

INSURGENCY IN ECOWAS: AN IMPEDIMENT TO THE REALIZATION OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Written by Ulisan Mogbitse Ogisi & Ogorugba Moses Omozue***

** Senior Lecturer, Delta State University, Abraka, Nigeria, Faculty of Law (Oleh Campus),
Department of Public Law, Nigeria*

*** Lecturer, Delta State University, Abraka, Nigeria, Faculty of Law (Oleh Campus),
Department of Public Law, Nigeria*

ABSTRACT

This article examines the ECOWAS protocols and particularly the plan for regional integration. It states that the right of free entry into member States has been impeded by insurgency, particularly by the nefarious and appalling acts of the Boko Haram fundamentalist Islamic group. The paper recommends that all Heads of States in ECOWAS must look into the root causes of insurgency in their States and deal with it and be more vigilant particularly in the area of cooperation so as to prevent the entry of the insurgent groups. Member States should also contribute to the ECOWAS fund.

Keywords: Insurgency, ECOWAS, Impediment, Realization, Integration.

INTRODUCTION

The Economic Community for West Africa States rendered to as ECOWAS in English and “CEDEAO” in French is the regional (or sub-regional) economic grouping formed by West African states for the purpose of forming a more viable economic union of West African states.ⁱ ECOWAS was founded to improve the economic development of West African countries and to strengthen their bargaining position towards external actors like the European Community (EC). ECOWAS however was also founded for another important reason. Its framers were for the first time able to overcome the artificial divide between Anglophone, Francophone and Lusophone countries.ⁱⁱ

The aim of the regional economic grouping among others is to promote co-operation and integration leading to the establishment of an economic union in order to raise the living standards of the people in the sub-region while maintaining and enhancing economic stability and fostering relations among member states so as to achieve a meaningful human centered development in the sub-region in particular and the continent as a whole.ⁱⁱⁱ

ECOWAS is as considered one of the pillars of African Economic community. The organization was founded in order to achieve “collective self-sufficiency” for its member states by creating a single large trading bloc through an economic and trading union, also serving as a peace keeping force in the region.^{iv}

Insurgency in ECOWAS can be an impediment to the realization of integration as one of the objectives of the ECOWAS. Right from the pre-colonial era down to the colonial dispensation, attempts have been made at integration in order to spur regional development. For instance, pre-colonial era focused on trade in cash crops and solid mineral such as kola nuts, rubbers as well as trade in gold and diamond amongst others. There was undoubtedly political and economic integration in West Africa through limited trade and free movement of factors of production throughout various kingdoms making up pre-colonial West Africa.^v

The notion of precise geographic boundaries is profoundly alien to African’s historical and cultural traditions, because the rigid geographical boundaries of the post colonial state contrast sharply with the fluid areas of socio-political and cultural integration that existed in the pre-colonial era.^{vi}

West Africa has seen the rise of empires and kingdoms of great size such as the Sokoto Caliphate, the Oyo Empire, the Benin Empire,^{vii} the Dahomey Kingdom, Songhai Empire and the ancient Kingdom of Accra. At the height of its power and expansion, it has been said that the Sokoto Caliphate was the largest political unit in the 19th century West Africa, made up of

fifteen major emirates, spread over 180,000 square mile, which required four months to cross from east to west and two months to cross from north to south.^{viii} A similar integrative outlook can be observed in the rise of the Songhai Empire. Taken together, these social units have demonstrated that even in the pre-colonial era, a semblance for the quest for West African integration could be discerned.^{ix} These facts and many more caused an author to conclude that the drive for integration in the twenty first century is akin to a search for one's roots.^x

During the colonial dispensation, the different colonial authorities focused on integrating their various colonies in order to exploit their respective comparative advantages. It has been argued that "the colonization of the African States during the 19th century can be regarded as the background to current historic and economic integration efforts in Africa".^{xi}

The advent of the late 1950s and the whole of the 1960s saw the end of colonialism and the granting of political independence to several West African States. Nationalism in this era took an essentially extra-national West African outlook as there was regional flavor to it.

