Ecowas, Good Governance and Collective Military Action in Liberia: A Post Conflict Assessment

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Abstract: One of the biggest social and political challenges of the states in west Africa south of the Sahara, is that of good governance. Lack of good governance had its debilitating consequences in post-colonial states of west Africa. Most states in this sub-region had a "taste" of military dictatorship at one point in time or the other. illiteracy, unaccountability, and corruption by the public servants in most states with the sub-region. Majority of the post-cold war conflicts and crises in this sub-region are attributed to the absence of good governance. This compels the ECOWAS to revise its treaty and adopt an additional protocol on Democracy and good governance, so that the potential source of conflicts in the sub-region tied to misgovernance can be handled by ECOWAS at the sub-regional level and for the ECOWAS to manage conflicts, crises and insecurity to forestall it from distracting economic integration processes of the regional economic group. Of all the reasons adjudge to the causes of the first Liberian crises leading to the first sub-regional military intervention initiative in 1989 for instance, which was the bases for ECOWAS shifting it base to security management is lack of good governance. Thus, the objective of this paper, is to evaluate how the absence of good governance contributed to ECOWAS shifting to non-interference to security management in west Africa, and to assess the impacts of the new protocol on democracy and good governance among the ECOWAS member states in the post-cold war and post-Liberian conflict.

Keywords: ECOWAS, Good Governance, Collective military action, Liberia, Post conflict.

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts to examine broadly the issues of good governance as one major factor or explanation for the crisis in Liberia, and as well as the reason for the ECOWAS-ECOMOG action, and made a post ECOWAS intervention assessment of the situation. The Liberian conflict, which came because of bad governance, or rather lack of good governance, invoked the wrath of ECOWAS and used every other means, including the use of military force, the ECOMOG to intervened, setting aside the non-intervention principles, which erstwhile used to guide and regulate the conducts of member states in the ECOWAS bloc.

This intervention was the first of its kind in the west African sub-region, which has a resemblance of a multilateral action by member states in ECOWAS. The crises, the ECOWAS leaders perceived as having some serious consequences on the trade and integration agenda in the sub-region, which is the sole aim of the ECOWAS as a regional bloc, hurriedly put to a stop through the umbrella body, that brought the states together under economic cooperation.

It is not in any way the intention of this paper to examined the conflict from any generic or historical view point; as to what happened and who does what, the paper rather intends an excavation of the cause and make a post-conflict assessment into reasons of the actions taken by the ECOWAS; by formation of a military group ECOMOG within the sub-region to get involved in to the conflict with the view of ending the conflict in the west African suburb. In other words, why did ECOWAS got intervened in the crisis?

Background to ECOWAS collective action in Liberia

The primary purpose for the existence of the state is the provision of the good life. The greatest happiness for the greater number, said the utilitarian philosopher, Jeremy Bentham. States exists basically to coordinate and legislate the affairs of the people for their general good, therefore, "the greatest good for the greatest numbers of people is a foundation of ethics and legislation" (Abdul Jalil & Muhammad, 2014). Providing the good life is realistically based on governance that is transparent and accommodative.

Governance represents how things get done; that is, `the way in which any social unit from an entire society to the smallest association organizes itself to make collective decisions, to promote shared interests, or to solve common problems. Good governance, therefore, is crucial to addressing societal issues as they cropped up

