INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE WEST AFRICAN SUB-REGION C. 1991 - 2000: THE CASE OF SIERRA - LEONE

BEING A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY

NOVEMBER, 2001.

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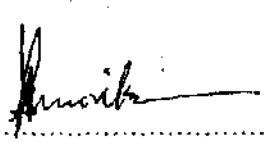
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DECLARATION

I Sani Moriki Abdullahi with Registration Number MIAD / SOC.SCI/21238/99 - 2000 hereby declare that this thesis has been prepared by me and it is the product of my own research work. It has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree. All literature consulted were duly acknowledged by means of references.



27TH DEC, 2001.

SANI MORIKI ABDULLAHI **DATE**

DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to my entire beloved Family.

CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled: "INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE WEST AFRICAN SUB-REGION C. 1991 - 2000: THE CASE OF SIERRA - LEONE" Meets the regulations governing the Award of the Degree of Master of International Affairs and Diplomacy of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

All praise and thank be to Allah the Almighty and Sustainer of the whole Universe for giving me the opportunity and the courage to successfully accomplished this proogramme.

At this juncture, I wish to seize this opportunity to express and forward my warmly gratitude to my Supervisor Prof. Ayo Dunmoye for devoting his time by going through the work done and made possible corrections and comments.

I am also very much grateful to the entire members of Staff of the Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. My special thank also goes to all my friends and all other well wishers who directly or indirectly helped in making this work successful. Once more I wish all of them huge and abundant rewards from Almighty Allah. May Allah bless all of us. Amin.

SANI MORIKI ABUDLLAHI

NOVEMBER, 2001.

ABSTRACT

This research looks at International Conilict and Economic Integration, though as a case study of Sierra - Leone, had in recent years jeorpodised Economic Integration and Economic Prosperity in the West African Sub - Region because of its (Conilict) Punitive Impacts and its detesting effects that caused for the destabilization of the economic base of the people, the impact of which was further economic stressed due to the thorny effects of conflict.

This had led to throwing of the people of Sierra - Leone into confussion. This and other problems that bedevilled West Africa have resulted into further economic doom that shattered the realization of any tentative development, despite huge and available human and material resources (he sub - region is blessed and endowed with. The work ends with recommendations of what could be done to bail the sub- region out of the present slate of economic uncertainties.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Conflict is not a new phenomenon in the political evolution and history of nation states; this is due largely to the socio-cultural and economic background or due to the nature of the different forces that combined in the formation of the different nation states we have all over the world, particularly in Africa, where state boundaries cut across different ethnic nationalities, as a result of which conflict inevitably emanated among these contending forces in the society, especially when it comes to issues of national question, where these varying interests in society automatically clashed.

Thus, "conflict can be viewed as a condition within a political system in which the institutional patterns of authority breakdown and the expected compliance to political authorities is replaced by violence intended to change the personnel, policies or sovereignty of the political authority through injury to persons and or property" (Fajana and Anjorin, 1980 : 229).

".....Culturally fragmented societies have been accompanied by an intensification of divisive and destructive centrifugal fissures and pressures... Perhaps the most serious challenge both to the consolidation of new democracies and to the health of well-established

ones is posed by the problem of ethnic conflict. The culmination of Gorbachev's Federal democratic reforms in the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December, 1991 and the ethnic and religious conflagrations that are consuming components of the former Yugoslavia are only two of the more poignant examples of communal polarization and conflict in democratizing societies in the world today" (suberu, 1996:1).

The current waves of conflicts in our societies could be traced or linked to the colonial era, who in their efforts to exploit Africans adopted the policy of divide and rule in all their areas of influence, as a result of which some sections of the soceity benefited most from this inbalance at the expense of others, who were tactifully marginalized by the combined forces of the colonialist and that of their erstwhile collaborators in the colonies. This the colonialist did in order to suppressed any possible mobilization of the civil society against their unjust rule, which in later time metermophosed into a serious problem in the society.

This had set in the genesis of the post independent nation states conflicts, as a result of the inherent lopesidedness and uneven development, coupled with fragile infrastructural facilities viz - a - viz demands in the newly independent nations amidst inadequate resources and inefficient structures due to the way and manner the

colonialist plundered the economic base of these nations during colonialism.

As a result there was discontent and dissatisfaction resulting into acute agitations and antagonism among these different ethnic nationalities base on the factors of primordial givens, and due to perceived marginalization and lopesidedness in terms of provision of social amenities that inevitably led to conflict especially after somany years of political independence attainment, where most of the hopes and yarnings of the people have been dashed to the wall. This is so when most of the leaders could not proved any different thereby not performing better than their erstwhile colonial masters due to the overdeveloped nature of the most colonial independent nations, thereby not meeting the yarnings and aspirations of their peoples due to corruption, bribery, inefficiency and other vices in the society that further obscured the attainment of any tentative development which later affected the regional economic integration effort in the sub-region.

This situation had deeply eaten the fabric of our nations with a bleeding heart which in effect raised serious discontent and grudges from the aggrieved and downtrodden that inevitably led to serious crisis, the opportunity which the military had seized and staged coups that later became contagious in the sub-region and the whole of Africa.

The military that came to correct the anomalies could not bring about the needed changes and development, rather compounded the already ailing and delapidated situation, that further eclipse the light of hopes and development in the society. Just like giving a bone to a dog, the military only succeeded in furthering and entrenching among other things corruption of the highest order and absence of virile and viable democracy. This had therefore led to the faning of embres of ethnic agitation and antagonism, the concomittant result of which was conflict among the different contending forces that make up the different nation states in the sub-region and the whole of Africa.

Despite all these problems, leaders have the same realized the need for cooperation in order to find ways of getting out of these messes and abyss that have maligned and dominated our societies. However, for this to be realistically achieved, there is the need that the existing cracks be welded and cemented, so that this effort would be successful and yeild fruitful dividends.

But in a situation where intrastates and interstates conflicts became rampant with heavy devastating impacts because of the way the colonialist plundered the ethnic commonalities of hitherto pre-colonial African states that generated a lot of tensions, coupled with other numerous problem highlighted above beside preponderance on agricultural products and other forms of dependence, not much would be achieved on

this regard, because economic integration is better pursued where peace and stability prevailed and rule supreme, where there is economic diversification instead of the colonial monocultural economic legacy pursued by these countries, despite independence as we are currently witnessing.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The history of economic cooperation in the West Africa sub-region is not a new thing, as it predates the colonial era when large Empires and Kingdoms existed that cut across present day colonial deliniated nation states boundaries. This was intensified to some extent during the colonial time when in the Anglophone West Africa way back in the 1914 a number of institutions operated across the four British territories of Nigeria and West Cameroun, Ghana, Sierra-Leone and the Gambia. Institutions like West African currency board given the countries a common currency operated. Others are the West African Airways Corporation, West African Institute for social and economic research to mention a few, while among the French West African colonies the degree of economic cooperation was even closer, since they were organized under one colonial administration as the French West African Federation, the brotherhood which is still evident among the Francophone West African states interms of their common currency giving the nature of French colonial administration and economic policy of assimilation.

Although West African sub-region was colonized by different colonial masters who put in placed different colonial administrative and economic policies in order to effectively exploit the region.

