa. In Burkina Faso, there is still much ground to cover on this issue mainly due to political stability. In fact, the security sector is considered as an important component of civil society in Burkina Faso government.

Despite the challenges face by these organizations, there is an increasing interest from the civil society in security sector matters. Among these organizations which are involved in security sector governance is the West African Network for Peace Building (WANEP), Centre for Citizen Monitoring of Public Policies (CCMPP) and Centre for Democratic Governance (CDG). CDG recently organized a regional seminar, and bringing together civil society organizations together from Niger Republic, Mali, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Benin, Nigeria, Guinea and Burkina Faso to brainstorm on citizen's participation in security sector governance. Furthermore, security governance was chosen as one of the key topics on which regional collaboration network will be set up with the support of the Danish Human Rights Institute (DHI). Consideration will be given to the ways and means by which civil society can contribute to the sharing of experiences and insights on security stability issues and lend its expertise to the government in the resolution of the issues involved. Another key topic for the network is the question of the democratic governance of the security sector.[22]

In Niger, the law distinguishes between associations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), with the latter having many of the characteristics of associations while being also under the obligation of signing a protocol of agreement with the government and of accepting the control of the Finance Ministry for the monitoring of their projects. Most of Niger's civil society emerged after democratization, in 1991.

According to data from the Nigerien government, there were, at the year of compilation (2008), nearly 500 associations and NGOs in Niger, with the great majority (376) being involved in development work. There were 71 associations and NGOs involved in human rights and democracy promotion. It is such groupings that have direct stakes in the performance of Niger's security system. They are federated into two principal umbrella groups:

**4.1 Civil Society Promoting Good Governance in West Africa**

Civil society plays an important role contributing to good governance in West Africa. Good governance encompasses the effective exercise of economic, political and administrative authority in managing states affairs in the region. According to the UNDP, good governance is "a virtuous process made up of institutions, institutional arrangements, mechanisms, people's participation and dialogue. It is driven by synergy, strategy and political will to negotiate and compromise decisions and governmental actions." While the working of good governance obviously involves the state and governmental structures, it also transcends these by including the private sector and civil society organizations.

Civil Society in promoting Good governance in West Africa involves "participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law." Civil society organizations are regarded as regularly being more in harmony with the local needs and interests of citizens than governments, which can

In Paul van Tongeren, et al., eds., *People Building Peace II, Successful Stories of Civil Society*, pp. 13.

[22] Bailey, S. 1985. "Non-official Mediation in Disputes Reflections on Quaker Experience" *International Affairs* 61 (2) 205-22.

easily lose touch with citizens and appear distant and impenetrable. They can play a valuable role in conveying the needs and interests of citizens to their governments.[23]

### 4.3 Contemporary Security Challenges in West Africa

### Globalization Challenges in West Africa

Globalization is a thread that runs through and connects the critical junctures and events that shaped our current world. The term globalization is widely applied to identify the growing depth, extent, and diversity of our cross-border connections that are a key characteristic of the contemporary world. Globalization involves the movement of people due to migration, employment, business, and educational opportunities. It includes other profound changes that are less visible but equally significant. The challenges that globalization represents for West Africa can be illustrated by the theme of global inequalities chosen by the American Political Science Association (the official organization of American political scientists) for its annual meeting. The challenges facing West African countries and African countries, in particular, are to design public policies toward the problem of security governance and to minimize the downside risks of political instability to member states in the region.

- Externally, West Africa region is buffeted by globalization, growing integration of the world in terms of politics, economics, communications, and culture. It is the process that undermines traditional state sovereignty.
- Politically, the state is confronted by globalizing issues-environmental degradation and disease-which governments cannot manage alone and that which requires cooperative action, such as climate change or global warming and diseases such as HIV/AIDS, EBOLA viral disease in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone in 2014. In recent years, West Africa has experienced more than its share across a broad range of health challenges, including cholera, leprosy, malaria, smallpox, typhoid fever, and most recently, the Ebola virus in West Africa. According to the United Nations' Geneva-based World Health Organization (WHO), the Ebola outbreak that began in Guinea in 2014 has already killed 11,315 people including Sierra Leone and Liberia as of January 2016. In light of the high human cost, the WHO established a special fund for such emergencies. [24]
- Culturally, new and intrusive technologies-email, faxes machines, facebook, worldwide TV network-increasingly undermine the state's control over information hence its control over its citizenry.
- Economically, states and financial markets are tied inextricably together. The internationalization of production and consumption make it ever more difficult for states to regulate their own economic policies. For example, the 2008 world financial crisis that rocked the world.
- Transnational crime in West Africa has led to the accelerating movement of illegal drugs, counterfeit goods, smuggled weapons, laundered money, and

[23] Barnes, C. 2005. "Weaving the Web: Civil-Society Roles in Working with Conflict and Building Peace" In Paul van Tongeren, et al., eds., *People Building Peace II, Successful Stories of Civil Society*, 7-16

41. African Union and WHO 2014 "Establishment of an African Centre for Disease Control and Prevention", AUC/WHO/2014/Doc. 5, 19 March 2014.

trafficking in poor and exploited people. It has created new businesses while distorting national and regional economies. The Regional States and governments are incapable of responding because of rigid bureaucracies and corrupt officials undermine the states' efforts.