within the premise of governance, and with the view of solving them through "proper resource allocation" and sound managerial decisions making.The challenges of governance, or state craft, are of fundamental concerns in Africa, and particularly in the west African sub-region. This might not be unconnected with the influence of the colonial experiences most states in the region had during the colonial days, and myriads of corruption, poverty and misgovernance. There were many challenges that crops up, when the global politics took a new dimension. The collapse of the Soviet Union, marking the end of the cold war, and the ascendancy of the new wold order had drastically changed and restructured the nature and dimension of the world politics. It has brought about the changing roles of states, institutions. Additionally, a changing role for global, continental and regional groups and formations. This perhaps, highlighted the regional challenges put across by the United Nations. The challenges for regional initiatives in security management and the subsequent initiatives by regional groups to respond, by ensuring that they keep to peace within their region. This ushered in the "collective security" arrangements by regional bodies and with the full blessings and supports of the United Nations. The conflict and crisis in the state of Liberia, is a "symptomatic of a growing number of third-world conflicts in countries where state legitimacy has eroded or disappeared, where poorly disciplined insurgencies of dispossessed and estranged rural youth" possesses cheap modem weapons, mostly in collaboration with the modern and, with the aid of foreign business interests, loot the nation" (Howe, 1990: 164). As the first post-cold war crises within the west African subregion, and as mentioned, because of the changing nature of global politics with the end of the cold war, the intervention made by the ECOMOG became the first of its kind in the region as a military force capable of addressing their problems. It "became the first sub regional military force in the third world since the end of the Cold War" and succeeded in enforcing peace (Howe,1990) ECOMOG did many collaborations with the African union, the United Nations, and other bodies for her to achieve peace in Liberia. While many reasons were ruled to the motive for ECOWAS intervention in Liberia, this study however, unveils that ECOWAS motive was to safeguard her objectives and uphold democracy and good governance.

Conceptual clarification

The arguments put forward by scholars on the promotion of reforms for good governance and transformation, for instance established that reforms generally are externally introduced to drive about political restructurings. In an elaborate submission, on this for instance, Pridham (1994)in his theory of "external influence and political reforms", opined that, good governance in the first instance are externally promoted to gain political reforms in most institutions. Also, that the diffuse processes (of reforms) must be distinguished from concrete strategic attempts to trigger political reform. Both mechanisms are complementary but their impact differs depending on the political environment. He, further contended that "norm diffusion as an indirect process of democracy promotion has a high potential to foster political change. The spread of ideas on democracy and good governance is expected to challenge the legitimacy of non-democratic regimes and to open a window of opportunity for democratic reform". (Pridham 1994). It is logical to argue, thereforethat, good governance and Democracy are "Siamese-twins", thus they have a positive correlation. Democracy and good governance are inseparable because good governance is one of the major rudiments through which the realisation of democratic ideals are met and concretised. Regimes that showcase bad governance are subject to being challenged. In another vain, Robin and Anwar (2009) examined that the trio of Globalisation information dissemination technology and ethnic conflicts in post-cold war relations provides room for the restructuring of roles and functions of institutions of governance at different levels. They posit that, "Globalization, the information revolution, and regional and ethnic conflicts have made it imperative for a large and growing number of countries around the globe to 're-examine' the roles of various orders of government to secure peace, order, and good government and to reposition their roles in improving social and economic outcomes and retaining relevance in the lives of their citizens" (Robin and Anwar, 2009).

For Repnik, & Mohs, (1992) contends that developments partnerships have high regards for good governance, that, partnerships and other international cooperation's works well only when there are observed good governance processes in the respective states or units of cooperation for mutual development. "Good governance" has become the word in international discussion on new concepts of and approaches to development co-operation, not only amongst donors but also on the part of the developing countries themselves. "Democracy and human rights are of fundamental significance for development" and "good governance is basic to the economic and social progress of all countries". (Repnik, & Mohs, 1992:28). Good governance in states cooperation, either federal states, mega unions and or sub-regional cooperation are indeed useful and very vital for achieving the result or rather the purpose of cooperation. Be this as it may, the ECOWAS, has an economic development agenda in the sub-region. Sub-regional economic integration is the greater objective. Therefore, ethnic conflict, violence, disorders and chaos within units in such a cooperation will certainly halt, and possible affect the objective. The ECOWAS acted promptly by through intervention using the military option for restore peace and order, and afterwards instituted through review of the protocol to instituted laws on democracy and

good governance. Her intervention is solely geared towards regional interests, good governance, development and goal oriented objective, and not for selfish political gains.