However as a result of the common experience of colonialism the sub-region went through after the attainment of political independence, the need for cooperation among these countries was realized. A new form of integration was therefore, vigorously conceived and pursued among these independent nations, hence ECOWAS was formed on 28th May, 1975 as conceived by General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria after Several efforts. The charter that led to the creation of the community was signed in Lagos by the Heads of Government of the West African States in order to cooperate economically among themselves. This formation of ECOWAS, embracing all the 16 states in West Africa namely - BENIN, BURKINA FASO, CAPE VERDE, COTE D'IVOIRE, GAMBIA, GHANA, GUINEA, GUINEA-BISSAU, LIBERIA, MALI, MAUARITANIA, NIGER, NIGERIA, SENEGAL, SIERRA-LEONE AND TOGO, was the climax of a series of earlier efforts to bring about close economic cooperation among West African States; despite fear expressed by President Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal. ECOWAS member states presently are 15 because of the withdrawal of Mauritania.

As they were pushing foward for the realization of these laudable and lofty objectives, they also realized that there was the need to incorporated the military aspect of it, most especially as from the time of the outbreak of the Liberian crisis when ECOMOG was formed and charged with the responsibility and mandate to bring peace and order in the war torn country. As the fire was about to be doused, it spilled over to other neighbouring countries, among which is Sierra Leone whose crisis started particularly from the time the government of Joseph Saidu Momoh who was in power since August 1985 was toppled in a military putch by Captain Balentione Strasser on the 19th April, 1992.

Although the government of strasser intended to handover power to a democratically elected government, it however could not see the end of the transition programme following another palace coup on 16th January, 1996 by General Julius Maada Bio who accused Captain Strasser of putting the Armed Forces Ruling council under pressure to proclaim a decree which would have suspended the constitution and pave way for him to be president.

As it is a tradition with the military at anytime it took over, it normally undermined a planned transition programme by either abandoning or extending it. The opposite was however witnessed, as the newly government of General Julius Maada Bio that came to power less than a month to parliamentary and presidential elections

continued with the transition by organising and conducting elections that brought President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah to power, albeit he would have preferred a situation whereby elections would be after the war has been brought to an end. This perhaps explains why one of General Maada Bio first act in office was to speak directly to the leacer of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) Foday Sankoh who had been busy waging a war against the Government of Sierra - Leone since 1991.

Many thought that with the election of February 26, 1996 that saw the ascending to power of president Ahmed Tejan Kabbah the crisis would be over. Unfortunately, however, the military made another turned round in 1997, with Major Johnny Paul Koromah becoming the new Head of State, which had turned the joy of many into confussion, hence the problem escalated. A situation which the sub-region and the international community greeted with condemnation, hence Nigeria led the ECOMOG as it did in Liberia in the restoration of Kabbah's democratically elected legitimate government as well as inviting and detaining Foday Sankoh the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) leader in Nigeria.

However, before this was achieved, the juntas have already wrecked a lot of havoc on the defenceless citizens of Sierra - Leone by going to the extent of cutting up of the limps of the civilians that did not supported their action including children and women, an incidence which further diverted the attention of the whole sub-region, who

could not imagine this barbaric wanton act of destruction. This had to some extend affected economic integration in the sub-region especially on the part of the people of Sierra-Leone who became aggrieved as a result of the way the society was disarrayed due to rampage on their lives and properties.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The rationale behind conducting this research is that, it aims at finding the causes of conflict being it communal, national, regional or international and whether there is any relation between conflict, peace, stability and development viz-a-viz economic integration. Lastly what benefits would be derived from this effort in the sub-region as well as the obstacles to be encountered and some of their remedies.

1.4 PURPOSE / JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

The purpose and justication for choosing and writing on this topic is because of the researcher's interest to bring into limelight how conflict of whatever sort undermined economic integration in the West African sub-region.

In other words, the topic was chosen as a result of its striken importance side by side our bitter experience of conflict and the atttendant hardship it brought on the lives of the defenceless who been disarrayed by the rampaging war. This was evident particularly as from the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the final collapse of communism in Soviet Union and the whole of Eastern Europe, where waves of

conflicts were witnessed on global diamensions, with heavy devastating impacts on lives and properties as a result of the way people and their economic base was destabilized due to warphobia and tensions resulting from carnage of which Sierra - Leone became a victim which affected regional integration efforts.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The importance of Economic integration could not be over empasized especially among contagious and economically fragiled and depressed countries of West Africa, that need to push foward economically considering the global economic trend in the present dispensation. That is to say for these countries to realize this, there is need to integrate so as to create a larger market capable of attracting foreign investment.

The above effort has to be backup with a peaceful atmosphere and stability, as it is the bedrock for drawing different peoples and nations together in order to achieve common goals. By so doing the sub-region would be able to attain some levels of economic posterity and development.

1.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

Although the topic seems to be vast and broad, it would however focus and centres on international conflict and economic integration in the sub-region and more specifically on Sierra-leone from the on set of the crisis that tored the country apart.

This restriction was necessary in order to give a comprehensive coverage or overview of the topic. Other constraints taken into cognizance are the cost implication, time and space. This however becomes necessary in order to accurately present the topic in such a way that it would easily be understood by its intended clients and those who might wish to widen and review it. This is so due to the way conflict becomes part of the political development of especially 3rd world countries of whic West African sub- region and the whole of Africa in general is badly affected due to the way conflict plunges people into serious difficulties.

1:7 BRIEF HISTORY OF SIERRA-LEONE

Sierra - Leone is member and active player in the West African sub-region. Like any other country in the sub-region, Sierra-Leone is equally multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi ethnic society. The earliest people of the interior regions are the Limba. By the middle of the 15th century, the Temne and Sherbro peoples occupied the coastal areas. In about the 16th century, the ancestors of the present Mende People were moving into the area of Sierra-Leone from the South-East and it was inhabited for many centuries by agricultural, pastoral and fishing people. Sierra-Leone like any country in the sub-region, equally tested the bitterness of colonialism under British colonial masters.

The portuguese traders arrived in the area in the 15th century to trade mainly for Ivory. They were followed by the English, this led to influencing of the culture of the coastal people. As this was going on. Slave Trade developed during the 17th century where thousands of Africans were captured, sold and taken to work on plantation in the West Indies. During the political struggle to make Slave Trade illegal. Freetown was founded in 1787 as a home of freed slaves. These people became known as creoles.

Meanwhile in the interior, people established strong societies ruled by chiefs and were competing with each other for trade with the coast. One of such leaders was Madame Yoko, a mende chief who got British patronage in controlling the trade along the rivers to the coast. In the North the Temne, Susu and Limba were prominent and were busy fighting each other for control of the rich agricultural areas for trade with the coast and British wanted to establish their influence over the area from Freetown colony which had been under British administration since 1787.

Therefore in 1896 a protectorate was proclaimed over the interior of Sierra-Leone and a tax on huts was imposed to pay for the costs of administration. This led to opposition and war broke out against the British in 1898. The most successful and prominent leader against the British was BAI BUREH who was finally defeated by British Forces and imprisoned in the same year (1898). After this, the area was

divided into small chiefdoms and administered under the principles of Indirect Rule which guided much of British Policy of West Africa.

Sierra-Leone colony and its capital, Freetown was administered seperately from the protectorate. Its inhabitants known as creoles were decendants of 400 freed slaves who had been captured in transit across the Atlantic by the British Navy and the liberated slaves and settled in the colony, holding the status of British subjects. The Sierra-Leone economy was predominently subsitence.

From then until independence there was a split between the protectorate area of the interior and the colony area of Freetown, just as it was in other places colonized by British. This connected Sierra-Leone crisis with the past due to colonial nature of divide and rule that led the foundation of uneven development.

