NIGERIA'S LEADERSHIP ROLE IN ECOWAS

BY

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DECLARATION

Nwaokeafor, Edith Chinwe hereby attest that, the study titled "Nigeria's Leadership role in ECOWAS" has been conducted solely by the me and that is a record of my research work. Research and writers whose work has been referred in the study has been fully and properly acknowledge.

Sign _____ Date_____

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CERTIFICATION

This study "Nigeria's Leadership role in ECOWAS" by Nwaokeafor, Edith Chinwe meet the regulations governing the award of Master Degree in International Affairs and Diplomacy (M.I.A.D) of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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DEDICATION

To my Almighty God and my lovely husband Mr. Nwaokeafor C. Christopher.

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To my immediate family, on amount of words can effectively convey my gratitude to my husband Mr. Nwaokeafor Christopher and my lovely son Master Kelsey Kamby Nwaokeafor, i say thank for being a husband and son and for making this ambition a dream come true. My sincere greetings to my parents Mr and Mrs Christopher Onuoha, my sisters, Judith Onuoha and Miss Queeneth Chiamaka Onuoha and my brother Master Christopher I. Onuoha for standing by me from beginning to the end.

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ABSTRACT

This study concern with Nigeria leadership role in West Africa State. The justification of the study is to basically investigate Nigeria's contribution to ECOWAS on the hand and more specifically to explain the nature and pattern of Nigeria's contribution to the development the of ECOWAS.

It is hypothesized in the study that the evolution and survival of ECOWAS is depended on Nigeria's leadership role, and that despite economic problem facing the country, Nigeria's contribution to be the leading member of the community.

The study has adopted a conceptual and theoretical framework central on the concept of leadership and economic integration. The concept are used as a guide to under understanding Nigeria's leadership within ECOWAS.

The finding shown that Nigeria has been providing leadership to the economic community of West Africa since its establishment, it has been given the highest contribution to the association.

This is line with the Nigeria's foreign policy objective secondly the fluctuations in Nigeria's economy has done little to effect level of Nigeria's contribution to the organization.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Africa has been, and continue to be, the most vulnerable and most externally threatened region in the world. The growing marginalization of Africa will worsen unless urgent and protective measures of regional and sub-regional integration, cooperation, and collective security are implemented as a matter of urgency. This is what the increasing hostility of the increasing hostility of the intentional environment calls for.

There is a strong movement towards regional and sub-regional cooperation in Europe, North America, East Asia and Latin America. And despite their global prescription of liberalization policy, and their head-start advantage in the development project, the advanced countries are today themselves the champions of regionalism as a defensive mechanism.

We in Africa must follow suit by pooling our national efforts. Europe and North America need integration for strength and prosperity but Africa needs it for survival.

What is crucial but missing is strong political and far-sighted statesmanship, for effective regionalism requires at least a limited surrender of national sovereignty

to supra-national organs. Indeed, the centrality of the leadership issue has been apparent in the literature on regional integration. With respect to West Africa, Nigeria is expected to play that role, in view of its status as the largest market in the sub-region, with vast natural and human resource endowments, a relatively developed manufacturing capacity, and a pervasive influence on the economies of its immediate neighbours. This study therefore, intends to evaluate the role that Nigeria has played in the Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS) at achieving its objectives as a leading member of the community.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

To evaluate the role that Nigeria has played in the Economic Community of West African States.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

These are questions articulated to guide this study:

(i) Of what significance is Nigeria role in ECOWAS?

(ii) What are the benefits of Nigeria's involvement or participation in ECOWAS activities?

(iii) What are the consequences of non-participation of Nigeria in ECOWAS activities

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study is going to be based primary on the following objective:

(i) To find out Nigeria's political contribution towards Economic Community of West African States.

(ii) To ascertain the economic contribution of Nigeria toward ECOWAS.

(iii) To investigate the military role of Nigeria towards sustenance of ECOWAS activities in the Region.

(iv) To ascertain the problems faced by Nigeria's role in ECOWAS activities in the Region.

(v) To suggest possible practical solution of the problems of Nigeria's role towards ECOWAS activities in the Region.

1.5 ASSUMPTION

The research is based on the following assumptions:

(i) That, the evaluation and survival of Economic Community of West African State is dependent on Nigeria's leadership role and contribution within the sub-region.

(ii) The Nigeria economic development will determine its commitment to ECOWAS.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The research is based on theory of integration. Robson defines economic integration as a process which independent unit more towards mutual solidarity and consequently, achieve goals which each them cannot separately attain.

Thisen consider integration as a process in which actors voluntarily give up their powers and choose new technique to mutually and jointly solve their differences and issues.

As can be seen from the view point of Deutch and Haas integration is a voluntary process in which independent units give up all or some of their power to achieve a desired goal end within a supra national framework. But non-voluntary example of integration can be seen in which case integration in imposed on members. Integration of Eastern European countries, before recent development was example of forced integration. In most case of integration determinism can be identified and its reason should be sought in geographical factors and mutual interest or in confrontation with a common enemy.

Integration at the international level takes place in separate organs and units. Its result on the creation of a large bloc in a specific geographical area. In the theory of integration and its practical process, there are various factors, including two or more organs and independent units involved in integration necessary mechanism for integration and a supra national collection created by joining separate independent units.

The core of integration theory at general level to Sinai is that as a result of advancement in production, culture and science in the capitalist and socialist system, they enjoy characteristics and that each have accepted the best part of the other, while attempted to remove their short comings and faults.

Galbraith in his analysis of the future of industrial system refers to the increasing trend of integration and considers it the outcome of perfection of technology, demand of society and training of specialist.

Olaniyan in his theory of integration is intrically linked with the attainment of political unity and the promotion of accelerated economic growth and development.

Viner analysis is mainly of concern with desirability of custom union from World welfare stand point, to him, custom union is mainly concerned with two thing i.e trade creation and trade diversion. Trade creation is said to occurr if and when a high cost inefficient producer having been sheltered by Post union discriminatory

tariff wall captures part of the union market. Viner concludes that customs union rises world welfare, if its trade creation effects out weighs its trade diversion. Thus trade creation from it is point of view is something positive and a more in the right direction, while trade diversion is negative and a more in the wrong direction.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research adopted the Secondary Source of Data. These include Text Books, Journals, Magazines, Academic Papers, Internet and other Scholarly Materials on the problems of study. This information was obtained from the University main library and other libraries outside the University.