II. METHODOLOGY

The methodology used for this empirical research paper, is based on a qualitative research design. Interview was used to generate the primary data for analysis and the respondents selected based on purposive sampling method. The NVivo software (version 10), was used to organise the data generated from the interview. Thematic form of data presentation and analysis is adopted. The primary data was collected through face to face, semi-structured interview process. The total of 8 questions was deigned on the interview schedule. Seven (7) respondents were selected through a purposive sampling and interviewed. Six of these respondents are senior staff belonging to different departments at the ECOWAS secretariat, while two out of the seven, are research scholars with research interest in west Africa issues. But of the seven respondents, only three respondents responded to questions on this section, and captured under this theme of good governance, as major explanations on why the ECOWAS intervened militarily in Liberia. A model was developed based on the data coding, using the NVivo software. The themes created, were discussed in the analysis.

Model

This given model is produced by qualitative data management software, NVivo software. The data collected through interview were coded and issues raised under by the respondents during the interviews, were issues of Fundamental Human Rights, the absence of Good governance and refugee problems. Lack of good governance or rather the absence of good governance brought about the crisis in Liberia, the abuses on fundamental human rights of the people, as well as the refugee crises brought about the ECOWAS mobilising it military force, the ECOMOG to get military intervention executed in the Liberia's internal crises. While series of literature exists on the Liberia's first post-cold war conflict which tries to explain the remote and immediate causes of the crises in Liberia, is clear from the crisis that fundamentally, the struggles was about a competition to have access to the state power and control the state resources, that brought about the many divisions within the fighting rebel forces.
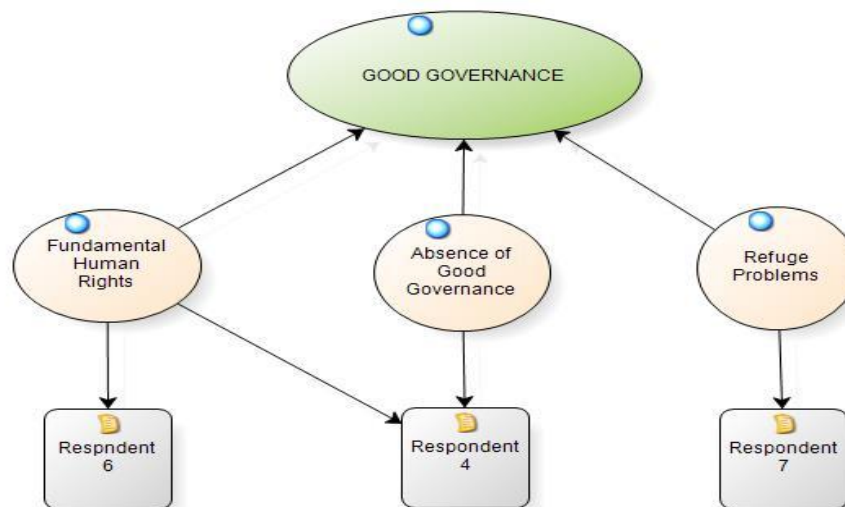

Figure 1: *Model on Good governance*

Good Governance

The concept of good governance, can be conceptualised as a series of requirements of practices that are an embodiment of acceptable norms in governance, either in governmental or non-governmental institutions. To Francis Fukuyama, he viewed the concept of governance **"**as a government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not" (Fukuyama, 2013). He however, emphasised that, based on the perception of the UNDP, and which is claiming to have a universal acceptance and applicability, the UNDP have developed certain principles which are five in number; Legitimacy and Voice, Direction, Performance, Accountability, Fairness to constitute the five principles of good governance (Graham, Amos, & Plumptre, 2003, p.3). These principles were captured and summarised in a table as presented below;

Thomas, (2000) made an excellent review of the concept of governance, looking at the concept from many different perspectives. However, this perspective I feel, is broader and more in line of argument with the focus of this paper. He examines good governance to mean;

"The concept of governance denotes the use of political authority and exercise of control in a society in relation to the management of its resources for social and economic development. This broad definition encompasses the role of public authorities in establishing the environment in which economic operators function and in determining the distribution of benefits as well as the nature of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled" (Thomas, 2000: 797).