After World War II, successive British governments declared that, the colonies should move towards self government and in 1951 a unitary constitution was introduced and Sierra-Leone peoples Party (SLPP) was founded by MILTON MARGAI a Mende from the south with other leaders from the colony and protectorate. In 1956 a parliamentry constitution was promulgated and this led to the formation of new opposition parties but the SLPP retained its majority at each election. During this period there was boom in the economy. This however, brought about social upheavals, as villagers who had grown up under the paternal rule of district commissioner and

chief had their eyes opened.

As this was the case on 27th April 1961, Sierra-Leone became independent. Sir MILTON MARGAI as Prime Minister since 1958, led the first government after independence. The SLPP also retained power at elections held in May, 1962. In April 1964 Sir MILTON MARGAI died and was succeeded by his half brother Dr. Sir Albert Margai previously Minister of Finance. Because of SLPP support from chiefs, the opposition leader SIAKA STEVENS leader of the All Peoples Congress (APC) resented governments attachment to what they felt were reactionary sectional interests. It was also believed that, under the cover of republican constitution Sir, Albert Margai intended to create the apparatus for a one-party state.

This was the situation up to March, 1967 when at a general election the APC gained majority seats in the House of Representatives. As the results came in, the head of the army, Brigadier David Lansana an SLPP supporter staged a coup to prevent Siaka Stevens from taking over. Two days later, his own officers repudiated him and siezed power. Seven officers (5 military and 2 police) formed a National Reformation Council (NRC) under Colonel Andrew Juxon Smith. After few months popular feeling turned against them, particularly within the ranks of the army.

In April 1968 a group of private soldiers mutinied, arrested the officers and restored civilian rule where APC took over power and the SLPP as opposition party. Since then political instability continued and in November 1968 a 4 months state of emergency was imposed. This is not the end, as there have been several attempts to overthrow Stevens government.

The 1972 by- election and May 1973 general election was both, not contested by SLPP. Similarly , in March 1976, Siaka Stevens was re-elected president for a second five years term. After which there were series of resentments and demonstrations against the government due to poor and deteriorating state of the economy. Amid serious outbreak of violence, a general election was held in May, 1982, under the one party constitution. Siaka Stevens promised that he would standdown from the presidency once a new House of Representatives was elected. Nevertheless, he remained in Office and later declared his intention to remain president.

This led to violence in 1983 between political factions in Pujehun district with heavy casualties and quite a good number fled to Liberia as refugees. This led to sending of army to restore order. As this was the case, riot brokeout in Freetown in January, 1984 provoked by students from Fourah Bay College, who were protesting about food shortages and rising prices. What followed was closing the institution and

4 people were killed. In short this period witnessed series of violence due to the state of the nation.

It was under this tensed condition that, Siaka Stevens retired. However, before this, he ignored the claims of his two Vice- Presidents - Sories Koroma and Francis Minah, rather he chose as his successor the head of the armed forces Major General Joseph Saidu Momoh an appointed member of the House of Representative and a member of the cabinet.

At APC convention held in August 1985, Joseph Saidu Momoh was elected president. Despite all series of problems he continued holding the mantle of power in Sierra - Leone, until April 19,1992 when a coup that toppled him was staged by Captain Balentione Strasser, who planned a transition programme that could not see its end, as his government was overthrown in another palace coup on 16 January, 1996 by General Julius Maada Bio, who accussed Strasser of inconsistencies that would have pave way for him to civilianised to become president.

Inspite of the war started since 1991 and waged against the authorities in Freetown by Revolutionary United Front (RUF) under Foday Sankoh, General Maada Bio continued with the transition programme started by his predecessor Strasser by organising and conducted elections within the shortest possible time that returned democracy in Sierra-Leone with Ahmed Tejan Kabbah as the new president elect on

February 26, 1996. This did not impressed the RUF rebels, as they continued with their vandalization, although the Civil Defence Army (CDA) popularly known as the KAMAJORS, offered support on the part of the central government to checkmate the excessiveness of the RUF did not help the situation as required.

As this was the case Kabbahs government was however deposed by the RUF rebels and Major Johny Paul Koromah became the head of state of the new Armed Forces Reveolutionary council formed in 1997.

This state of the nation had thrown the country into further fracas, a pressure situation that diverted the attention of the whole sub-region because of the rampage committed on lives and properties, that in effect affected and undermined regional integration efforts.

Sierra - Leone being an active member and a key player in the Politics of the West African sub-region, other members could not fold their arms to allow to see fire continue leaking its streets. This is the main reason why ECOMOG activities was extended to Sierra-Leone and charged with the mandate to ensure that peace and order are restored and stop the bloodshed just, like it did in Liberia in order for the entire sub-region to forge ahead in this globalized era.

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CHAPTER TWO

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

This might not necessarily be the only write up on this historical aspect of West Africa, to this end in attempting to present the topic in such a way that it would be well understood by those to come in contact with it, some few relevant but related literature have been consulted comprehensively and critically analysed.

It is a well known fact that, conflicts have became endemic in the last decade especially after the collapse of former Soviet Union which had profound adverse affects on the existence of nationstates, due largely from the way people have been traumatized and confused and quite considerable number displaced by the ravaging impacts of conflict that virtually obscured development at a time nations were coming out of the woes of global economic recession of the decade of 1980, most especially Africa which was drastically heated and subsequently forced to embarked on austerity measures and other structural adjustment policies with a view to revamped the ailing and tattered economy that further compounded their situation.

This state of affairs was further aggrivated by the absence of democratic governance in most cases and atimes because of the desire to clinge onto power by all means in addition to competition for resource control, e.g the need to control the diamond in Sierra-leone and the alleged support of the rebels by the Liberian

government. The attempt by Captain Balentione Stresser to civilianized have further propelled this conflict especially on the part of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) leaders who inspite of the transition continued waging war against the authority in Freetown. To make things worsed was the colonial historical antecedent and heritage of systematic misappropriation and manuevre of state resources due to inefficiency in governance as envisaged in most countries in the sub-region.

> ".....complex historical and structural process of pre-colonial and colonial incorporation, consolidation of diverse ethnic segments, federal territorial evolution and reorganizations, revenue allocation, and political competition and representation.These processes and institutionalized the oppressive hegemony..... but also to legitimize the inordinate exporpriation of the resources.... as part of an official strategy of centralized national cake sharing" (Suberu, 1996 : xi)

Similarly, in B B C focus on Africa of April - June, Volume 6, Number 2 has pinpointed that.

> "The pundits point to colonial economic abandonment followed by a series of incompetent and corrupt regimes. Now it's the rebel conflict that is holding things up" (BBC Focus on Africa,April - June, 1995:28).

The absence of viable and virile democratic governance in most of the African countries particularly before the wind of change of late 1990's that swept away communism and other dictatorial regimes in all angles of the globe have created conflict, most especially from the way the different contending parties garner support from other forces within and outside. On this it is maintained that

> "There is a need to evolve a governmental regime which provides opportunity for all to make input into the governing process without compromising the integrity and effectiveness of those process.
>
> Inevitably, such a system; especially in many African countries with their large territories, multi ethnic groupings, high rates of illiteracy and poor communication facilities, must inevitably involve multiple and concurrent constitutional order rather than one single centre of authority and power. Without addressing the problem of constituting multiple centres of power, the search for a stable and acceptable governing structures is bound to be a mirage" (Olowu, 1995:15 - 16)

In other words, without solving the governance problem in West Africa and Africa generally, it is doubtful if the challenges of economic growth and development can be fully appropriated being it internally pursued or even at regional level like ECOWAS, shall present trend continued.