1.8 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

The mode of data analysis was qualitative which is largely descriptive and analytical. This method however was premise on integration approach. Data were largely sourced through secondary source including Textbook, Journals, Magazines, Academic Papers, Internet and other Scholarly Materials on the problem of study.

1.9 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of study will take a look at the range of actions in relation to Nigeria's leadership role in West Africa, a case study of ECOWAS and the contribution Nigeria have been making for attainment of West African economic integration.

1.10 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter one is the introduction, statement of research problem, aims and objectives, research question, assumption, theoretical framework, research methodology, scope of the study and chapter outline. Chapter two is the Literature review. Chapter three is Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Chapter four is on the role of Nigeria in ECOWAS. Chapter five which is the last chapter is the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NIGERIA

The Federal Republic of Nigeria lies almost at the eastern end of the broad sweep of the West African coastline and is demarcated by latitude 4° and 14°N and longitude 3° and 15^{0}E. The Country is bounded on the West, North respectively on the Atlantic Ocean.

Inspite of its relatively small area, Nigeria is the most populous country on the African continent. At mid 1980's, according to United Nation (U.N) estimates it had 98.5 million became independent on 1st October, 1960 and a Federal structure comprising 36 states and a Federal Capital Territory the smallest of which had a population greater than that of several African countries.

Geographically, compared with east central and South African states the physical features of Nigeria are of moderated dimension. The highest land along the eastern border of the country rise to a maximum of 2,040m above sea level, south of the Benue River. Much of the highland is greatly discussed providing spectacular economy, although remote from the more traditional routes of tourist travels.

Nigeria's population exhibits extreme ethnic diversity. Well over 250 ethnic groups are identified, some numbering less than 10,000 people exists, Ten groups notably Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, lbo, Kanuri, Tiv, Edo, Nupe, Ibibio population is concentrated in the southern part of the country, as well as in the area of dense

settlement around Kano in the north, between these two areas is the sparsely populated middle belt.

2.2 AN ANALYTICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF LEADERSHIP

There exists no precise definition on the concept of leadership. Leadership has been a familiar theme in history, Social Sciences and in everyday's in the world. However for a proper analysis, it is imperative to give a proper definition of leadership and leader, even though they appear to be similar when there is a gulf difference despite been used interchangeably.

Rustow (1970) called for a concerted attack on the unresolved question concerning the process of leadership under four leadings. First, leadership as reflecting the person's personality: second, as reflecting the character and the situation of the (potential) followers; third, leadership as a craft or technique: and fourth, the leadership as a personal relationship between the student and his subject. This was rightly observed by Edinger (1967) followers may lead and leaders follow and individuals who may be leader in one situation may be followers in another. He noted that leadership has to do with influence, power and control over others.

According to Katz (1978) leadership is the process by which one individual consistently exerts more influence than other in the carrying out of group's

functions and political leadership specifically refers to decisions on domestic policy and foreign policy.

Cartwright (1978) defines leadership as the its structural role whose occupant is permitted to take decision which commit the group of which is a member and the (behavioral) ability of an individual to get others to do what he wants, for their own or for society's good rather than his own.

In fact, leadership is quite inevitable in human life, as such where there are groups they are likely to have a leader. Leadership becomes the principle that co-ordinates the people's efforts in the accomplishment of national interest. It then follows that: the leader should be seen as someone who has programmed with a unique role bestowed on him by followers. This involves conforming to a set of behavioral norms and expectations emanating from followers, in return for which they confer on the leader a degree of power that (within prescribed limits) allows the leader to influence their action (Rollinson 1998).

That is, to say those leaders enjoys certain monopoly of power and influence over decisions, followers and resources of nations. Mc failand (1969) described a leader as someone who makes things happen that would not happen otherwise buttress this parlance. These happenings could be neither way. Positive or negative depending on the leader moral behavioral and societal norms. Hook (1943) shared his opinion and depicted a leader as a person who can indict ably ascribe

preposterous influence and deciding on event whose impact would have basically contrary if he had not acted as he did.

It seems proper to include in this research a minimal discussion of some salient social science ideas pertaining to the concept of leadership. *International encyclopaedia of the social sciences*. Conceptualize leadership under the rubrics of Psychology, Sociology and Political Science.

Thus the concept of leadership emerging from Psychological studies suggests that leadership as a concept applied to the interaction of two or more persons when the evaluation of one or some of the parties to the interaction is such that he or she come to control and direct the action of the others in the pursuit of common or compatible ends. With the situation and personality attributes determining who achieves influence. It is clear that leadership is a function of personality and social system is dynamic interaction. In disciplines the exertion of influence by an individual or a few individuals upon a large mass so as to move a whole collectively possessing common or compatible goals, in a shared direction, seem to be the component parts of the conception.

The Sociological viewpoint evolved from a conception of the term "leader" as a person clearly distinguished from others in power, visibly and in any number of characteristics traits such as decisiveness, courage, integrity and Intelligence. Later on, Sociology come to view leadership as programming the social system and

defining social values, initiating ideologies that legitimate social systems and generally maintaining social structures. As time went on, the discipline came to conceive the basic of leadership power in terms of social approval by peers and confidence in colleagues latterly it has given prominence to human relations approaches to leadership and to the participative leader who influences subordinates by helping them to understand the facts of a situation so that they may jointly achieve at a course of action consistent with their own interests and that of the collectively.

On the Political Science front, the concept leadership was derived from leadership in a religious sectarian setting or in groups of primary relationships.

The solitary, dramatic personality who mobilized and inspired masses to new goals and methods of religious salvation becomes an important prototype of leadership. Leadership came to be viewed not as a set of fixed traits, biologically peculiar to some individuals but as a role that satisfies mutual expectation of leadership and followers alike. Today leadership is seen in terms of a legitimating that is dependent upon identification with the most pervasive goals of society and an expression of those sacred values of society which are beyond dispute and have therefore become the embodiment of the national consensus.