- Transnational movements, particularly religious and ideological movements, are political forces that have challenged the state. These movements reject secularism and attempt to turn political, social, and individual loyalties away from the state and toward religious ideas. Believers in Islamic Fundamentalism are united by wanting to change states and societies by basing them on the ideas contained in the texts of Islam.[25]They see a long-standing discrepancy between the political and economic aspiration of the state. For example, the 2012 refugee crisis in Mali created a big challenge for states in Western Africa. And also the Boko Haram Islamic militants are using the ideology to coerce people in the northern part of Nigeria to believe in Islamic fundamentalism.
- Maritime security in West Africa has become a concern to regional security governance. In 2007, regional security forces seized more than six metric tons of cocaine in the territorial waters of Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Mauritania, and Senegal. The largest single seizure was made in Senegal, where the security authorities uncovered a Latin American operation with 2.1 metric tons of cocaine destined for Europe. Nigeria which is the regional power was identified as the transshipment point of approximately one-third of the heroin seized by US authorities. According to international anti-trafficking agencies, in collaboration with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), the United States Drug Enforcement Administration, and INTERPOL, a growing criminal network is being forged between Latin American drug barons and European (mostly Spanish and Italian) and African criminal gangs to facilitate the triangular trade in narcotics.
- Terrorism activities in West Africa are generally defined as the tactics that use to cause violence or the threat of violence as a coercive strategy to cause fear and political intimidation. These tactics were a feature within resistance movements, military coups, political assassinations, and various intra- and inter-state wars that have affected most regional states at some point during the continent's transition to independence and subsequent post-colonial period. In the last five years, West African countries have not only struggled against domestic terrorism, they have also been challenged by the emergence of transnational terrorist groups that have used Africa as a theatre to carry out attacks against both domestic

[25] Mule, H. (2000)"Challenges to African Governance and Civil Society", Africa Notes (May) pp 7-9.
43 Obadina, T. (1998) "Globalization, human rights and development" Africa today (October) pp 32-33
44 Ohiorhenuan, J.F.E. (1998) "The South in an era of globalization" in: cooperation south, No 2, pp 6-15.

45 Woods, N. (1988) "Editorial: Introduction Globalization, Definitions, Debates and implications" Oxford Development Studies Vol 26 No 10 pp8-23. Wohicke, M., (1993) "The causes of continuing underdevelopment" in (1993) "Law and the State, (Volume 47)" Tubingen: Edited by the Institute for Scientific Co-operation.

and international targets as well as to develop and maintain operations. The reasons for the widespread of terrorist group's attacks in West Africa have to do with weak and corrupt states, porous borders, and lack of governing institutions, ungoverned spaces, undertrained and under-equipped military and socio-economic discontent of the population, underdevelopment, poverty, unemployment, and conflicts.[26]

**Terrorist Groups in West Africa**

Terrorist groups in the West African region are many and have one main objective in causing atrocities to innocence people. They include:

**Boko Haram Terrorist Group**

This group of terrorist operates mostly in the Northern part of Nigeria, Northern Cameroon, Niger, Chad and some parts of Central African Republic, Since July 2009, Boko Haram terrorist group has mounted series of attacks killing between 20,000 to 22,000 people. Nigeria has become the world's third most terrorized country after Iraq and Afghanistan according to the 2015 Global Terrorism Index. The group Boko Haram began operations again under the leadership of Abubakar bin Muhammad Shekau. Its major operations since the group has been linked to attacks on military, police, teachers/university, banks, markets, Christian preachers, churches and targeted assassinations. The terrorist group recruits have been mainly disaffected youths, unemployed graduates, and former Almajris. The phenomenon of Almajiri (street Children) is a popular old practice whereby children are sent to live and study under renowned Islamic teachers in some cities in northern Nigeria. The Nigerian terrorist organization Boko Haram took advantage of weaknesses in Cameroon's border security and conducted several terrorist attacks in Cameroon's far north region in 2013, including targeted killings and kidnappings of Cameroonians and expatriates.

**AQIM Terrorist Group**

AQIM terrorist organization which has focused its operations mainly in Northern Mali with a movement that has a connection of the Algeria-based Salafist terrorist for preaching and combating, it is clearly stated that the AQIM terrorist group first made its appearance in northern Mali in 2003. [27]

The name AQIM was first used in 2007 but its origins no doubt could be easily traced to Algeria in 1992. In 2011 after the Libyan revolution, the government of Ahmadou Toumani in Mali was ousted in a coup by Captain Amadou Sanogo on 22 March 2012. A vacuum was created in Mali's governance system, that vacuum was filled by the Tuareg National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MINLA), which was backed by Islamist forces combined with AQIM and MUJAO.

These terrorist groups attacked a cafe popular with foreigners in Burkina Faso's capital, and then stormed a nearby luxury hotel; the attacks killed at least 30 people after more than 12-hour siege. The incident was similar to the Bamako Hotel assault in Mali, and the al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) claimed responsibility for the attack.