At the fore of continental integration was the Pan Africanist, Kwame Nkrumah who had a vision of a politically United Africa, but however, failed to pursue it.^{xii} The first Nigerian prime minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa on the other hand, preferred an economic integration in the form of African common market which should be established based on certain sub-regional groupings. However, he was unable to jet start the framework for a durable regional grouping as he lacked insight and understanding about what a common market was.^{xiii}

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ECOWAS

With the failure of Nkrumah and Balewa to successfully concretize their ideas, regional groupings in West Africa was suspended until the advent of President William Tubman of Liberia who is credited with the idea of creating a West African economic community. This idea influenced the signing of an agreement between Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone in February, 1965 which however, was more of a formality than an actual call to action. General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria and General Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo re-introduced the idea, in April 1972. This initiative was against the back-drop of the end of the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970) and the plan of the Federal Government of Nigeria to establish a regional economic community, embracing all the states of West Africa: Anglophone, Francophone and Lusophone.

Eventually, on 28th May 1975, 15 West African countries met in Lagos, Nigeria to sign the ECOWAS treaty also known as Treaty of Lagos.^{xiv} The 15 countries were Nigeria, Ghana,

Benin Republic, Lome, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra-Leone and Togo. The ECOWAS treaty was intended to promote economic trade, national co-operation and monetary union for growth and development throughout West Africa.

The Treaty of Lagos however failed to accomplish its objectives. This failure and the need for concerted efforts and plans to realize the lofty goals, aims and aspirations of the ECOWAS regional body, necessitated the need to present a revised Treaty.

On the 24th of July, 1993, the revised Treaty was signed by members of ECOWAS which was signed by the members of ECOWAS now 16.^{xv} The revised Treaty intended to accelerate integration of economic policy and improve political cooperation, set out the goals of a common economic market, a single currency, the creation of a West African parliament, economic and social councils and a court of Justice.^{xvi}

ADMINISTRATION OF ECOWAS

ECOWAS administration is patterned after a model to achieve its policies and objectives. According to the revised Treaty, community and conventions, protocols, decisions and resolutions made in the 1975 treaty were to remain valid and enforced except for those that were inconsistent with the revised Treaty.^{xvii}

In order to achieve the goal of improving political cooperation, the revised Treaty established a West African parliament, an economic and social council and an ECOWAS court of Justice to replace the existing Tribunal and to enforce community decisions. It designated the responsibility of preventing and settling regional conflicts to the member States. At the ECOWAS summit of December 1999, the community agreed on a protocol for the establishment of a mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution, peace and security.

Although the governing bodies within ECOWAS have changed along the course of its existence, the revised Treaty lists eight institutions: the authority of Heads of State and government, the Council Ministers, the 115-member community parliament, the economic and social council, the community court of Justice, the executive secretariat, the fund for cooperation, compensation and development, and specialized technical commissions.

There is also a mutual defense protocol which creates a non-standing army deployed in the region as ECOMOG. It also serves as a peace keeping force in the region.^{xviii}

ECOWAS AND THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRATION

Before the formation of ECOWAS, there were several attempts at integration among the countries in the sub-region. Such attempts were however hindered by linguistic and colonial structures to the extent that there were no serious moves towards a comprehensive integrative system.

One of the earliest attempts at integrations among the French West African States was the establishment of Union Dovaniere Afrique Occidentale (UDAO). This did not last long due to the fact that Senegal was anxious to preserve her economic place in the French-Speaking West Africa and Cote d'Ivoire which was also eager to develop her trade and industry.

The UDAO was replaced by the Union Dovaniere des Etats de 'L' Afrique de I' Ouest (UDEAO) in June 1966. The member states which comprised of Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Burkina-Faso, Niger and Mauritania were to offer each other preferential treatment in economic relation.

Not long however, another organization was formed known as Communuate Economique de L' Afrique de F'ouest (CEAO) in 1973, when it became clear to member states that the union could not level their economic disparities or promote economic growth. The aim of this formation was to promote harmony and balance development of member-states economies in order to improve the living of standard of their citizens.