When the conceptual strands sketched above are pulled together, a reasonably cohered picture of the leadership phenomena seems to emerge. It comes to be seen

as encompassing a wide range of activities and applying to the organization and management of both small groups and big states. It is found to require both the "traits" and the "situational" elements for it to be complete. It is also seen concerning the relatively diffuse process of influence in establishing norms of style or opinion. It included supervision and statesmanship, routine administration and organization building. Its primary preoccupation, whether perceived from the viewpoint of sociology or political science, becomes the building of special values, the definition of societal mission, setting of goals and facilitating communications. Its central concern is defining values and developing plans that embody values. Thus, the elite and "great man" theories of leadership, appropriately shorn of their dated in cumbrances, coverage with the participative and human relations approaches to leadership in stressing interactions, personality and situation ingredients of the concepts.

The concept of leadership, it attribute and code of conduct are central to any thought system embodies or articulates a body of principles that would among other purpose guide the exercise of national policy (Tukur 1999).

Eze (2002) posit that "all over the world leadership is the most important number one factor that determines whether a nation can develop or not". He further argued that a leadership that understands psychology of leading and applies it to development of people must be at the affairs of men.

A leader in simple term means someone who leads, plans, organizes, control, communicates, delegates, and accepts the responsibility to reach the societal goals (Ogunbameru 2004). Put it differently, a leader is an individual appointed to a job with authority, and accountability to accomplish the goals and objectives of the society. A leader must be a good manager, as well as an individual who is able to effectively coordinate the activities of followers or a team towards pre-agreed or pre-defined goal/objectives within a limit of available resources. Thus a leader must be astute with both man and material. A leader must possess the ability to create in the followers the necessary enthusiasm/ motivation to put every necessary effort to deliver on set goals. Thus the ability not only to conceive but also to communicate a vision or idea is of utmost importance is an attribute of leadership. Above all, a leader must first and foremost be a member of his own team, internalize their feelings and galvanize their potential towards reaching the goal.

The leader is one who guides, directs and provides leadership. Therefore, leadership presupposes that there is a leader. Leadership is the process of influencing group activities towards achieving their goals. Lynch (1997) opines that leadership means the influence of a leader, the ability, the art or process of influencing people so that they will strive willingly and enthusiastically towards the achievement of the group's mission. A leader according to Stacey (1996), must give directive on organizational goals and tasks of the work groups monitoring

performance of the group in terms of goal achievement, ensures that a cohesive team is built and motivated to perform the task, supplying any skills or effects that are missing in the team; and articulate purpose and reduce uncertainty that team members face.

A leader provides leadership for his followers. As Mandela observes "a leader is like a shepherd, he stays behind the flock letting the most mimble go head whereupon the other follow, not realizing that all along they are being directed from behind". (Mandela cited in Anya, 2004). Thus, leadership involves the management of people and the circumstance needed to achieve clearly defined goals. It involves mobilizing and motivating people for greater productivity. As Mandela (cited in Anya 2004) has observed, leadership is the ability to bring out all number of talents and to operate effectively through other people making them gladly accepts your goals while still having the freedom to do things their way, it involves the vision as well as the ability to deploy creativity and innovation while recognizing this in others who shares "a common vision based in knowledge of the big picture, reiteration of clear consistent values, crafting a culture and strategy (Anya, 2004).

A conceptual analysis of leadership enables us to put Nigeria role in Economic Community of West African State in a proper context.

2.3 LEADERSHIP QUALITIES

As leadership is a position of authority and influence, it is bestowed with the idea of being used rationally for the good of the people. Therefore, whosoever is destined to attain it must be imbued with vision, foresight, and ability to turn around an organization or society for the interest of all. To achieve these aim, leadership qualities is necessary for success of any group. Hence, the leader must be humane, honest, committed to duty, firm, fair, vision, patriotic, and unquestionable integrity, decisive, courageous and intelligent.

Any country that aspires to lead others must demonstrate these qualities of leadership which presupposes that its own leaders posses the qualities to lead a group for the attainment of a common goal.

What is expected from any leader is the best of everything, socially, economically, politically etc. a leader is expected to put the needs of the society over and leadership among states, the situation is analogous. The states expect the leader to assume full responsibility for them, who must be naturally endowed with the socio, political and economic variables. A leader is guided by group's main goals to bring about desirable changes for better living condition, provision of convenient, comfortable and pleasant environment in which people live and work. Since there is interaction between natural and social phenomena, environment is subject to control and can be used to improve the use of natural resources and the creation of social and economic

infrastructure.

Gibbs in his theory of interaction assert that group or communities are mechanism for achieving satisfaction. West African leaders needs to carry along all the countries. An issue that confront West Africans is how a country aspiring to lead, can relate to multi ethnic countries with serious domestic and then to actively participate in continental problems of peace, unity, security and economic development. Leadership therefore remains the catalysts by which human efforts are galvanized and energies pooled for the growth of the community and ultimate development of the state. The West African countries are not equally endowed. However, there is no doubt that Nigeria has human and physical resources to play the leadership role in West Africa for both its national and continent interest. To embark on this role, Nigeria requires leadership by example; Nigeria must be committed to defend West African unity, peace, security and the promotion of its socio-political and economic development in accordance with treaty of Economic Community of West Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICA STATES (ECOWAS)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Economic Community of West African States is an organization formed by the West African Heads of State and government for the purpose of economic integration. In addition to that, ECOWAS aims to promote cooperation and development in economic, social and cultural activities with particular objectives of raising the people of the member countries, increase and maintain economic stability, improve relations among member countries and to generally contribute to the progress and development of Africa.

The treaty also contains a commitment to abolish all obstacles to the free movement of people, services and capital, and to promote harmonization of agricultural polices, common project in making, research and the agriculturally based industries joint development of economic and industrial policies and elimination of disparities in levels of development and common monetary policies.

The structure of the ECOWAS is the authority of Head of State and government in the highest authority, in the organization. The authority meets only once in a year. The Chairman is drawn from the Member States in turn.

Then we have the Council Ministers, which is the second. The ECOWAS treaty provides for a country or state to have two ministers to represent each country, also a Chairman is

drawn form each in turn. This council meets twice a year, and is responsible for the running of the community. They prepare proposals and other relevant activities for the meeting of the Heads of State and Government.