Wil, (2010), on his work on governance and development, he looks at the concept of as and organised system that "seeks to ensure efficiency in public administration and public finance management, rule of law, decentralisation and regulation of corporate life, including competition laws and anti-corruption watchdogs, arms-length procurement processes and the outsourcing of public services and supply" (Wil, 2010:2). To Davis, (2017) "There are three elements important and relevant to good governance: prevention of corruption, education of and communication with the people, and enforcement of policies" (Davis, 2017) highlights the three main components of what good governance should constitute; corruption; education and communication or allowing people access the governance institutions. Katherine Hoffman, (2010) observed, while examining the concept of good governance as a strategy for development in the Europe's Balkans region, that, although much emphasis is given to administrative aspects and public finances whenever good governance issues are presented, it is still inseparable with certain democratic values. That, the concept of "good governance, the rule of law, democratic process, civil society and respect for human rights are fundamentally intertwined" (Katherine, 2010 :88). This encourages progress and enhancement of "stable, just and open societies", observing universal rules and practices. The common denominator about these various perspectives of good governance, is having to do with management of resources, observance of the rule of law, citizens inclusionin policy issues and the enforcement of policies issues. Good governance in a nut shell, entails fairness, rule of law, access and the provision of social justice.

Table 4. 1 UNDP Principles of Good Governance

The Five Good Governance Principles	The UNDP Principles and related UNDP text on which they are based
1. Legitimacy and Voice	**Participation** – all men and women should have a voice in decision-making, either directly or through legitimate intermediate institutions that represent their intention. Such broad participation is built on freedom of association and speech, as well as capacities to participate constructively. **Consensus orientation** – good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interest of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures.
2. Direction	**Strategic vision** – leaders and the public have a broad and long-term perspective on good governance and human development, along with a sense of what is needed for such development. There is also an understanding of the historical, cultural and social complexities in which that perspective is grounded.
3. Performance	**Responsiveness** – institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders. **Effectiveness and efficiency** – processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources.
4. Accountability	**Accountability** – decision-makers in government, the private sector and civil society organizations are accountable to the public, as well as to institutional stakeholders. This accountability differs depending on the organizations and whether the decision is internal or external. **Transparency** – transparency is built on the free flow of information. Processes, institutions and information are directly accessible to those concerned with them, and enough information is provided to understand and monitor them.
5. Fairness	**Equity** – all men and women have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being. **Rule of Law** – legal frameworks should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights.

Adapted from Graham, Amos, & Plumptre, 2003, p. 3).

The table above, provides the summary of the principles of good governance. The sequence and order as presented are; Legitimacy and Voice, Direction, Performance, Accountability. While all the items listed are necessary in governance, particularly the Democratic governance, the items numbers 1, 4 and 5 are very well relevant and important to governance in West Africa. Legitimacy and voice, Accountability and Fairness in governance are not only requirements in governance, but also a yard stick for contemporary measure of Democracy globally. ECOWAS, in her renewed efforts to brings about security stability within the sub-region to achieve an enhanced regional economic integration drive, her reviewed treaty has made a provision for a protocol on good governance. The protocol as contained in ECOWAS document, "Protocol A/SP1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance" and supplementary to Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, Section VII made a provision on Rule of Law, Human rights and Good Governance. Articles 32, 33 and 34, thus provides as follows:

Article 32:
Member States agree that **good governance** (emphasis mine) and press freedom are essential for preserving social Justice, preventing conflict, guaranteeing political stability and peace and for strengthening democracy.

