Consortium for Development Partnerships

Established in July 2004 by a group of universities, research centres and nongovernmental organisations, the Consortium for Development Partnerships (CDP) is an international research network of institutions devoted to conducting research, policy dialogues and capacity-building activities on issues of governance, poverty reduction and development.

CDP represents a response to the slow pace of economic development and the challenges of democratisation and conflict resolution in many African countries. By pooling the resources of diverse institutions with common interests, CDP undertakes research and make available to African countries new insights into the challenges facing the region, as well as a wide range of research skills and expertise needed for democratic and developmental governance. The consortium thus enables individual African researchers, research institutions, civil society institutions and regional organisations, such as ECOWAS, to benefit from a unique intraregional networking that involves a research-policy nexus and provides opportunities for international interaction.

Each CDP member institution plays an active role in at least one of the eight projects of the consortium:

- 1. Local Governance and Decentralisation
- 2. Access to Justice and the Rule of Law
- 3. Media and Voice in Democracy

2

- 4. Entrepreneurship in Agribusiness for Development
- 5. Local Dynamics of Conflict and Peacebuilding
- 6. ECOWAS and the Regional Dynamics of Conflict & Peacebuilding
- 7. Financing Democracy
- 8. Modelling Success in Governance and Institution Building

CDP is coordinated by CODESRIA in collaboration with ASC Leiden. The first phase was jointly coordinated by CODESRIA and the Program of African Studies of Northwestern University, Evanston, USA.

For more information, visit: www.codesria.org or www.ascleiden.nl

Edited by Thomas Jaye Dauda Garuba Stella Amadi



Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa DAKAR

0. ECOWAS_Prelim.pmd

3

29/10/2011, 11:47

© CODESRIA 2011 Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop, Angle Canal IV BP 3304 Dakar, 18524, Senegal Website: www.codesria.org

ISBN: 978-2-86978-496-3

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording or any information storage or retrieval system without prior permission from CODESRIA.

Typesetting: Daouda Thiam Cover Design: Ibrahima Fofana Printing: Imprimerie Graphiplus, Dakar, Senegal

Distributed in Africa by CODESRIA Distributed elsewhere by African Books Collective, Oxford, UK Website: www.africanbookscollective.com

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) is an independent organisation whose principal objectives are to facilitate research, promote researchbased publishing and create multiple forums geared towards the exchange of views and information among African researchers. All these are aimed at reducing the fragmentation of research in the continent through the creation of thematic research networks that cut across linguistic and regional boundaries.

CODESRIA publishes *Africa Development*, the longest standing Africa based social science journal; *Afrika Zamani*, a journal of history; the *African Sociological Review*, the *African Journal of International Affairs; Africa Review of Books* and the *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*. The Council also co-publishes the *Africa Media Review; Identity, Culture and Politics: An Afro-Asian Dialogue; The African Anthropologist* and the *Afro-Arab Selections for Social Sciences*. The results of its research and other activities are also disseminated through its Working Paper Series, Green Book Series, Monograph Series, Book Series, Policy Briefs and the CODESRIA Bulletin. Select CODESRIA publications are also accessible online at www.codesria.org.

CODESRIA would like to express its gratitude to the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA/SAREC), the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), the Ford Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), the Danish Agency for International Development (DANIDA), the French Ministry of Cooperation, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Rockefeller Foundation, FINIDA, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), TrustAfrica, UN/UNICEF, the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) and the Government of Senegal for supporting its research, training and publication programmes.

Contents

Notes on Contributors vii
Preface xi
Introduction
Part I: Understanding Conflicts in West Africa
1. ECOWAS: From Economic Integration to Peace-building
 Conflicts and Crises in West Africa: Internal and International Dimensions
 Natural Resources and the Dynamics of Conflicts in West Africa
 Social Vulnerability and Conflicts: Elements for Regional Conflict Vulnerability Analysis
5. Demography, Environment and Conflict in West Africa
6. Youth and Conflicts in West Africa: Regional Threats and Potentials
7. The Diaspora and Conflicts
 8. Gender Dimensions of the ECOWAS Peace and Security Architecture: A Regional Perspective on UN Resolution 1325

Part II: ECOWAS' Institutional Responses to Conflicts149
9. ECOWAS and Regional Responses to Conflicts
10. ECOWAS and Human Security
11. Reflections on Our Knowledge in Peacemaking
12. Consolidating Regional Security: Security Sector Reform and Beyond
Notes
Bibliography

Notes on Contributors

Abdel-Fatau MUSAH is the Director of External Relations at the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). He holds a PhD from the Moscow State University, Russia. Prior to joining ECOWAS, he was Senior Conflict Prevention Adviser to the Danish Agency for International Development (Danida) and ECOWAS (2005-2009); Senior Program Officer at the Open Society Institute (2002-2004); Consultant to the UN Regional Office for West Africa on peacebuilding and conflict prevention (2004-2005); Head of Research & Advocacy at the London-based Centre for Democracy and Development (1998-2001;) and the Africa Desk Officer at the British-American Security Information Council, London (1996-1998). His research interests include: golablisation, regional security and light weapons proliferation. Among his numerous publications are: *West Africa: Governance and Security in a Changing World (2009); The Evolving ECOWAS Security Architecture* (2008); *The ECOWAS Moratorium on Light Weapons: Pitching Political Will against Reality* (2004); and *Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma* (2000).