There is also the existence of tribunal. The treaty provides for a community tribunal whose composition and competence are determined by the authority of Head of State and government. It interprets the provisions of the treaty and settles dispute between member states that are referred to it.

Another important organ of ECOWAS is the secretariat. The headquarters of the secretariat is now in Abuja. The community had staff strength of about 140 in 1986 which was increased to more than 1000 staff working in the headquarters derived from member states. The headquarters is headed by an Executive Secretary, who is, elected for a four-year term which may be renewed once only. The secretariat's function includes the day to day running of the secretariat. The Executive Secretary serves as the Chief Administrative Officer of the organization.

There are the existence of other specialized commissions as follows:

i. Trade, customs, immigration, monetary and payments

ii. Industry, agriculture and natural resources

iii. Transport, communication and energy

iv. Social and cultural affairs

v. Ecomog

The organization for Economics Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

consisted of sixteen states initially, but later Mauritania is pulled out, so, the community is left with only fifteen member states. Among the states, one has its origin from America i.e. Liberia. While Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia were colonized by the British Government. And Guinea Bussau was ruled by Portugal. And lastly. Mauritania, Togo, Senegal, Niger, BurkinaFasco, Cote D'ivore Republic of Cape Vade, Mali and republic of Benin were ruled by France.

3.2 HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF ECOWAS

The evolution of economic community of West African States (ECOWAS) was principally introduced by the Nigerian Government then. The then Nigeria Military Head of State General Yakubu Gowon conceived the idea of Economic Community of West African States in 1970, immediately after the civil war which engulfed Nigeria from 1967 to 1970. General Gowon expressed the desire to see the African Unity expressed in concrete terms and not only in Organisation of African Unity (OAU) resolution. He could like to start with economic integration in West Africa. He thereafter raised the issue several times with president Leopold Seghor of Senegal, who did not show sufficient enthusiasm to the idea, because to him the proposed community could turn out to be a greatest Nigeria because of the country's size.

In 1972, General Gowon decided to seek the cooperation of Togo, and during a state visit to Togo in the same year, the suggestion was made for both Nigeria and Togo to join hands in drafting a proposal for the formation of a common market which eventually became Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

On 28th May, 1975 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established, when the sixteen heads of States in the sub region signed treaty in Lagos, with the subject of promoting trade, cooperation and self reliance in west Africa. Outstanding protocols bringing certain key features of the treaty into effects were rectified in November 1976, Cape Verde joined in 1977.

The sixteen states are:

i. Republic of Benin
ii. Burkina Fasso
iii. Cape Verde
iv. Cote – D'ivore
v. The Gambia
vi. Ghana
vii. Guinea Bissau
viii. Liberia
ix. Guinea
x. Mali
xi. Mauritania
xii. Niger
xiii. Nigeria
xiv. Senegal
xv. Sierra Leone
xvi. Togo

Mauritania has since withdrawal from the organization, leaving ECOWAS with a membership of 15. The 16 member states which belong to ECOWAS cover an area of

about 6.1million kilometers, and have a population of more than 210 million people, with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) totaling more than 107 billion dollars. The founding fathers has their envisaged a situation where the community that was being created could have a common market where goods and services from the West African sub – region, would freely circulate, devoid of all tariff and non – tariff barriers. The community envisions a common monetary union with a Regional Central Bank, and a single common currency for all the member states. The treaty also made allowances for free and easy movement of goods, services and persons in the sub-region, indeed this aspect of the treaty was made a priority as it were. Perhaps, what influences the establishment of ECOWAS, was the signing of the 1958 Treaty Of Rome, which. Eventually led to the formation of European Economic Community (EEC). In appreciation of the initiative of the two countries, especially Nigeria, the Headquarters of the secretariat is located in Nigeria, Lagos, now Abuja, while fund Headquarters in Togo (Lome).

3.3 PROBLEMS AND PROSPECT OF ECOWAS

It is rather sad that after 34years of existence, ECOWAS has still not been able to fulfill most of its dreams due to some uncountable problems affecting it. Among these problems are:-

i) The first problem and perhaps the most is the problem of POLITICAL INSTABILITY in the region and civil structure. Until peace and stability are restored in the sub-region, the ECOWAS dream may take a long time to realize.

"It is only in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility that countries and indeed the organization can develop". The present situation in the sub region, viz, war in Liberia, Sierra lone, Guinea Bissau, and Cote d'ivore makes cooperation among countries of the sub region difficult.

ii) **The LACK OF POLITICAL WILL** on the part of the leaders to subordinate part of their authority to a larger ECOWAS, will not lead to early integration of the sub – region. Except member – countries totally commit themselves to the goal and aspiration of total integration of the sub region, the expected benefits of ECOWAS may be illusionary.

iii) **THE STATE OF THE ECONOMICS** of the member states of ECOWAS to some extent makes co-operation among them unattractive. In an atmosphere of economic depression, which has been the lot of counties in West Africa, regional cooperation may prove difficult to achieve.

iv) **THE DISPARITY IN THE SIZE, POPULATION** and economic resources of member states is another problem for sub-regional integration. Smaller and less endowed countries in the sub-region look on bigger and relatively better endowed countries, with fear, envy and suspicious. This state of affairs has the potential of making the process of integration a little difficult. It is important to restate that Nigeria does not have any territorial ambition. It had never sought and will never seek to dominate any country/nation. And it will continue to make sacrifices

toward the achievement of peace, and economic upliftment of the sub-region. And it will continue to deal with member states on the sovereign rights.

v) **THE COLONIAL HERITAGE** and historical antecedent of member countries of the organization also affect their level of cooperation and integration. A situation where countries group into francophone, Anglophone and Lusophone does not make for every integration.

vi) **THE INADEQUATE FUNDING** of the organization (ECOWAS) secretariat is another big problem area for the organization. There is a need to strengthen the secretariat through adequate funding to enable it carryout the mandate assigned to it by member states. The refusal of some member states to contribute their annual subscription is a reflection of the poor commitment of these members of ECOWAS ideas. The areas of member states contribution to the community currently stands at over 47,570, 391 US Dollars. As at 1st January, 2010 only Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali and Nigeria were up to date in the payment of their contributions.

vii) It is the research's opinion that a latitude should be given to the ECOWAS secretariat to be able to promptly and confidently respond to the challenges of the ever increasing responsibilities and to report later to the member states. If it will take the recruitment of more experts to achieve this, it will be a wise investment. A careful study of the set up of secretariats of similar organizations will make the

suggested review imperative.

viii) Another problem is the fear being entertained by some countries that the opening of borders could inevitable enhance cross-border crises. Fortunately, decision had been taken to Establish ECOWAS Criminal Intelligence Bureau (ECIB) to ensure that while honest and good people none across the borders unhindered, criminals are not allowed to take advantage of such opportunity.