> "Reflecting the inadequacy and failure of its redistributive and reorganizational policies..... state has resorted increasingly to regulatory or repressive strategies of ethnic minority containment. These regulatory measures have included the proscription or banning of association, the confinement, detention, arbitrary conviction and / or imprisonment of outspoken ethnic minority elites, the violent suppression by military force of protest...."
> (Suberu, 1996 : xii),

Therefore an understanding of the diverse nature of the different ethnic nationalities will bring peace and instability which will be the panacea to conflict among people. This would in essence provided the necessary and needed ground for economic integration in the sub-a region. In other words, the is therefore, the need to regularized all these differences and problems in order that the dream of economic integration becomes a reality. Peace is therefore a necessary pre-requisite in the sub-region i.e the present summersault must under any circumstance be put to an end, without which there would not be foreign investment which is needed in order to stimulate economic integration and growth and creation of larger market through economic diversification. It is therefore opined that:

> "For a variety of reasons, most of the newly independent African countries adopted a monocratic political order shortly after independence either through the adoption of a one party state or military coup detat. This paradigm of governance not only failed as a system, but led to serious and in some cases disastrous consequences for the economy and people of Africa, wars, political violence, economic decline, systematic corruption and social and infrastructural decay" (Olowu, 1995:17)

Once these differences are understood and well integrated the possibility of conflict would be doused to the lowest minimal which would at the end empowered the people. This would stir economic integration and other related activities in the sub-region.

> "Examining the problems of cleavage in the west African region, the late Sir, Arthur Lewis warned that any idea that one can make different people into a nation by suppressing the religious and tribal or regional or other affiliations to which they themselves attach the highest political significance is simply a nonstarter" (Akinola, 1996:29)

Therefore, let there be an understanding of these differences rather than to assumed to forget with them in order that economic prosperity is achieved.

Sierra - Leone just like many other countries in the sub-region is a multi- ethnic, multi- religions and multi-cultural society which is aspiring for a common goal, albeit with a varying interest. However, the fact that democratic governance was institutionalized one would still be astonished as to what really precipitated this unprecedented rebellion gulfing lives and properties that not only attracted regional attention because of the way it has hampared the regional economic integration effort, but also the United Nation. To this end it is lamented that

> "Ethnic conflict have long been recognized as one of the more fundamental threat to institutional stability, political order and state cohesion in the multi ethnic societies, of the third world..... ethnic conflict have attributed variously to the emotional power of' "primordial givens" or cultural ties the struggle for relative group worth, mass based resource competition, electoral mobilization, elite manipulation false conciousness and / or defective political institutions and inequitable state policies" (Suberu, 1996:4)

The ECOWAS commitments have became necessary, because economic integration in itself is a system which if any of its part is affected, hinders the whole system from functioning properly and perfectly. It is on this ground that ECOMOG was formed and mobilized to checkmate and suppress tension as a result of upheaval, inspite of the expenses involved both material and human, for without peace in the sub region, the effort is bound to either fail or face serious draw backs, beside the already existing problems on the ground - preponderance on primary commodity export trade / economic dependence, poverty, non existence of a large market on individual basis because of the small size of most of the different countries in the sub-region. As a result the need to integrate becomes necessary, so that there would be development which would enable the sub-region to effectively face and tackle the challinges of globalization. On this note it is stressed that

> "The limited success and outright failure of past attempts at economic integrationin West Africa should generate some caution in the hopes of ECOWAS and suggest the need to redouble efforts in order to ensure that ECOWAS does not follow in the footsteps of previous integration efforts and does actually became the strong vehicle for sustained and significant development so badly needed in the region..... we need to examine in the light of the patchy results obtained so far, the special

problems faced in achieving economic integration in the West African sub-region" (Livingstone, 1987:338).

The Sierra Leone melodrama just like that of Liberia and Guinea, has became a thorn into the flesh of West African States and has undermined development in the sub-region thereby gulfing all necessary resources meant for the sub-region to forge ahead. On this note it has became imperative for the sub-region and the whole of African states to learn to swim together or sunk together. That is to say, time is riped for the sub-region to wake up from the aged long economic slumber due or resulting from conflict, other crisis and face the reality in order to emancipate the people thereby integrating their small and fragile economies. As peace is always one of the cardinal principle of any collective effort, if the sub-region want to survive in this globalised and knowledge based societies of this 21st century.

> "It is rather sad that after 25 years of existence, ECOWAS has still not been able to fulfill its dreams. In fact, until recently ECOWAS has to a large extent been moribound. It has been engaging in matters that the founding fathers did not envisage. The organization had for the past 10 years or so, got bogged down with peace and security matters, first in Liberia and then Sierra-leone and Guinea"
>
> (Okechukwu, 2000: 4 -5)

Even though some members countries have established separate ministry charged with the responsibility of pursuing the urgent objectives of regional economic cooperation and integration. For the fact that , conflict still prevailed in the sub-region this stride would however, not yield the much desired dividend results , because being peace as the arrow head is not given the necessary attention considering the state of affairs in the sub-region. This is couple with high youth unemployment rate, rising inflation and weak currency. This explained why some short sighted leaders with ambition to cling unto power could easily garner support of these pauperized guarrilla youth and take to the bush looking at each other through the rifle hole as a result of false promises and false conciousness.

> "The lingering crisis in the West African State is the result of Koroma's desperate efforts to cling to power at all cost. His government is currently challenging a peace accord which was signed..... in Conakry, the Guinea Capital" (Newswatch, February 16, 1998:29).

However, a chick could only be reprimed after the hawk is dirven away. If this is not done economic integration would be in delima due to conflict in the sub-region.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As earlier pointed in the text above that this write up might not be the first of its type. To this end many scholars have written and shaded more light on this topic through different theories they have developed, in order to clearly buttressed their position on the subject matter which would serve as a reference point to the researcher's theoritical frame work development.

One of the common explanation used as to what causes conflict of any sort has been put foward by the Frustration - Aggression theory. The basic assumption of this school of thought are that

> "The primary causes of conflict or political instability are systematic frustration, relative deprivation, dissatisfaction or the frustrating consequences of pulling people out of the traditional cultures and ways of life with which they are familiar, into the strange and unknown, and in this case more complicated modern economies and national and international political systems" (Fajan and Anjorin, 1980:229).

On the other hand, the theory of cultural pluralism has offered a contrary view. This school of thought opined that:

"The sources of conflict or political instability (especially in the developing countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa). Is the plural nature of the various societies" (Ibid: 230).

While in their own perception of what causes conflict in society, the modernization school of thought subsumes that:

> "Essential changes in the structure of nations, especially developing nations.... that modernization is concern with the degree to which new nations develop greater measures of national income, industrialization, urbanization, formal educational institutions, mass media consumption and political participation. It introduces new concepts, new ways of life, new values and so tends to lead to confusion. For the very naive and over enthusiatic which result eventually in nothing more than mountains of frustrations, aggressions and disappointment"
>
> (Fajana and Anjorin, 1980:246 - 247).

In the theory of comparative advantage as stressed by Adam Smith in his book The Wealth of Nations:

> ".....attacked the mercantalist view on trade and advocated instead free trade as the best policy for the nations of the world..... that with free trade, each nation could specialize in the production of those commodities in which it had an absolute advantage (or could produce more efficiently than other nations) and import those commodities in which it had an absolute disadvantage (or could produce less efficiently). This international specalization of factors in production would result in an increase in world output which would be shared by the trading nations" (Salvatore, 1975:2).