Abiodun ALAO got his PhD in War Studies from King's College London, where he is currently a member of staff of the Conflict, Security and Development Group (CSDG). His research focuses on the politics of natural resources and African security. His publications include Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa: The Tragedy of Endowment, University of Rochester Press (2007); The Mau-Mau Warrior, Oxford: Osprey Publishing Company (2005); The Burden of Collective Goodwill: The International Involvement in the Liberian Civil War, Ashgate Publishers (1996); Brothers at War: Dissidence and Rebellion in Southern Africa, London: British Academic Press (1994); Peacekeepers, Politicians and Warlords: The Liberian Peace Process, Tokyo: United Nations University Press (1999) (co-authored), and Africa after the Cold War: The Changing Perspective on Security, African World Press (1998) (co-edited).

Andrews ATTA-ASAMOAH is a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), Nairobi, Kenya. He holds a Master of Arts degree in International Affairs from the Legon Centre for International Affairs at the University of Ghana. He has been conducting research on peace and security issues in Africa. Among his publications are: "Military Challenges and Threats in West Africa"

co-authored with Kwesi Aning (2011); "Sanctions and Embargoes in Africa: Implementation Dynamics, Prospects and Challenges in the Case of Somalia" (2009); "Counter-Terrorism and the National Security of African States: Points of Convergence and Departure" (2008).

Augustine IKELEGBE is a Professor of Comparative Politics and Public Policy at the University of Benin, Nigeria. He has researched and published on identity and resource conflicts, governance and security, civil society, and underground economies. His most recent work is *Militias, Rebels and Islamist Militants: Human Insecurity and State Crises in Africa* (co-edited with Wafula Okumu) published by the Institute of Security Studies, Pretoria (2010).

Awa CEESAY-EBO is a Peace and Security Fellow for African Women at the Conflict, Security and Development Group (CSDG), King's College, London. She is currently based in New York.

Boubacar N'DIAYE is an Associate Professor of Political Science and Pan-African Studies at the College of Wooster, Ohio, USA. He has published in the areas of civil-military relations, democratization, security sector governance and capacity building in Africa. His most recent works pertain to military involvement in African politics, democratization, and capacity building, especially in African parliaments and civil society organizations. He has worked with African, US, and international agencies such as, ECOWAS, AU, UN. He is an executive board member of the African Security Sector Network (ASSN).

Crosdel EMUEDO is presently completing his doctoral thesis in international relations at the University of Benin, Nigeria. His works and scholarly publications have generally been focused on the quest for justice, equity, peace and stability in Nigeria's Niger Delta.

Dauda GARUBA is the Nigeria Programme Coordinator for Revenue Watch Institute (RWI) – an independent policy organisation dedicated to promoting research, capacity building and advocacy on effective governance of oil, gas and mining revenues. He was formerly a Senior Programme Officer for Peace and Security at the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD). Some of his publications include: "Conflict and Institutional Frameworks for Peace-building: Possibilities and Challenges of ECOWAS Early Warning Mechanism" (co-authored with Yoro Kone, 2009), "Defence Policy and Military Balance in Nigeria" (2009) and "Contractual Breakdown: Small Arms, Intolerance and Tragedy in Nigeria's Delta Region" (2007).

viii

Notes on Contributors

Emmanuel Kwesi ANING is the Director of Research at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), Accra, Ghana. He holds a PhD from the University of Copenhagen. He has taught at the European Peace University, Austria, and the Institute of Political Science, University of Copenhagen and Aarhus University, both in Denmark. He has also taught at Ghana Armed Forces Command and Staff College, and worked with ECOWAS, the African Union, Commonwealth Secretariat, and the United Nations.

Funmi OLONISAKIN is the founding Director of the African Leadership Centre (ALC), which aims at building the next generation of African leaders by providing a clear understanding of peace, security and development. She has also served as the Director of the Conflict, Security and Development Group at King's College London since 2003. Her most recent publications include: *Women and Security Governance in Africa*, (co-edited with Awino Okech) Pambazuka Press (2011); *Security Sector Transformation in Africa* (co-edited with Alan Bryden), Lit Verlag (2010); and *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice* (co-edited with Karen Barnes and Eka Ikpe), Routledge (2010).

Ishola WILLIAMS is the Executive Secretary of the Pan-African Strategic and Policy Research Group (PANAFSTRAG) – formerly African Strategic and Peace Research Group. He retired from the Nigeria Army at the rank of Major General. He has extensive experience in the areas of security, conflict, and innovative science and technology issues.

Mohammad J. KUNA is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Sociology, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, Nigeria, and technical adviser in the office of the Chairman, Independent Electoral Commission, Abuja. He has been head of the Department of Sociology and Dean Faculty of Social Sciences. His areas of interest include conflict and state formation in postcolonies. He is the author of *Violence and the Formation of States: The Case of Northern Nigeria, 1960-1966*.