The English Speaking West African states, also in their attempt at integration established the West African Currency Board and the West African Airways. Members of the West African Board were Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria. This was however a colonial creation. Thus, upon independence, the member states withdrew from the board. This also applied to West African Airways. The attempt to resuscitate the Airways by Nigeria failed.

There are some other forms of economic unions in existence in the sub-region,^{xix} most of which are joint ventures between both the French speaking and English speaking countries of West African states. They include the Mano-River Authority composed of Sierra Leone and Liberia, the River Niger commission which consists of the riparian states (Nigeria, Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Cameroon and Chad), users of the River Niger.

There is also the free Exchange Zone among Guinea, Sierra-Leone, Cote d'Ivoire and Liberia. This union was however marred due to the political conflicts between Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire. The Lake Chad Basin Commission is another union having as its main objectives the maximization of the benefits of the Lake under a legal framework.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION

Onwuka^{xx} is of the opinion that economic integration is a complex phenomenon that results from integration and mutual strengthening of transnational trade and finance of inter-governmental and non-governmental international organizations and of transnational values and international law.

Integration relates to any process leading to the formation of political and economic whole or organized unit. The existing regions of the world showed that the purpose of integration exists when member States agree to surrender their individual legislative power to a supra-national planning authority.

Economic integration according to former president, General Ibrahim Babangida will lead to a bigger market for both primary and finished products. It will help spread the benefits of development so as to bring to a state of equilibrium, the disparities between the more developed and the less developed countries in the community.^{xxi}

Economic integration sometimes, leads to the political integration of the member states as the European Union (EU) heading to political integration exists when all the legislative authorities backing the integration are in themselves unified. It introduces citizenship, increase inter-governmental cooperation in economic and monetary affairs and establishes common Justice and home affairs.^{xxii} It has been observed that whatever the form or aim of integration, there is always an element of political integration in the sense that the integrating states would of necessity have to surrender aspects of their sovereignty for the purpose of achieving the objectives of integration.^{xxiii}

Abok^{xxiv} observes that the most successful political and economic integration today is the EU which has common monetary union, central bank, single currency, and parliament, court of Justice for the arbitration on certain aspect of member countries, unified foreign policies and other relevant institutions as well as maintaining diplomatic relations.

The bedrock of the integrating process is the presence of institutions and practices for the resolution of common social problems without resort to large scale physical violence. In this respect, the process of international economic integration is comparable to a federation whereby the component states in the federal set-up surrender aspect of their sovereignty to the centre for the good of all.^{xxv}

ADVANTAGES OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

The advantages of economic integration especially among developing countries are:

- i) Economic integrity or cooperation offers a viable strategy for accelerated economic development and structural transformation.
- ii) It supports industrialization process as projects otherwise beyond the competence of one member may be executed with the assistance and cooperation of others.
- iii) It embraces the expansion of trade.
- iv) It encourages multi-country venture.
- v) It can be a great stimulus to independence of action on the part of developing countries by strengthening their negotiating capability.
- vi) Through the establishment and extension of payments and credit arrangements, trade could be facilitated and balance of payments problems gradually resolved for the goals of integration to be achieved, the integrated organization must possess.^{xxvi}
 - a) monopoly over the legitimate use of means of violence (power of enforcement);
 - b) a centre of decision-making that is able to affect the allocation of resources and rewards throughout the community; and
 - c) a superior focus of political identification for the large majority of the political aware citizen.

Therefore, for there to be meaningful economic integration, there must exist a certain amount of solidarity among the cooperating (integrating) states to enable common institutions to be created, and functional power must be accorded to the common institutions to ensure compliance with norms of behavior and deter deficient behavior among members.^{xxvii}

INSURGENCY IN ECOWAS

Insurgency is a rebellion against authority (for example, an authority recognized as such by the United Nations) when those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligerents.^{xxviii}

It is a movement within a country dedicated to overthrowing the government.^{xxix} This concept refers to the act of disgruntled individuals or groups who would illegally take up arms against a state to bring it down. They agitate for self-rule as a result of marginalization, exclusion resulting in mass discontent, dissatisfied that their yearnings are not met. Hence, they resort to arm activities against the state. Their support or strength could be internal or external or both.