Inspite of the catalogue of problems earlier enumerated, there is no doubt that ECOWAS as a sub-regional organization holds lots of prospects.

i). It is a well established fact that no one country can be alone. The emphasis now is on regional co-opertation and integration, as a means of serving the present vicissitude of the present world order. It is only through integration of our small and fragile economics that exist in the sub-region that we can survive the challenges and effects of globalization. Sub-regional economic organization like the ECOWAS, will facilitate their eventual integration into a large African market, in concert with existing sub-regional groups such as (UEMOA) Union Economic Montiare Quest Africa-dine, Economic Country, and Central African State (EECAS), Mano River Union, South Africa Development and Cooperation Council (SAAC), so as to benefit from globalization. In fact economy of scale makes it imperative that member states of ECOWAS work towards the progress of the country. Also member states of ECOWAS, must either by their conviction or survival instilment, support and

cooperate with one another. The alternative is marginalization in this era of globalization, with its adverse consequences for their people and economics.

ii). However, there is no doubt that ECOWAS despite the formidable obstacles, has managed to make strides towards achieving the West Africa Country. We therefore have great hopes that more will be achieved within the next few years. One glaring prospect that is easily discussable is that there is more growing conviction among member states about the need for regional integration. This conviction and commitment cut across government, Institutions, the private sector, NGO's and even the ordinary citizens. More and more are becoming actively involved in the integration process. Thus the stigma and earlier perceived fears of domination have given way to reality and understanding.

iii). Another prospect is the sustenance of the momentum established by the fast tract approach championed by Ghana and Nigeria and later joined by Guinea, Mali, Gambia, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Within a short time of 3 years the fast tract approach achieved tremendous result. The speed with which the tract and monetary arrangements were made is to say the least unprecedented in the history of ECOWAS. The vigour with which the realization of the monetary union objective is being pursued given one on doubt that it will be realized by set date of January, 2004.

iv). Also, it is evident that ECOWAS is making effort towards the full application of the community levy. This is autonomous financing mechanism that will contribute immensely in the reduction of the ECOWAS financial burden. The current

momentum of commitment will ensure timely application of the mechanism.

v). Yet another prospect towards achieving the West African Country is the conscious efforts already being executed to nationalize the inter governmental organizations to make them manageable. This can be seen in the current close working relationship between the three integration bodies in the region namely: Main River Union, (between Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia). The ECOWAS and the Union Economique'et monetaire. Quest-Africane (UEMOA). The need to harmonise the programmes of these and other such bodies in the sub-region is being felt by member states.

vi). A cluster of achievements by ECOWAS can rightly be seen as good prospect for realization of the West African Country. Some practical achievements of ECOWAS lend great credence to the need as such undertakings yield direct benefits to member states. Some of the programmes have been redesigned in such a way to give priority attention to some pressing problems of member states. For instance, energy implementation to the regional energy cooperation programme has to be re-designed to give priority attention to the previous energy situation in Ghana, Togo and Republic of Benin via the West African Gas Pipeline Project (WAGPP). The interconnection of National electricity grid networks of some member states is another. In the telecommunication field the launching of the first phase of the ECOWAS Communication Project (ECP 1) has greatly facilitated the communication between member states. The second phase (INTERCOME 11) will assist the member

states cope with and draw maximum advantage from ever growing telecommunication industry. The role of ECOWAS in Liberia and Sierra Leone is leg ending and universally acknowledged. The successful operation and spread of the ECOWAS Bank (ECOBANK) is another tangible achievement of the ECOWAS. There is also the introduction and use of the ECOWAS travelers' cheques.

vii). These laudable achievements and many others serve as prospects in themselves because the purpose for which they were established will in the final analysis ensure economic integration among the member states.

viii). Finally, the most important prospect for ECOWAS is the fact that the ECOWAS citizens are becoming more and more aware of the importance of ECOWAS and have started to develop some attachment to it. It is evident that the public enlightment nominated by member states through the broadcast, and other related organization(s) have the great potential of sensitizing the citizens about the need for the West African Community. More and more people are getting involved in ECOWAS programme implementation. A larger member of the ordinary citizens in the sub-region now talk about ECOWAS with a reasonable degree of understanding and infirmity. The more the ordinary citizens become aware of ECOWAS and become committed, the more the organization will succeed in realizing its aims and objectives.

3.4 CONCLUSION

As mostly the tradition in any meaningful writings conclusion most be drawn. So also in this write-up from the above in this chapter three of the research works. It deals with the Economic Community of West of African States (ECOWAS) in general. It deals with the introduction about the subject matter, and then later it highlighted the historical background on the evolution of ECOWAS. All the process involved were mentioned in this chapter of which Nigeria and Togo were the greatest counties that initiated and later gave birth to establishment of ECOWAS on 28th May, 1973, in Lagos. That was why the headquarters of the secretariat was given to Nigeria and that of the funds, Headquarters was situated in Togo.

Also from the above the writer was able to mention some of the short coming of ECOWAS and suggested remedy for meaningful connections, also some achievements in the chapter.

So briefly this chapter has been categorized in three phases. The introductory part, the historical background on the ECOWAS and lastly the problems and prospects of ECOWAS.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROLE OF NIGERIA IN ECOWAS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The role Nigeria has been playing in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) cannot be overemphasized. Nigeria was in the forefront of the formation of evolution of the sub-region organization known as ECOWAS with the full aim of economic integration within the sub-region and other as the case may be.