Article 33: (1) and (2):
Member States recognise that the rule of law involves not only the promulgation of good laws that are in conformity with the provisions on human rights, but also a good judicial system, a good system of administration, and good management of the State apparatus. They are also convinced that a system that guarantees the smooth running of the State and its administrative and judicial services, contributes to the consolidation of the rule of law.

Article 34 (1) and (2):
Member States and the Executive Secretariat shall endeavour to adopt at national and regional levels, practical modalities for the enforcement of the rule of law, human rights, justice and **good governance.** Member States shall ensure accountability, professionalism, transparency and expertise in the public and private sectors. (ECOWAS, 2001, p. 18).

Examining these provisions within the context to the UNDP's five principles of good governance, it is a verifiable argument that good governance had global acceptability in applications and practice. Its absence thereforefrom governance, certainly brings about chaos, and crises and instability. The ECOWAS, after the first Liberian crises, learnt many lessons, therefore, when the review of its treaty was made, after the Liberian and Sierra Leonean conflicts in 1990 and 1997 respectively, to ensure peace, ECOWAS made a provision on Human rights issues and Good governance, and thereby incorporating them into the treaty.

Presentation of data and analysis
Out of the seven (7) respondents interviewed, respondent 6th, respondent 4th and the 7th responds to these issues of fundamental human rights, absence of good governance and refugee crises.These are all grouped under these model of good governance, constituting the reasons for the crisis and ECOWAS subsequent intervention. The responses and the analysis are as presented below. Respondent 6[th]have pointed out the issues of good governance and fundamental human rights; to respondent 4th, pointed out absence of good governance as the reason; while the issue of refugee crisis is of course the reason the crisis in Liberia. In summary, the absence of good governance and gross violations of fundamental Human Rights of the citizens and the refugee problem in Liberia, are among the reasons that brought about the Liberian crisis and necessitates the ECOWAS intervention in the crisis. Additionally, all these factors manifest under the lack of good governance. Below are the responses of the respondents on good governance, Fundamental Human Rights and the Refugee issues, as contained in the model On good governance, the 4th respondent believes it is not firmly put in place in most of these states in west Africa. He opined in his words that; it is a pointer to the fact that governance or governance systems in many of these countries in the sub-region are not firmly in place. (Respondent 4; ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja, September 2016). That, there is something fundamental about governance that is missing in the states in west Africa. That perhaps explains the routine occurrence of crisis within the subregion. The absence of good governance will certainly bring about marginalisation of some ethnic nationalities and exclusion in the governance process. There is indeed something fundamental missing within the governance system. He went further to explain that; failure of governance or governance systems is what lead to full blown out conflicts, in every system, there are conflicts, but when governance systems are in place, actually those systems are in place to manage, well, first, to prevent conflicts where these conflicts still come, to meet it, manage it and resolve them, so when we have, what we need to think about is that when we see this intervention coming, is a sign that our governance system have failed. Good governance has not been effectively put on

ground in these countries, because governance have failed, then you have to recourse to violence. (Respondent 4; ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja, September 2016).

In a situation where the governance system, or good governance is in existence within the system, it is the responsibility of the those in control of the governmental system to ensure that conflicts of whatever sorts are prevented. Preventing conflicts in a system can manifest through an accountable, transparent and being fair to the citizenry, also, carrying the citizens along in governance. Therefore, the prevention of conflict, managing conflicts and resolving conflicts are all the responsibilities of a responsible government, since conflicts are bound to happen. Where a government cannot respond to her challenges of preventing, managing and resolving these conflicts, it is an indication of the "failure of the governance system"; meaning good governance is absent within the system.Military intervention therefore, with regards to the Liberian crises was done because virtually the state had failed, because of the absence of good governance.