Insurgency is primarily characterized by continued asymmetric violence, the ambiguity of tactics, the use of complex terrain (jungles, mountains, and urban areas), psychological warfare, and political mobilization which are designed to protect the insurgents and eventually affect the balance of power in their favor. It may attempt to capture power and replace the existing government, or they may have more limited objectives such as separation, independence, or attention of a specific policy. They avoid battle places where they are weakest and focus on those areas where they can operate on more asymmetric advantages. They try to postpone decisive actions on the part of government by feigning negotiations, ceasefires with the aim of regroup, recruit and re-strategize to avoid defeat, sustain themselves, expand their support, and hope that, over time, the power balance changes in their favor.^{xxx}

Peace and security will continue to be the basis for sustainable development and thus considerable improvement in its architecture, design of policies, practices, processes, and implementation frameworks that would allow activities in the region to be conducted in a peaceful and secured atmosphere is paramount.^{xxxixxii}

Among the member states there have been series of crises which the ECOWAS have had to resolve since its formation. According to the ECOWAS annual report of 2005, the community has demonstrated a regional capacity in the area of conflict management. The ECOWAS leadership in 1999 adopted a “protocol on the mechanism for conflict preventing to help the region deal with the establishing conflict situations on a more comprehension and systematic basic ECOMOG was also instituted for this purpose. Some of the crises situations in ECOWAS are:

1. The Mano River Union Crisis: This union consisting of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone was established in 1973. Since 1990, sustained conflicts in the Mano River Basin has spread across borders and engulfed the region in a severe humanitarian crisis.^{xxxiii} Charles Taylor, a protégée of Libyan dictator, col. Mu’amma al-Qadhafi, seized power in Liberia, spreading terror throughout Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and Guinea.^{xxxiv} Ever since then, there has been one crisis or the other.

The Sierra Leone civil war (1991-2002) began on 23 March 1991 when the Revolutionary United front (RUF) with support from the special forces of Charles Taylor’s National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) intervened in Sierra Leone in an attempt to overthrow the Joseph Momoh government.^{xxxv}

2. The Ivorian Insurgency: The first Ivorian war was a conflict that occurred between 2002 and 2007.^{xxxvi} The second Ivorian war broke out in March 2011 when the crisis from Ivory Coast

escalated in full-scale military conflict between forces loyal to lament the president of Ivory Coast since 2000, supporter of the internationally recognized president elect Alassane Outtara.^{xxxvii}

3. Togo crisis: Togo experienced a long period of socio-political crisis from 1991 to 2007^{xxxviii}. Following the death of president Gnassingbe as the interim president in contravention of the Togo constitution.^{xxxix} Despite opposition counts showing they won 72 percent of the vote, Faure Gnassingbé was declared the winner of Togo's presidential election, advancing his bid to continue his family's 53-year rule.^{xl} The presidential opposition candidate Mr. Emmanuel Bob Akitani declared himself as the president elect³⁸.

4. Insurgency in Nigeria: In 1967-1970, Nigeria was engaged in a civil war between the Biafrans (Igbos who wanted to secede) and the rest of Nigerians. The worst insurgents Nigeria has ever faced up till now, is the Boko Haram sect.

Another area that affects the achievement of the protocol/treaty is in the area of security. Security is scarce and sensitive commodity. Nations have entered into security alliances because such states have realized or believed that they had inadequate resources to confront external aggressors. Take the case of Boko Haram in the north eastern state of Nigeria and even its capital Abuja.