Similarly in the theory sited above (Comparative advantage theory) David Ricardo opined that:

> "Even if nation had an absolute disadvantage in the production of both commodities with respect to the other nation, mutually advantage trade could still take place" (Salvatore, 1975:2).

Side by side with the above theories is the traditional theories of international trade and payments which hold that

> "In time the factors of production in the different countries will so adjust themselves that their rates of compensation will tend to be equal. If there are, for example, disparities in the standard of development between two

trading countries, than the potential profitability of investment would tend to be higher in the country where there had been less previous investment such that capital would tend to move into it from the other country where there had been greater investment and will continue to move until the rates of profitability in the two countries are equal.... once it gets going; the process of development tends to generate a complex set of mutually reinforcing internal and external economies of scale. This situation becomes particularly important for the African developing world where the average size of national market is very small, boths interms of total population per capital incomes, and where the critical minimum size of industrial plans may be larger than what the average national market can sustain. In such a situation, the elimination of all forms of restriction on the movement of goods and services among a group of contagious countries should improve the scope of potential viability and expand mutual commercial exchange. This would facilitate greater utilization of industrial capacity, promote greater production, specialization, result in lower unit production cost, reduce investment risk, stimulate faster economic development" (Aboyade, 1983:202-203).

These theories quoted have clearly pointed to the need for economic integration as a means of overcoming or rather reducing the risk of nations economic disadvantage, thereby promotion production and enhancing market capability and capacity of the integrating states, through the elimination of restructive barriers to the expansion of economic activities in the sub-region.

However, as have been pointed, the achievement of this task could be possible only when peace and stability rule supreme thereby leading to the empowerment of the people through greater commitments of the leaders of West African sub-region. That is to say, leaders of the sub-region should give much emphasis to peace by not allowing conflict becoming a pill too bitter to swallow.

To this end, it has become mandatory for the sub-region to get rid of itself of any conflict whether national or international, so that economic quagmire faced by these nations would be solve as peace stimulates many positive developments. When this is done it would lead to the creation of large market capable of attracting foreign investment badly needed by the sub-region to move another milestone foward.

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CHAPTER THREE

3.1 ECOWAS AND THE SIERRA - LEONE CRISIS

It is an undisputable fact that, there have been a whole lot of write up on the West Africa sub-region, covering all aspects of its history, right from antiquity through the period of the formation of large centralized Empires, Kingdoms and other city states in the savannah and the forest regions, the uncentralized states of the forest region and the coastal belt was also covered.

The period of imperialist expansion, Slave Trade and colonialism as well as nationalism that led to the emergence of the present day colonial political independent states was also treated accordingly by scholars. Similarly, the challenges and crisis of governance faced by the different post colonial political independent nations as well as the military intrusion into the polities of the sub-region and its attendant consequences, the decade of 1990 democratic transition or transformation and the challenges brought about by the political wind of change that saw the end of communism in the whole of Eastern Europe and swept away Former Soveit Union the attempt to integrate and the future crisis, have all been documented accordingly by different scholars and other analyst interested particularly in the political and economic development of the countries south of the sahara most especially the west African sub-region.

It is in the light of the above that, the methodology for data collection and its subsequent analysis and interpretation would be based.

3:2 METHODOLOGY

Therefore, in attempt to collect relevant data that would rationally explain the topic, the methodology employed was based on intensive research or searching through the diverse and available documentary secondary sources. The essence of which is to enable and compliment the researcher's effort to assembled all necessary and relevant informaiton partaining the topic under study.

Beside, the researcher's little understanding on the topic also compliment towards this tasking effort. Other sources used in gathering information include searching through available printed Mass Media both periodicals and news dailies as well as non-print media (audio-visual) reports.

Similarly, the opportunity had by the researcher of visiting some countries in the sub-region during a tour organized by the Department enables the researcher to see things concretely and had therefore, served as supplement to what could not necessarily be obtained from some of the secondary literature sources consulted in the course of literature review.

All these have became necessary taking into cognizance the demands of the topic and other numerous problems that sorrounded it, whereby the use and admission

of questionaire would virtually not be possible due to financial and other constraints, have forced the researcher to limit, resort and rely on documentary secondary literature sources for information on the topic.

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

In project write up, data analysis is always concerned with the critical analysis and interpretation of the information collected from the various sources consulted viz-a-viz the reality on the ground.

Therefore, from the available information collected or gathered, it was accurately revealed and shown that, conflict is not a new phenomenon in the hisotrical evolution and development of modern nationstates in the world as well as it (conflict) is the most single factor capable of undermining the co-existance of people, nations and any cooperative venture entered into by a group of people or nations.

As such, West Africa and Africa in general should not be an exception, particularly in the last decade of 20th century when waves of violent conflict and other civil unrest was seen or witnessed in almost all parts of the world, especially following or after the demised of the Former Soveit Union and communism in Eastern Europe, the repercussions of which was enormous and adversed on 3rd world countries especially African countries whose economy was already tattered and therefore on the marginal scale due largely to aged long colonial experience and its subsequent brutal

vandalization as a result of the barbaric and obnocious policies of divide and rule put in place by the Western Colonial powers that led to the forceful incorporation of these countries into the global capitalist economic system at disadvantage against all odds, because of the exploitative nature of colonialism, that at the end generated a lot of tension and crisis in the future political and economic development of these countries.

The above situation which these countries found themselves into was made to be so, due mostly to dissatisfaction resulting from uneven development and carnage, the slumber which these countries are still battling and grabbling with, despite the attainment of political independence in the last four decades because of the lasting impacts of colonialism and especially when some of the remarkable changes thought by most people after granting of political independence could not readily come. That is to say, the hurdles to cross are much and have at all levels and time have severe repercusions and consequences that subsequently forestall efforts to effective integration in the later stages of development of these countries inspite of the desire for such join venture.

The post colonial political independent African states and the crisis of governance was therefore linked to this past colonial historical antecedence, combined with other factors and forces in the society have added weight and increased the gravity and tempo of such unprecedented and turbalent crisis these nations, faced, with heavy

death toll an analysis of the information gathered has shown.

Similarly, the data collected had further revealed and ascribed conflict and other politically motivated crisis to the absence of effective and people oriented system of democracy, the used of secondary conciousness for political support, the desire to clinge onto power and to perpetuate on it by all means i.e by hook or by crook as part of the reason why there have been cases and series of turbalent conflict that is always gulfing the lives in most cases of the poor defenceless innocent civilian citizens and their properties destroyed in the sub-region as noticed in the near past, a situation that attracted global diamensional condemnation that strangulate economic posterity and other development.

Beside this, an analysis of the data put forward had maintained that, competition for resource control and the question of sharing of the national cake which some assumed that those not involved in baking it have per take in its sharing. Perceived marginalization of one section of the society by the other as a result of which people loose temper, thereby becoming aggrieved and frustrated the result of which was civil disorder and fracas. False conciousness, corruption and in efficiency in governance have all put together led to dissatisfaction in West Africa, the result of which was violent ethnic conflict of different sort championed by ethnic militia and other warlord which wrecked a lot of havoc in the sub-region.

Accordingly, it was also established that, conflict is one of the thorny and itching problem threatening and plaguing the cooperate existence of the people of West Africa. It is therefore, one of the prime causer of all evils and other damaging and dirty civil conflagration in the society, as it has the capacity and provided opportunity to some shortsighted and unpatrotic few in the society to always staged and perpetrate trouble, thuggery and other insecurity problems.