**Al-Qa'ida Terrorist Group**

After 9/11 terrorist attacked in the United States, a new face of security challenges with global reach from non-state actors has emerged in West Africa and other parts of Africa. This terrorist trend has been brutally demonstrated by the spread of violent attacks mounted by an expanding range of lawless transnational terrorist

[26] Victor D. Cha, (2000) "Globalization and the Study of International Security," *Journal of Peace Research* 37, (May): 391-403.

[27] Kim, Hae S. 2009. "The Complexities of Internal Conflict in the Third World: Beyond Ethnic and Religious Conflict" *Politics & Policy* 37 (2): 395-414.

groups, starting from Mali to Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and regional states. The terrorist groups, motivated by ethnic, racial, religious, tribal, and national ideologies, include extremist groups such as al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb, Ansaru, Ansar Dine, Ansar al-Sharia, the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MJUAO), al-Mourabitoun, the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MLNA), al-Shabaab, other militant recruits, and displaced persons. It is in this connection that the emergence of the "Islamic State" (also known as ISIS, ISIL, and Daesh), whose goal is establishing a "caliphate" across the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and Asia, is of ominous concern. [28]

**Conclusion**

This research has been able to examine the different explanations about the concept of "Security Governance" in West Africa, and the role of ECOWAS as a regional organization do not always have the necessary resources to enable it to respond appropriately to conflicts in West Africa. The AU and UN, on the other hand, may lack the required familiarity or understanding of regional conflict dynamics to intervene alone; thus the need for partnership. Over the years, the UN has restated its desire to work more closely with RECs and attempted to create an adequate security framework in the region. If these organizations are to succeed in addressing security governance in West Africa, two main issues must be addressed:

the clarity of roles, the capacity of the AU and ECOWAS to collaborate with the UN, and the capacity of the UN to absorb the capacities of these organizations and other African RECs in its responses to security situations in West Africa. The principle of reciprocity must inform all future UN-AU and UN-ECOWAS collaborations. ECOMOG and civilian personnel have been and continue to be active in ECOMOG-led peace missions throughout West Africa conflict countries. Even if other UN-member states cannot provide the human resources needed for peace missions in Africa, they should not withhold financial and material support to African-led or joint peace missions.

## Recommendations

- ECOWAS should increase the understanding of the concept of security governance on the basis of conflict prevention, and in so doing, interrelate conflict prevention activities with development and humanitarian crisis prevention and preparedness.
- The Regional States and civil society to enhance their role as principal constituencies and actors in conflict mitigation, peace-building, and to build awareness, anticipation, and strengthen capacity within Member states.
- Increase awareness and attentiveness for cooperative ventures between ECOWAS, Member States, civil society and external partners (RECs, AU, EU, UN, International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and development/humanitarian agencies) in pursuit of conflict management and state building.
- Strengthen capacity within ECOWAS to pursue concrete and integrated conflict in and peace-building facilitation, and concomitant activities such as development and humanitarian crisis prevention and preparedness, in the Member States using existing resources.
- ECOWAS' Departments of the Commission; the Early Warning System;

[28] Antwi-Boateng, Osman. 2015. "No Spring in Africa: How Sub-Saharan Africa Has Avoided the Arab Spring Phenomenon." *Politics & Policy* 43 (5): 754-784.

supporting organs of the Mechanism, including the Council of the Wise and Special Mediators; and other ECOWAS institutions should enhance member states in the region anticipation and planning capabilities in relation to regional tensions and extend opportunities for conflict prevention to post-conflict environments through targeted restructuring of political governance, conflict-sensitive reconstruction and development, as well as humanitarian crisis.

- Regional states adoption of the Mechanism and the Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance by ECOWAS and willingness of the AU to take into consideration decisions and recommendations from the PSC are commendable and highlight the significance these organizations place on peace and security issues. The AU and ECOWAS should, on a case-by-case basis, create appropriate structures and processes to support the implementation of decisions made on ways to resolve conflict and the effective implementation of protocols adopted to guarantee peace and security and the respect for democratic norms.
- The resolution by ECOWAS' Defense and Security Commission and Mediation and Security Council to deploy forces in Ivory Coast under ECOMICI to monitor the cessation of hostilities, assist in processes that would lead to the return of administrative services, guarantee the safety of humanitarian workers and observers, and support the implementation of the Lomé Agreement, was a positive step and perhaps prevented a recurrence of violence at several stages during the eight-year period when the parties to the conflict could not agree to implement the different peace agreements. There is, therefore, a need for ECOWAS to allocate resources to further strengthen peacekeeping forces that can be mobilized quickly but in the region and the continent in line with the formation of the African Standby Force to intervene militarily in conflicts to complement the diplomatic efforts of member states.
- ECOWAS resolution and implementation of regional and national norms and standards in relation to natural resource governance. Increased transparency in natural resource governance through regular parliamentary, national and media debates, regular publication of terms of contracts, receipts, and disbursement of proceeds from natural resources.

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