It was because of the Nigeria's great efforts by the past government under the leadership of General Yakubu Gowon, that the Economic Community of West African State was established in May 28th, 1975. Nigeria, in the first place found it very difficult when contacting some sister countries, only at last, Togo under the leadership of the former president then showed interest in the matter. That was why in turn the headquarters was situated in Nigeria, Lagos now moved to Abuja; while the funds headquarters was located in Togo. As the principal actor in the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States, Nigeria has played so many uncountable roles, ranging from defence and security to Economic Political, Social and Cultural roles.

4.2 THE ROLE OF NIGERIA IN THE FORMATION OF ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICA STATES

In the first place, West Africa is an area of great contrast and diversity. A fairly accurate description of the physical location of region of West Africa would invariably include the area laying west of the boundary between Nigeria and Cameroon precisely, it is the area bounded by Mauritania in the East, although it has been suggested that West Africa should operationally extend beyond the unit marked by Senegal and Cameroon to include the area stretching from the Spanish Sahara to Angola. The region is a plan of varying wealth, with alternating ranges of swaps, lagoons and sandy beaches. The swampy and almost impenetrable forests and heavy rain in the southern parts of the region gradually diminish in intercity and eventually disappeared into the dry and even expand Sahara desert in the North.

The reverse effect of the desert on production is indisputable. Between the North and South at the Steppe and Savanna, reasonably good for agriculture.

4.3 GENESIS OF ECOWAS

Although the Organization Council Africa (OCAM) and Conenose Ecobonque de' Afrique de L'owest (ECAO) and the comment of the estecte had remained natively integrated Economic organizations among the French West African States, on economic country representing a broader spread of interest in West

AFRICA had survived the test of time.

The Lagos conference on industrial co-ordination in West Africa held in November, 1963 which could have been a prelude to an economic community led to nothing fruitenafter the meeting.

Four major regional attempts to create an economic community that cut across language boundaries and discern able. These are:-

a. The Liberian initiative that set up the interim organization for West African Economic Co-operation.
b. The ECA-FAO sponsored Bamako Conference on co-ordination of industries that would have led to the establishment of a region iron and steel industry.
c. The ECA sponsored Nigeria Conference in Niger Republic, that was largely aimed at enlarging the CEAO and
d. The Nigeria- Togo initiative that led to the creation of Economic Community of West African States in 1975.

4.4 THE NIGERIA –TOGO INITIATIVE

Historically, when in November, 1974, one highly placed civil servant at the Nigeria ministry of External Affairs now (Foreign Affairs) was asked of the endeavour to create a West African Economic Community should go to Nigeria's praise and Great, he explained his country's role with impeccable under statement. That is., the effort to great ECOWAS was jointly initiated between Nigeria and Togo in 1975. Although Nigeria did most of the grass roots work in promoting the principle of

West African super-nationality, never the less it needed the confidence of all West African States including, the French speaking states to succeed. The choice of Francophone Togo is companion in this intitation gave the attempt the broader base necessary for regional legitimacy.

The support between Nigeria and Togo dates back many years. Sylawal Olympic, the Togolesse Head of State had a great understanding with his Nigeria counterpart then, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, when in 1963, Olympia was assassinated in the African coup 'de tat, his family found in Nigeria not only a resources of good will, but also a comfortable home. Three years after Abubakar Tafawa Balewa unstressed similar fate.

For the above narration, we can understand that the role played by Nigeria in the formation of Economic Community of West African State dates back to 1963, 1974 and only realized in May 28th with full support, assistance and coop-eration of Togo.

4.5 REASONS FOR NIGERIA'S ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF ECOWAS

Domestically, it's the country's (Nigeria) desire to become the understanding heart of west Africa with all the political power. A concomitant of this is the desire to undermine or erode French economic and political influence which has sometime inimical to Nigeria's interest in the sub-region. To help a friend whose political power was being challenged, i.e. Liberia, Guinea Bissau, etc. rescheduling of United States $50 million Liberia debt with the African Development Bank. And section 20 of 1989 of the Nigeria constitution vested to the power of Nigeria government to promote African unity, as well as total political, Economical social and cultural liberation of the continent which

(ECOWAS) fall within. Also Nigeria with other ECOWAS member states, participated actively in re-instating the Sierra-Leone president.

4.6 THE ROLE OF NIGERIA IN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATE (ECOWAS)

From the time in memorial, Nigeria has been playing a great role in the Economic Community of West Africa States since its establishment I 1975 under the joint initiative between Nigeria and Togo.

The advent of democracy in Nigeria, the formal President Chief Olusegun Obasanjo who incidentally was the head of State in Nigeria, during the early days of ECOWAS, has in concert with his brother Heads of State and government particularly President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana taken steps to ensure that the organization is reviewed, and given greater impetus to enable it realize the progress made towards ECOWAS integration within the past years also has been very encouraging and if the momentum is kept, there is no doubt, that the goal of the total integration of the sub- region could be achieved.

At the 22nd ordinary session of the Authority of Heads of State and government, which took place, in Lone, Togo, from 8th – 10th December, 1999, Nigeria came up with concrete proposals on modalities and strategies for accelerating the sub-regional integration process. The President of Nigeria, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo seized the opportunity of the session to propose a new strategy for accelerating the

regional economic integration process, through the adoption of a two tract approach, which allows two or more member states to jointly implement approved integration programme at a faster pace. This proposal was warmly received and unanimously adopted by the authority. The following were also proposed and accepted by the submit all under the able Nigeria's leadership / initiative.

i. Free movement of Regions

ii. ECOWAS free trade pool

iii. Second West African Regional Currency by 2004

iv. West African Power Pool

v. The West African Gas Pipeline Project

vi. Regional Food Security

vii. Conflict Management and Collative Security

In line with the above development, member countries have recently establishment separate ministry, charged among other things, with the sole responsibility of pursuing the larger objectives of regional economic co-operation and integration. It is a clear fact that 7 countries, namely, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Liberia and Ghana have earlier established Ministry of co-operation and integration in Africa. So the state of affair is a positive and most encouraging development among the role of Nigeria to ECOWAS.