This is so in most cases because of the contagious nature of the ethnic formation of the different ethnic groups in the sub-region that, cut across present day colonially existing national boundaries which easily led to the influx of refugees to neighbouring countries should there be any crisis thereby leading to the spread and increase in crimes rate and other social vices due to tension and fear caused or created by upheavals. A pressure situation capable of undermining integration effort within the sub-regional framework.

In other words, the data collected shows that, conflict has became so rampant and so endemic with nearly no solution in sight and therefore a major obstacle which painstakingly became a thorn into the flesh of the countries of West Africa, as such it however, scuttled and strongly deprived and subsequently undermined the sub-regional effort towards integration. This is so, atimes because of the desire to meet some parochial selfish interest and ends by some few sadistic individual, the end of which

was always causing severe humanitarian trauma, psychological damages as well as other human right abuses that led the situation to escalate in most cases creating a bad illusion for the whole of West Africa.

That is why today, despite ECOWAS 25 years of existence, painstakingly it is not able to meet its obligational aspirations. This is so because of severe humanitarian consequences and problems caused and created by conflict as shown by the data collected, that is why investor are shuning away the sub-region despite, its abundance resource endowment and the enthronment of democracy which many thought is the panacea and answer to many thorny issues, but the thing is that democracy is not an end in itself.

In other words, cooperative venture just like democracy is a system that can not survive in a rigorous hostile economic situation, neither in a crisis ladden condition. Therefore, there is no gainsaying that, democracy is the answer to the numerous problems scuttling the sub-region as we are made to believed but rather it (democracy) is part of the solutions, because even where it is institutionalized, reported prevalent cases of conflict and insecurity in these beleaguered countries made it not to fully grow roots. This situation is always distancing investors from investing effectively in the sub-region because nobody would like to bring his wealth in an atmosphere of uncertainty. The above had therefore, affected a lot of industries leading to increasing

rates of unemployment, thus made condition of life among the people of West Africa very critical today.

Beside, the information gathered lamented and revealed that, due to the peculiar nature of the ethnic diversity and because of the way and manner the Western Colonial Masters arbitrarily patitioned and delianated the boundaries of these countries led to the intensification and spread of conflict easily and quickly degenerated to became notorious in the sub-region at anytime it erupted. Although the Former Colonial powers have their reasons for doing what they did, in order that the zeal of the people to easily mobilize themselves against the evils of colonial rule is either suppressed, reduced to the lowest minimal level or not achieve at all. That was how and why ethnic affiliation in the sub-region was plundered so as not to see themselves as one people because of the hatred and fear induced into the mind of the people across the different spheres of influence of the colonialist before and even after independence was won as the case may be.

That is why, today should there be an outbreak of any conflict it easily spreaded like a bush fire or goes beyond being controlled easily without rubbing eye brouse or rising dust; as in the case of Liberian crisis which spilled over to neighbouring Sierra-Leone and Guinea with heavy devastating impact; that beleaguered the sub-region . That was how ECOMOG was formed in order to douse or quel any fire at regional

level, because if that is not done, the effect would be on the whole sub-region as envisaged in the near past and even now.

A further analysis of the data collected also shows that, it was as a result of political instability that led to the placing of economic embergo being suffered by some countries in the sub-region, the effect of which was not only on the affected countries, but the whole of West Africa. Therefore, it is evidently clear that, the sanction placed on Liberia and Sierra-leone paralysed not only the two countries mentioned above, because it is a known fact that, sanction by its very nature is meant to weakened, castrate and limit the roles a nation is suppose to play in the comity of nations as well as in any other international or regional organization like ECOWAS where it is a member due to the severity of economic blokade. Where this be the case, it would definately jeopordise any join economic venture most especially in an already tattered and delapidated economy.

In a related development, conflict as we all know created a scenerio that retarded economic development because of the way people and their economic base were destroyed and plundered which had at the end succeeded to plunged the economy of the sub-region into chaotic and despotic critical situation, thereby leading to the diversion of resources for rehabilitation which should have been channelled for developmental purposes aimed at pushing the economy foward for posterity.

An interpretation of the information so far gathered pinpointed that, one of the cardinal principle of integration is free movement of goods, services and peoples among or between the integrating countries. But can this be possible in an atmosphere of insecurity and rancour, beside other bundles of problems prevailing in the sub - region with abusive odour.

West African sub-region is endowed with enormous natural resources and a dynamic human beings capable of leading it to a greater height. It is in relation to this that, our enemies used all forms of strategies and hide under the canopy of misunderstanding by fueling and faning the embres of conflict that would at the end tore the people apart. This they did in order that the dependency syndrome bedevilling the sub-region for long continued, henceforth this would give and provide them with the ample and needed opportunity to control and tape these abundance natural resources for their own advantage especially the Western capitalist countries.

Similarly those that are always fomenting trouble in the soceity in most cases are not affected, rather the common man and other downtrodden are those that always suffered. That is to say, although conflict is in most cases caused by the elites class in the name of seeking political relevance, the concomittant result rested mostly on the masses who are used and dumped thereafter and have at all time being prevented from seeing the true position of things by masking their faces who in turn blindly offered their support hence, the problem escalated.

In a nutshell and in relation to all that was discussed and analysed above concerning conflict, it is further stressed and maintained that:

> "The prevalence of endemic problems of prostitution, poverty, destitution, desease, heavy unemployment, seasonal hunger, rural proleterization, public sector mismanagement, wide-spread corruption and crime, internal and external economic and political sabotage"
>
> (Aboyade; 1983:50).

To crown it all, and according to the data collected and critically analysed, in line with the above quotation it is vividly and evidently clear beyond reasonable doubt that, conflict is the most single evil that led to human and economic molestation in West Africa which had significantly contributed in no small measures in the falling apart of our societies in all respects and led to sending of wrong signals about Africa

generally, that is how economic integration could not realistically be achieved considering the period of the formation of ECOWAS. This had led to the falling standard of the economy of the sub-region and not all that admirable particularly to foreign investors, inspite of availability of resources.

Equally, in the course of literature review theories that highlighted on the needs and desirability of economic integration as a strong weapon of integrating small economies of West Africa in order to face the challenges of our time.

It is in the light of those theories i.e theories of conflict and economic integration, that made leaders of the sub-region to embraced the need to come together economically in order to attain some common goals and purposes. Therefore, for quite a long period of time, they have been nursing ambition to cooperate economically, upon all the numerous problems pinpointed, that is to say, although, the path leading to integration is rough considering all the obstacles and other hurdles mentioned, but becuase of the realization that, unity means strength, as well as the only way of pulling resources together leading to the creation of a much bigger market that would at the end attract foreign investment. This would however enable the sub region to react to this disturbing features and confront the challenges of this period and even the future

It is in line with this desire that leaders remained committed and continue to broker peace by always intensifying efforts to facilitate dialogue as conflict could hardly be resolved on the battle field. Therefore, sustainable peace and order is non-nogotiable. That is, it is only when this is done, that a wartorn, tattered, confussed, frustrated and forcefully dislodged people would be encounraged, or else, integration would continue bound to be a mirage, wasteful and mire dream, shall this gloomy picture continue.

In other words, leaders in the sub-region have remained highly committed by tightening their balts and chewed as much as they could bite, despite the huge amount of resources sunk both human and materials in order to ensure peace, order and stability prevail and reign supreme in West Africa, as the only or last option, if it wants to achieve the desired results and henceforth, make any meaningful contribution or headway in the overall development of West Africa, so as to get out of the messes and economic quagmire that shrouded it, oazing and pervaded all angles in the sub-region for quite a long period of time.