ECOWAS therefore had to intervene through whatever possible means to solve the myriads of problems that might further result from the crisis. Looking at the submissions from the respondents interviewed, lack of good governance was attributed to the reasons why the crisis in Liberia erupted, and at the same time why the ECOWAS and ECOMOG went to Liberia. The summary of their submissions was that, the governance process in Liberia had virtually failed. It has failed because the government was un able to respond to the challenges of the crises that got erupted at that point in time. Instead of facing the crises head-on, there were multiple breakaway factions of rebels and rebellions which increased the dimension of the crises, so much so that the crises got internationalised. The abuse of the fundamental human rights of the people in Liberia, was clearly observed; people killed, maimed and their properties were destroyed. This did not go down well with most of the states in the international community.

The human refugee crisescreated a homeless situation to so many in Liberia. There were the internally displaced persons, and there are those refugees that sought for shelter from the institutions within Liberia, and there are those that fled the country, going to the neighbouring countries that share boundaries with the state of Liberia, like Sierra Leone Guinea and Cote d'lvoire. Some refugees travelled far to places like Nigeria and the Ghana, to seek refuge. These created so much concerned from within the member states of ECOWAS, and foresee the multiplier effect of these, should it be allowed to continue. The issues of human rights abuses and that of the refugee crises, were among the immediate factors, that called for a multilateral action in Liberia.

Fundamental Human Rights

From the reasons advanced by the respondents interviewed, is that of the failure to uphold the fundamental human rights of the people, as the cause for the ECOWAS-ECOMOG military intervention in the Liberian crisis. This is because, events, as they unfold then, the killings of innocent people caught in the crisis, and the refugee problems created, can all be seen in the context of the said violation. Laws and order were not respected by those that govern that society. Looking at the remote causes of the violence in Liberia, there were series of violations of the rights of the people before the crisis and even during the crisis. Article 33: (1) of the ECOWAS protocols on good governance, confirm the status of the observance of human rights by the member states. The protocol reiterates that, the "member states fully recognise the promulgation of good laws" which conforms with the observance of human rights, judicial process and good administrative system.

On this issue raised, the respondent 6th respondent had observed that;

You see I think, the reason why the use of force has come in is because some of the governments have also forgotten law and order. They have forgotten that there is something called Fundamental Human Rights. In fact, some of the so-called legitimate governments (within the sub-region) are so illegitimate than some rebel groups. (Respondent 6; ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja, September 2016). Most states within ECOWAS "had forgotten law and order", they don't observe the Fundamental Human Rights of their citizens. The atrocities most of them commits acting legitimately, were very illegitimate.

The 4th respondent, also reiterates the fact that, the international requirements were very clear on the issues of Fundamental Human rights. It frowns against its violations. The situation in Liberia then, is one in which, lives and properties of the people were no longer secured, and people were being mercilessly killed. The situation was helpless, seeing that the central government virtually lost control of governance. This is yet another justification for the intervention by the ECOWAS in the crisis in Liberia. In his words, he posits that; International requirements, including our treaty and the African Union Charter made it very clear; when human right abuses become an order of the day, when, when life and property are no longer secure, when people's lives are taken, when there is a pogrom or there is attempted pogrom. (Respondent 4; ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja, 12th September 2016).

He made emphasis that it is among the international norms, that, when human rights are abused and the life and property of people are no longer secure, when massacre of people became the order of the day, all efforts should be made by international agencies, or regional bodies like the ECOWAS have the responsibility to act and save the situation. Going by the analogy of the respondent, it can therefore be said, that the intervention in Liberia, was undertaken on humanitarian grounds.

Refugee Problems

Crises of these dimension is usually synonymous with the issues of refugee problems. Many writers anticipate the refugee's issues to be one of the major concern and that can manifest from the crisis in Liberia. ECOWAS itself, partly relied on this humanitarian concern to intervene militarily in the crisis in Liberia in 1990. Besides, the issue of refugee crises, is one angle this respondent comment upon. In his view, it is one of the reason why the "humanitarian angle", the ECOWAS look at, an articulate a position to intervene. The refugee crises were anticipated not only by the ECOWAS, but other international actors as well.