In order to get me right from the fast tract initiated by both Nigeria and Ghana in December, 1999, Lome summit, mentioned earlier on. The following statistics will

vividly illustrate the reasons why the two countries should naturally serve as the PIVOT for the eventual integration and goals of ECOWAS. The two countries (Nigeria and Ghana).

i. 59% of the total population of the West African sub-region
ii. 67% ECOWAS Gross Domestic Production (GDP)
iii. 62% ECOWAS experts and 50% of total ECOWAS imports

The relevant statistics on ECOW AS has been outlined in the previous chapters.

More importantly, it's in line with guiding principles of Nigeria Foreign Policy, that it's generally agreed that a nation's foreign policy is a reflection of its domestic pre-occupation and its perception of the international affairs.

Although there have been varieties in steeple and diffusion over the years, Nigeria's foreign policy considerations have remained firmly constant. The persistent concern and principles, which have guided it since independence, include the followings in relation to the subject of discussion:

i. The protection of the Sovereignty and territorial integrity of the- Nigeria state.
ii. The promotion of the economic, and social well-being of Nigeria
iii. Enhancing Nigeria's image and status in the world at large
iv. Promoting of the unity as well as the total political, social, economic and cultural liberation of Africa.
v. Promotion of international cooperation conducive of the consideration of world peace and security, mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and states.
vi. Enhances the dignity and promoting the welfare of Africans and people of Africa

descent allover the world of which West Africa sub- people of Africa descent allover the world of which West Africa sub-region inclusive.

With reference to the above, that was why Nigeria is every where to see that it contributed fully and seriously to the development of ECOWAS. The most serious and important role of Nigeria to ECOWAS are regard to one of its guiding principle on foreign policy above, its initiative and full super financially, mutually and materially to the establishment of the sub-regional peace keeping force known as ECOMOG CECOWAS Monitoring Group).

To date, West Africa is the only sub-region in African to successfully mount a fully operational peace keeping operations, successful elections were held which brought to power a democratically elected government in Liberia.

In Sierra Leone, ECOMOG also effectively merged the conflict in that country, heading to the return of the civilian Heads of State in 1998. This peace keeping force, continue to monitor and mid-wife events in Sierra Leone until it was compelled to withdraw that theatre of operation because off financial constraint.

Additionally, Guinea Bissau following the outbreak of violence in the state in 1998 benefited from the intervention of ECOMOG. The result was the organization and holding of general and presidential elections in Guinea - Bissau and restoration of peace and stability in that country.

Also recently within the year 2002 the crises in Cote d'vore witnessed the

presence of ECOMOG troupes, but later the citizens of the country demonstrated against it.

Another important and very vital role of Nigeria to ECOW AS is the major funding member state.

Nigeria is also in the forefront of all the member states to allow free of movement goods and people from its bounders. It has removed tariff barriers in unprocessed goods in implementation of her trade liberalization scheme but not on industrial products.

On monetary cooperation programme, all barriers of a monetary nature have been eliminated in Nigeria. Payment of Hotel bills, port and import charges.

There is the harmonization of Economic Finances and Policies. ECOWAS is currently reviewing the situation in the light of the new ECOWAS Macro Economic convergence criteria.

Another aspect of Nigeria's role to ECOWAS, is the protocol relating to community levy. Nigeria has rectified the protocol on the community levy and in corporate it into its appropriation Bill for 2002. It has also geared efforts towards the enlighten or the general public and Economic operations on ECOWAS programme.

Technical Aid Groups Scheme (TACS) has also served as one of the contributing factors to the ECOW AS progress. The programme was established by the former Nigeria leader, General Ibrahim Babangida in 1987 to mark a new development in Nigeria's foreign policy and represented an

innovation trend in the country's drive towards the efficient institutionalization of Aid/ Assistance to sustain West African Countries in particular and the African continent in general. The scheme was created to provide Technical Assistance by sending on request, Nigeria's professionals in different fields to West African Countries to assist them in their development programme. Prior to the establishment of TACS, Nigeria has been involved actively in the provision of Aid to other sister West African and third world countries.

Among the West African countries that benefited from the TACS are:

i. Cape Verde 8 Coups
ii. Sierra- Leone 14 Coups

So, in main aim of the scheme was directed at projecting a positive image for Nigeria among West African Countries in particular and the world in general. The recipient states will, have an opportunity to view Nigeria, and Nigerian in positive height. Also to become a tool of promoting Nigeria's interest in the West African States and Global Arena can not be separated from Nigeria's fortunes.

The scheme also allow the participant to have cultural and agricultural exchanges when they return home as new fashion, crops and even language.

It is because of the Nigeria's effort to the development of African Commandment and the West African Nation in particular, that so many prominent personalities in the world have made the following comments about Nigeria:

i. Former President Ronald Reagan of United States in a letter that stated, that, “I want you to know that, I view Nigeria as a leader among African Nations which shows the US desire for peace throughout the world” To Shagari.

ii. In December, 1978, the former Polish Ambassador of Nigeria., Dr. withhold Tirash, commended Nigeria for the numerous role she played during the establishment of ECOWAS. He added that, “because of the role played by Nigeria in West Africa, the future of the sub-region integration in that part of the world basically depends on the attitude by Nigeria and her policies”.

iii. Significantly even the major super power recognize Nigeria’s leadership role in West Africa and Africa at large, example profession, Anatoly Crophyko, representing Soviet in a meeting with Nigeria, stated that “the soviet union and Nigeria are the largest countries in their respective regions”. And still Nigeria remain influenced in the West African sub-region.

iv. The United States of America recognizes and acknowledges the special role of Nigeria in African politics.

v. In the case of British it has this to say, the fact is that in January, 2001, the British Government conversed their common wealth conference in Nigeria and this was intended actually to expose Nigeria as

the leading African country and not Ghana which has repeated in December, 2003.

vi. It is because of the Nigeria leadership role in West Africa, that France does see Nigeria as the major threat to her interests in the West African sub-region. Olajide Aluko (1981-99).

vii. Also the former President of Niger Republics, Mr. Hussaini Dome in June, 1973 was evaded as saying that, "any economic arrangement in West Africa that excluded Nigeria would be unrealistic". (Olajide Aluko 1981-1999).

viii. And even former civilian president of the 2nd and 3rd Republic Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari said "our whole foreign policy has been meticulously geared towards promoting good neighborliness and a healthy respect for the principle of non interference in the internal affairs of others. I am also conscious that, Nigeria like most other regional powers, most learn to content with problems associated with leadership and the attendant responsibility. This is the classic constraint which Nigeria will increasingly be called upon to line with, Annual Foreign Policy Address (NIIA 1981 Lagos).