To sum it up, from all that have been discussed and analysed, it is finally established that, all that have been happening in the different countries of the sub-region was due to elites power tussle or struggle which have been giving an ethno - religious colouration in order to win the confidence and support of the masses couple

with the poor state of economic affairs whose faculty of reasoning / thinking and vision have been shattered from realistically seeing the true position of things.

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CHAPTER FOUR
CONCLUSION,

4:1 CONCLUSION

In a nutshell, as the topic indicates and from all that have been discussed vividly and clearly put foward, maintained that, the impacts of what have been happening in the sub-region, although to some extent the crisis was linked with the past colonial historical experienced, it equally proved beyond reasonable doubt that there have been remarkable linkage between conflict, economic integration on the one hand and the clamour for economic progress and development on the other.

Taking into cognizance and bearing in mind that peace, order and stability are the backborn or focal point and the cardinal principle of economic integration that steared economic development of any people or nations, while conflict by its very destructive nature and from the way it leads to the destabilization of the different forces in the soceity always offers the reversed.

Therefore, for nations to be able to integrate and prosper in their economy must at all time imbibed the culture of peace and tranquility. That peace remained the solid foundation stone or bedrock upon which,pillars of the building are mounted and rested and should therefore, be accorded all necessary priority, because conflict is basically considered to be the most itching problem hampering the sub-region and should

henceforth get rid off any violence if the dreams of the ECOWAS founding fathers are to be realized.

It is only by doing this, that West Africa can turn another landmark and able to create a lucrative and healthy competitive atmosphere for all those that wish it well, as well as be able to push back the tantacles of economic retardation or economic malaise and all other forms of backwardness associated, with the sub-region and Africa as a whole. If that is the case then, peace as being stressed in almost every paragraph, is therefore the cornerstone and must be given all the needed prerequisite as a stimulant to many other positive developments.

As we all know, the use of violence is not appropriate in handling political issues neither in any other aspect of development needed to lift the different nations higher. Shall this be the case, then as a matter of necessity, time is riped for West Africa to embraced and focus on people oriented democracy base on multiplicity of interests in a well organized political parties : base system and good governance in order to bail it out of the present state of economic catastrophy, chaos and confusions. That is to say, since conflict hinders and that peace stimulates, it is willy nilly that West Africa turned from the shaky and docile political order wanting to tore it apart, after decades of military maladministration that immensely contributed to the present predicaments.

The realization that peace and economic integration go hand in hand because they are two intimate brothers or bird of the same feathers, height and size should be the only option and direction which the sub-region would headed to , considering the diverse and numerous ugly and agonising problems it is now battling with so that it would turn many more kilometrestones ahead, especially that the world has today being turned to a global village and in the subseqent future times to come, which shows that a nation can not exist in islolation or as an oasis.

4.2 SUMMARY

This would not be anything different from all that have been said and discussed right from the head to the tail. As such, by way of summation and in order to give a clear blue print, the work was therefore divided into chapters for ease of comprehension and digration, each treating an aspect of the topic. This becomes necessary in order to bring out the prons and the corns and to give a clear catalogue and insight as well as for easy understanding by anybody or group that would come in contact with it.

To this end therefore, chapter one being the introduction, gives a detailed explanation of the concept of conflict and went further to dig the history of economic integration right before the advent of colonial masters, through the period of colonialism because of its onerous ambition of exploitation, inspite of the different

colonial administrative policiies of the different colonial powers that struggled to patitioned and colonized West Africa among themselves and inevitably incorporated it into their spheres of economic influence at the sub-regional peril. A brief history of Sierra - Leone was also discussed.

As this was done, chapter two focussed on what others have said or rather explained in all the different theories quoted. This has therefore remained the literature review and theoritical framework where the bulk of the work was done. In a colourful manner it gives a clear insight which aimed at clearing doubt of particularly those that are not conversant with this aspect of West African history; into the light of facts that aimed at boosting the knowledge and intituitive thinking of its clients. This is so because of the way and manner the topic was categorically and logically presented - conflict and its attendant consequences particularly in the last decade of the 20th century West Africa viz-a viz economic integration.

This brought us to chapter three which gives a highlight of Ecowas and Sierra - Leone crisis. The method employed in the course of data collection, Even though, no questionaire was administered due to certain constraints. Howbeit, that notwithstanding, as all necessary information required in making this work accomplished successfully was accordingly assembled. This was later followed by a critical analysis and interpretation of the data collected. The essence of which was to

further gives a clear picture and insight in order to impress, attract and catch the attention of all those that would be keen to go through it, review, criticise and wish to widen it in future, although this depends on what the future sitatution would warrant. This is so, due largely to the dynamic nature of the changing politico - economic condition and institutions that form part and pereel of the history of our societies, most particularly taking into account the ethnic formation and diversity of the different segments that make up the different nationstates in the sub-region, in which conflict seems to be at the door step and almost inevitable.

4:3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Here the whole efforts would be geared towards offering some vital suggestions that would best be used to end all the problems and obstacles that sorrounded or encapsolated the sub-region. It is only when this is done that all possible cracks would be welded and mended; in order to allowed it, to equally raised its head and breath the air of economic freedom, economic posterity and development resulting from order and stability.

To this end, therefore, the following recommendations have been made or offered:

- There is the need for the sub-region to intensify effort to alleviate the aged long suffering of the teaming majority resulting from carnage and the ugly situation created there in.
- All machineries in the society should adequately be mobilized in order to enlightened the generality of the populace on the dangers of conflict mostly promoted to get some primordial objectives met.
- Also vigorous campaign should be intensified and embark on preaching of the need for peace and stability as the fundamental pillar and bedrock that engineered all aspects / forms of development in any society, nation or group of nations as in the case of ECOWAS. It should therefore be accorded all necessary priorities, because peace stimulates, entises and enable people to carry and discharge their civic duties and responsibilities deligently and accordingly. By so doing, it would lead to turning and stearing the wheel of West Africa's economy.
- People should be made to know and be aware of the dangers of being used to perpetuate trouble and the detesting subsequent repercussions and other catalogue of problems there in. That they should try to shun away violence caused or engineered by some few narrowminded selfish leaders as the only way of safeguarding their lives and properties. By this they would be able to

know who their enemies are among the elites and even outside.

Foreign investment is the result of many economic indices and other infrastructural facilities available in the society, of which security is one of them. Therefore, where it is absent, investors would not risk investing their wealth, because it is only worthwhile to invest where it is safe and sure of reaping profits which cannot be possible in a state of insecurity or hostile situation.

Also people oriented democracy should be put in place and the habit of leaders remaining on power perpetually even where such leaders and their policies are no longer popular should be changed as part of measures to curtailed and end violence whose repercussion is all encompassing.

Similarly, leaders should try and embark on developmental projects that have direct bearing on the teeming majority in all the different countries of West Africa, rather than hiding under the banner and canopy of secondary conciousness, causing misunderstanding and hightening tension in order to divert the attention of the people from seeing their unjust, unpopular and evil rule by pulling blanket cover on their faces.

People should be made to always show restraint, bury their differences deep into their minds and other hostile attitude by not allowing it to surface. This can be done by promoting national conciousness, rather than other local factors, by imbibing the culture and habit of dialogue as a means and best tool for settling disputes in society even where such differences manifested instead of being confrontational leading to looking at each other through the hole of the rifle.

In other words, history has shown that dialogue is the supreme therapy even in worst circumstances of violent conflict. Therefore, people should be made to knew that those who shun it (dialogue) often return to it with their tail between their legs.