Musa ABUTUDU is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Benin, Nigeria. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Ibadan. He is a pioneer laureate of the CODESRIA Governance Institute, and MacArthur Foundation Scholar on Peace and Security at the University of Texas, Austin. He has published on regional integration, democracy and democratization as well as peasant organizations in Africa.

Olawale ISMAIL is currently a Senior Researcher and coordinator of projects on African security and governance at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). He holds a PhD in Peace Studies from the University of Bradford, UK. His research interests include regional security mechanisms, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction, peace operations, security sector and justice reform, political violence, disarmament, and demobilization and reintegration.

Stella AMADI was, until 2009, the Head of Programmes at the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Abuja, Nigeria. She is a lawyer and gender specialist. Her published works include *Towards an Integrated Development of the Niger Delta* (2005) co-edited with Kayode Fayemi and Ololade Bamidele. She has participated regularly in the annual meetings of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) at the United Nations in New York.

Thomas JAYE is the Deputy Director of Research at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC), Accra, Ghana. His research interests include international security issues, democracy, post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction. His main work has been on regional security issues and security sector reform (SSR) with emphasis on security sector governance. He holds a PhD in International Politics from the University of Aberystwyth, UK. He is the author of *Issues of Sovereignty, Strategy and Security in the ECOWAS Intervention in the Liberian Civil War*, Edwin Mellen Press (2003).

Preface

For over two decades now, West Africa has remained one of Africa's most conflictridden regions and the theatre of some of the most atrocious brutalities in the modern world. Surprisingly, however, the region is about the only place in Africa where perhaps the most ambitious and determined internal efforts to find collective regional solutions to conflict have been deployed and sustained, through the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS). As a regional body formed in 1975 for the sole purpose of regional economic integration, the convergence between economic and political matters precipitated the signing of the Protocol on Non-Aggression and the Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defence adopted in Dakar (Senegal) and Freetown (Sierra Leone) in 1978 and 1981 respectively, which then provided the basis for ECOWAS peacekeeping force, ECOMOG, in search of peaceful solutions to the civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire has yielded a mix of successes and failures in a number of cases, while aggravating or creating new tensions in some others.

While the reasons for these contrasting outcomes are numerous, and the context of their challenges (in terms of the capital outlays for peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance and reconstruction) enormous, the comparative advantage that ECOWAS has derived from the experiences is reflected in the various conventions, mechanisms and protocols that are now in place to ensure a more comprehensive conflict prevention framework. The ECOWAS Early Warning Mechanism (ECOWARN) is particularly of note in this regard.

This book provides a nuanced analysis of the above issues and others on the dynamics of conflicts in the region and the roles played by ECOWAS and various actors in the context of the complex interplay between natural resource governance, corruption, demography and the youth bulge, gender and the conflicting interests of national, regional and international players. As a research effort, it explores the value of retrospective analysis at a time when even the regional umbrella body (ECOWAS) is re-thinking its conflict intervention framework, in a bid to mainstream human security within its security sector intervention paradigm and transform itself from an ECOWAS of states to an ECOWAS of citizens.

A number of individuals and organizations played important roles in the making of this book, and their inputs need to be recognized. First, we acknowledge the support of the Government of the Netherlands which provided the funds for the Consortium for Development Partnerships (CDP) – jointly coordinated by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the Programme of African Studies (PAS) of Northwestern University, Evanston – to undertake the research. We would like to recognize Professors Adebayo Olukoshi (CODESRIA) and Richard Joseph (Northwestern) for the central role they played in ensuring funding and prosecuting the early phase of the work, which was later completed under Dr Ebrima Sall, the current Executive Secretary of CODESRIA. We also recognize the leadership and support of Dr Kayode Fayemi (now Governor of Ekiti State, Nigeria) who as Director of the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) motivated us a great deal; the demonstrable dexterity with which his successor as Director, Dr Jibrin Ibrahim, managed the project is proved by this final product.

We also acknowledge, with thanks, the invaluable support and role played by the ECOWAS team in the planning meetings that eventually led to this book. They include: Colonel Mahamane Toure (Commissioner for Political Affairs); Prof. Bayo Adekanye (Coordinator, Policy Analysis and Strategic Planning Unit & Peace and Security Analyst in the Office of the Executive Secretary); Dr Abdel-Fatau Musah (Senior Conflict Prevention Advisor, who later became of Director of Political Affairs and, now, Director of External Relations); and Dr Said Adejumobi (Political Governance Advisor, now Chief of Public Administration Sector/Coordinator of Africa Governance Report at the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa).

Finally, we are grateful to the anonymous reviewers of the chapters in the book for their very painstaking efforts. We also appreciate the patience and perseverance of the contributors, especially in the preparation of their final chapters, and CODESRIA's publications team – particularly Oyekunle Oyediran and Alex Bangirana – for their patience, meticulous attention to editorial details and management of other production processes of this book.

Thomas Jaye, Dauda Garuba & Stella Amadi

xii