The arguments on the issues of refugees is that, if the situation in Liberia was left without taken an appropriate measure, the problems of refugee will be another burden the member states of ECOWAS will battle with, which some states feels will lead to refugee flow and to "impoverish [the] states further", and it will drive away investors in the region (Howe, 1996: 150) Furthermore, international distress to "do something about the problem" can be intensified by a worsening situation [escalation of violence, increased outflow of refugees, worsening economic situation, contagion effects of crisis] (Aning, 1999). In her article, 'The Civil War and the Refugee Crisis in Liberia', Nmoma (1997), reports that, in West African region, "the total number of Liberian refugees in 1995 rose to 400,000 in Guinea, in Cote d'Ivoire some 290,000, 15,000 in Ghana, 15,000 in Sierra Leone and 5,000 in Nigeria". (Nmoma, 1997) also, "Liberians who took refuge in neighbouring countries were estimated at 700,000 (Ero,1995).

The 7th respondent asserts on this that, if the Liberian crises is left unattended, the refugee crises that will follow will be very difficult to control, and it will add to the crisis. Because refugee issues is also another big issue. In his words, he asserts that; to add up problems that might be very, very difficult to control. Refugee problems for example was also a serious problem that manifested out of the crises in Liberia. (Respondent 7; ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja, September 2016). This will also add up the burden to other member states, particularly states having boundaries with Liberia. The consideration on the consequences and or the multiplier effect on the economy of the subregion, can as well be argued among the reasons why there was military intervention in Liberia by the ECOWAS via the ECOMOG.

III. CONCLUSION

This paper has put across the arguments of the respondents interviewed, side by side   that   of   the literature, to really ascertain the fundamentals of ECOWAS intervention in Liberia. It has established that, with the global changes in political developments, ending the cold war, political relationships between and among states. were affected. These brought about the institutionalisation of democracy, good governance, fundamental human rights, as part of the new global agenda, and global political realities, which unipolarism expects compliance from states in the international system.

The conflict in Liberia, came because of the absence of most of these 'new global realities', in managing the state of Liberia. While regional bodies were empowered to deal collectively with issues of conflicts and insecurity in their regions by the unitednations, ECOWAS itself found the crisis capable of jeopardising its strategic regional agenda of economic integration. Therefore, these two cogent platforms, accorded the ECOWAS "right" to intervene militarily to end the crisis. Additionally, and evidently, these issues of total absence of good governance, making the state of Liberia a failed state; the incessant violations of human rights, resulting to maiming and killings of people caught in the crises; and the rising profile of the refugees going out of Liberia, are the pragmatic justifications for ECOWAS intervention in the Liberian crisis.To save the states of Liberia, to preserve the west African economic interests, to move consonance with the global acceptable norm of security management and to provide an African solution to an African problem are the fundamentals of ECOWAS action in Liberia.

The post intervention assessment, ECOWAS had introduced some major reforms in her laws, protocols and treaty; the mechanism of conflict prevention; protocols on good governance and fundamental human rights are of these reforms. It also, succeeded in providing on a permanent basis the military component to take the challenges of security within the sub-region, so that conflicts and crises from within can no longer distract her economic, peace and security objectives in the sub-region.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

ECOWAS as a body should ensure that the revised treaty incorporating the protocol of Democracy, good governance peace and security is implemented to its fullest. Routine checks on member states policies and programmes on democracy and good governance will ensure the sustainability of control of crisis and conflicts within the sub-region. The sub-regional body should introduce a routine conference programme for member states bi-annually on the need to ensure that, the vicissitudes of governance, democratic ideals and good governance in member states are up-to-date and enhanced. This will sensitise the various institutions within the member states administrative institutions and bring about the needed democratic principles, which in turn will subdue the rising conflicts and crises within the sub-region. Lastly, whenever the core objective of ECOWAS is jettisoned, the entire focus of the sub-regional body will be lost. It is therefore imperative for all member states to stand collectively to deal with any problem that will bring about ECOWAS disunity, to consolidate on her gains for further realisation of her economic integration agenda.

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