Beside, the problem of dependence or relience on former colonial masters should be reduced. Also the non-chalant and lackadaizical attitude towards ECOWAS funding should be changed. Albeit, this is due to economic disparities and other factors. However, the lack of political will on the part of some leaders to subordinate part of their authority to ECOWAS has ruined, compounded and contributed to ECOWAS woes. This should therefore, be addressed appropriately.

- West African Leaders should also shun away the habit of accommondating and supporting rebels as in the case of the Mano River countries. If this is done, the fear expressed by especially small and economically weaked member countries would be less, hence they would be more committed to ECOWAS course.
- The problem of political instability and other civil strife in the sub-region is infact demoralizing and until peace and stability are restored, ECOWAS dream may take a long time to be realized, because it is only in an. atmosphere of peace and stability that countries and indeed organizations can develop.
- In a related development, as a matter of necessity the sub-region should try to heal all existing wounds and mend all cracks created mostly by conflicts. This would enables West Africa to get out of the present unfortunate and ailing economic malaise. That is to say, campaigns such as poverty eradication and other related problems could not materialized where there is rampage and other damages caused by conflict. That if this trend continued. West Africa would hardly see the light of the day as conflict led to the bouncing back and ruin societies.

More so, for the fact that, the world has today become so compressed and highly interdependent, so much so that no nation can exist and function in isolation has made it imperative and pertinent for the sub-region to discard conflict in order to be carried along by the current global trend, failure to abide by this by any member may lead to placing and suffering from economic embergo that would at the end have repercussion not only on the country concerned, but the whole of the sub region in the form of refugees , increased crimes rate etc and this may shattered economic integration and progress.

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The ethnic hetrogenity in West Africa should be encouraged to serve as a source of our strength , prowess and understanding ,instead of being used to divide us as being the case now which further weakened ,retard and castrate economic activities ,participation and development.

The military wing of the ECOWAS (ECOMOG) shall comprise soldiers from all the member countries, properly funded and be encouraged to discharge their functions accordingly .That is to say ,it should be redefined and be given all necessary cooperation, support and mandate to function within the stipulated rules and other laid down procedures that would culminate into gingering peace.

- Although ECOBANK was established, the problems highlighted in the text should be. properly addressed . That is to say, there is the need for a hitch free movement of goods, services and people in the whole of the sub-region. Currency harmonization is another important aspect to be resolved and other pressure and hostile attitudes particularly from the security.
- Governments in the sub-region should proscribed any organization or association that is not national in outlook i.e ethnic vanguard channelling the course of ethnicity / trouble bigotry and other sectional interest should be proscribed and the irrate youths that is used in waging guarrilla war should be employed or provided with what would keep them busy at all time, rather than continue to be deceived.
- The military in the sub-region should in the interest of peace and walfare of the generality of the people allow democracy to grow in all the different countries of the sub-region i.e.the manner in which the military interfere into polities is subverting democracy that significantly contributed to political instability that is plaguing West Africa today.
- At anytime there erupted a conflict,it did not just happened like that i.e.there are in most cases some forces behind,that normally directly or indirectly engineered it. Therefore, those found to be involved shall be made to face the

wrath of the law no matter their status in the society. Through this,those normally deceived and take part would be told a lesson and frigthened as well.This would led to the cutting off the umblical cord of political deceit in the sub-region.

Governments in the sub-region should fashioned out a constitutional framework that would encompass or contain and cater for all the varying degree of intrests in the society capable of brinoing about dissention i.e.the constitution shall be such that would addressed the ethnic,religio-politico and economic disparities in all the West African countries.

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The question of continuity or 3rd tenure as the case may be, through constitutional panel beating to suit the interest of the incumbent and denying other political opponents the right to use the national media in order to sell their menifestors or call for political rally and or redesigning the constitutional clause (s) in order to prevent others especially popular politicians from contesting and other forms of political victimization, blackmail and intimidation should be avoided.Similarly, periodic elections should be allowed to hold and be made free and fair.

The habit of military transforming to civilian president while still on power,through the manipulation of the constitution and the political scene,even where such a person is not popular and that the decision is not wise should also be checkmated as it ruin and culminate to conflict that may at the end cause acute economic problems that would hampare development.

The military in the sub-region should be made to know that,military rule is no longer fashionable in the global poliitical scene or dispensation and should therefore allow democracy to grow and mature in the interest of development, and that,should there be any military putsch in the sub-region should jointly be condemned by all ECOWAS countries and the juntas be made to face tougher and hostile economic measures by placing sanction on it and if possible it should be jointly fought and brought down until the ousted government is restored. The United Nations can also be brought in this democracy crusade to complement West African effort.

The judicial process in the whole of West Africa should be always left to decide and interprete all political issues and other related problems.i.e the supremacy of law. Also all forms of rumours should be abandoned and appropriatly tackled to avoid it from degenerating into voilent strife.

Similarly,the pervasive poverty syndrome among the people in the sub-region

should also be tackled because a hungry man is always an angry man and easily engineered.

That religion,ethnicity or tribal bigotry and other sectional difference should not be the yardstick preventing the evolving of a stable and peaceful polity.This would uphold the virtues of economic integration and development.

The system of governance prevalent in the sub-region of concentrating too much power at the centre especially among people of diversed interest in almost all respect is given a lot of headache. The centre should therefore,be made less attractive in order that competition and desire to always controls it would be less.hence the possibility of conflict in West Africa would be less too.

The military while in their barracks should always be engaged with one or the other activity as this would reduce the possibility of thinking to stage a coup. Similarly premature retirement of military base on any ground should be avoided in the sub-region and even where military happen to be retired their entitlements should be paid to them in time as well as be adequately catered for during the retirement period for the rest of their life.

- Governments in the sub - region should as a matter of necessity control the rampant proliferation of arms as part of measures to curve down tension and conflict.
- The question of challenging the nationality of some prominent opposition politicians in the name of campaign shall be a past issue in the present dispensation as one of the ways of averting conflict in the sub-region.
- Even during democracy people should always guard their utterances by not throwing or invoking words or statements that would hurt and provoked the anger of other people, which may lead to conflict especially among already frustrated and aggrieved people. KASHIM
- Politicians should always be allowed to sort things out for whatever problem and even where the situation warrants military come back in the sub-region giving the nature of third world countries, its stay shall be very brief or pending the restoration of peace and order or the returning of nomaley and calmness.

Shall the above recommendations be strictly upheld and adhered to by ECOWAS countries, would definately changed and redirected the course of action and history and this would led to economic development badly needed or required by these countries to forge ahead. This may however, result to restoring the deminishing hopes i.e would bright the existing doom thereby returning smile back to the faces of

the faces of the people of this great part of Africa, particularly the downtrodden masses who were hited most by this trauma of economic uncertainties and lack of development as a result of the bleak and unfortunate condition they were forcefully thrown into due to unprecedented waves of conflict experienced, particularly from the tail end of the 20th century to date.

To sum it, all, BBC Focus on Africa, third quarterly edition of July - September, 2001 opined that;

"Today we have reasons to face the future with some optimism. The world has changed and African states must seek a new relevance in it. Without the artificial system provided by the superpowers during the cold war, African nations will have to band together, especially if they want to influence the battle over economic globalization. Furthermore, poverty, war and other humanitarian disasters have proved that it is not possible for any single African country to remain an oasis of peace and prosperity if its neighbours are in chaos. This is why regional oragnizations have been more proactive in the past decade" (BBC Focus on Africa, 2001: 48).

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