The above are only some of the major roles Nigeria has played and still played in the ECOWAS, equally there are so many commendations i.e. support of the Nigeria role to ECOWAS.

In July (2003) Nigeria was able to play a great role in an attempt to settle the Liberian crises by agreeing to send 1,300 of its soldiers.

In order to answer its name as the giant of Africa, when there was a coup in Sao-Tome Nigeria was the one opposed to the coup and promised to reinstate the leadership and which it did.

Also in order to see to the end of the Liberian crises, General (Rtd) President Obasanjo visited Liberia on 6th July, 2003 and met with president Charles Taylor with the aim of giving him political asylum in Nigeria.

4.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the researcher was able to discuss seriously on the Nigeria's role in the formation of the Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS. He has also outlined and discussed the Nigeria's contributions or roles to the development of ECOWAS in particular and Africa in general, which he also in line some of the commendation made by world leaders and some major super power on the Nigeria's leadership role in African countries at large and in West African State in particular.

Also assertion made by the former first presidential leader of Nigeria Alh Shehu Aliyu Shagari made at Nigeria Institute of International Affairs Lagos, in 1981 as regard to the Nigeria leadership role and its position in matter affecting its international business across the world.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 SUMMARY

Nigeria as the "GIANT" of African nations has played a great role in the formation of Economic Community of West African State ECOWAS.

It was the former Nigerian Military Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon who conceived the idea of Economic Community of West African State in 1970. Immediately after the Nigerian civil war from 167 to 1970, the then Head of State expressed the desire to see the African unity in general expressed in concrete terms and not only in Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) resolution. Instead, he would like to start with economic integration in West Africa.

In view of the above, General Gowon thereafter raised the issue several times with President Leopold Senghor of Senegal who did not show sufficient interest to the idea. It was later learnt that Senghor's fear was that the proposed community could turn-out to be a greater Nigeria because of the country's size.

IN 1972, General Gowon Decided to seek the cooperation of another French speaking country (Togo) and during a state visit to Togo in the same year (1972), the suggestion was, made for both Nigeria and Togo to join hands in drafting a proposal for the formation of common market, which eventually become ECOWAS.

Finally, the Economic Community of West African State was established on the 28th May, 1975, when the Heads of State and Government of the sixteen States in the sub-region signed the ECOWAS TREATY. This gesture was confirmed by the late Head of State General Murtala Ramat Mohammed after Gowon's regime.

And Mauritania has since withdrawn from the organization, leaving the ECOWAS with only fifteen members.

In appreciation of the initiative of Nigeria Togo in this regard, the Headquarters of the ECOWAS secretariat was given to Nigeria and located in Lagos now in Abuja, while the ECOWAS FUND is headquartered in Togo.

5.2 CONCLUSION

Going by historical antecedent, the Economic Community of West African State simply referred to as "ECOWAS", for short, was established on 28th May, 1975 by fifteen sovereign states of West African Sub-region. The community came into existence via a multi-lateral treaty signed in Lagos the then capital city of Nigeria.

Unfortunately, despite the long life span of the community, it has not been occupying its rightful position among the community of international organizations. The community has been enmeshed in a number of tighten problems such as; civil wars, boundary disputes, inability of member states of meet their financial obligations and political instability. Other are economic depression, disparity in size, population and host of others.

However, despite these tighten problems success have been recorded in the areas of free movement of people and services. Telecommunication, keeping of peace in the West African sub-region.

Then summary, if the citizen of ECOWAS countries are planted into the background in the developmental process, within the sub-region, not much can be achieved, since they, as the beneficiaries can not only support what they adjudged acceptable to them but be part of the process at the planning and implementation states.

Judged from the broad perspectives therefore, the forum of Heads of State of ECOWAS should always carry along the people in their countries so that, the overall objectives of ECOWAS can be attained without further delay as inter-national organization in the Wets African sub-region.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The current West African Community would be able to emulate the founding fathers of the organization who had their envisaged a situation here the community that was being created would have a common market, were goods and services from the West African sub-region, would freely regulate, devoid of all tariff and non-tariff barriers.

The ECOWAS leaders should also try and allow free and easy movement of goods, services and people in the sub-region.

The leaders of ECOWAS should try to revive the organization and give greater importance to enable it realize the desire and aspiration of its founding fathers. The progress made towards ECOWAS integration within the past eleven years or so has been very encouraging. Also the proposals which took place in Lome, Togo during the Heads of State and Government, from 9^{th} – 10^{th} December, 1999 where Nigeria came up with the idea on modalities and strategies for accelerating the sub-regional integration process should be encouraged.

The leaders should try and implement all programmes which were proposed and accepted by the summit such as:

i. Free movement of persons

ii. ECOWAS free trade zone

iii. Second West African Regional Currency by 2004

iv. West African power proof

v. The West African Gas Pipeline Project

vi. Regional Food Security

vii. Conflict Management and Collective Security

Another important aspect worthy of recommendation is that the ECOWAS members should take some actions on funding the organization. It is a leaving witness that ECOMOG has been performing very well. It is hoped that it would be strengthened and encouraged.

Member states should also try and establish a separate ministry, which will take

the sole responsibility of pursuing the urgent objective of the regional economic cooperation and integration apart from Foreign Affairs Ministry.

The member state should try and stop interference in the internal affairs of another country with the sole aim of settling problem of such a country.

The member states should not take the advantage of disparity in the size, population and economic resources of their countries over the smaller or disadvantaged ones or to dominate them, instead the advantaged ones should be seen as the ones encouraging the implementation of all treaties, protocol and aims and objectives for establishing the organization.

Security at the boarders should be encouraged in order to discourage cross boarder crime among the member states.

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