On the 20th of May 2014, ECOWAS as a union resolved to tackle Boko Haram and its insurgency. ECOWAS has resolved to initiate necessary sections of its laws, including military, night guard to fight Boko Haram, ravaging parts of the sub-region especially northern Nigeria. Also, the Presidents of Cameroon and Chad who are not members' nations (ECOWAS) met on Thursday, the 27th May 2014 to map out strategy to combat the Boko Haram sect, which has extended its violence from Nigeria to its neighbors.^{xli}

Illegal immigrants were arrested in Warri, Delta State, Nigeria and environs on Monday 12th May 2014. The Nigerian Times learnt that the deportees, numbering between 145 and 150, were loaded into two Marcopolo buses owned by the State government, as early as five o'clock on the 14th of May, 2014. These persons were moved to the Katsina border where they were to find their way to their respective countries. This was one of the occasions when the Leader of the Boko Haram, Alhaji Abubakar Shekau, had vowed to commence massive attack on refineries in Nigeria and one of the oil rich refineries is located in the oil rich city, Warri. All the foreigners were from Chad, Niger and Mali. Apart from the fear of Boko Haram, there were serious apprehension in Delta State over the activities of persons suspected to be taken by herdsmen, who had attacked farmers; commuters and even the police in the state.^{xliii} Insecurity

slows development if not totally halting development and thereby reduces migrants from residing in the sub-region.

By 2002, Abubakar Shekau emerged as the *de facto* leader of Boko Haram group. Under his leadership, the group carried out massive attacks mainly on churches but later spread it to barracks, motor parks, police station, mosques, markets, schools and banks killing people.^{xliii} From 2009 onward, the group became more violent in its spate of attacks. It carried out insurgency operations aimed at replacing the structure of government with Islamic principles.^{xliv}

The Boko Haram fundamentalist Islamic group is the first insurgent organization to be classified as a terrorist organization by the USA and its allies.^{xlv} The African Heads of States and Government under the ECOWAS have risen in union to condemn the activities of Boko Haram in the north eastern part of Nigeria and have vowed to unite to end the insurgency.^{xlvi}

The activities of Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin have made the group to be listed among terrorist groups on the account of several violent attacks by the group which has largely affected both social and economic activities in the northeast region of Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin in general. Many residents have fled their homes while a lot more others could hardly go about their normal legitimate businesses with many residents fleeing their homes and abandoning their business thus leading to serious reduction in economic activities.^{xlvii}

As Okereocha asserted human capital and investors drain is hampering economic development in northeast region due to attacks on markets, banks and parks. Boko Haram activities have affected the economy of the Lake Chad Basin by destruction of properties, driving out direct foreign investments. Internally displaced persons are no longer able to engage in agricultural activities for some years in addition to destruction of the educational structures, *etcetera* in the conflict affected region. It was reported that investors are wary of coming to a place where their lives and investments are not safe, as a result of this, Nigeria has been on a steady decline in the global peace index.^{xlviii}

The activities of Boko Haram have affected the agricultural sector. If the activities of Boko Haram are not curtailed, it would be a matter of time for the entire region to be engulfed in looming famine on the heels of their activities. The activities of the terrorist group in the northeast region have also affected the cultural sector. For instance, Sambisa Game Reserve, Gwoza hills and the Sukur cultural landscape among other tourism sites have been looted and destroyed by the terrorist group.^{xlix}

Boko Haram has been an obstacle to development of education in the northeast. The attack on schools has made students afraid of going to schools and parents also afraid to send their children to school. The violent attack of the group on schools has caused the death of teachers, students as well as the destruction of many school buildings in the northeast. This has further worsened the literacy level in a region already battling with poor literacy rates and high out of school children records. Boko Haram is one of the greatest challenges of our times assuming human rights dimension. It has also posed a serious threat to economic prosperity, peace, human security and sub-regional security in the Lake Chad.¹

In order to achieve the objectives of ECOWAS especially as regard to peace and security, ECOMOG (Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group) was formed on the 7th of August, 1990 due to the outbreak of the civil war in Liberia. The ECOMOG's intervention in various member states helped to end the war. The Liberian civil war, Sierra Leone civil war all ended due to ECOMOG's effort. The body was however disbanded at the cessation of the war in these states.^{li}

Insurgency in West Africa remains one of the main challenges of the sub-region. There has been over the years, one conflict or the other in the community states. The recent one which has commanded the attention of the world today is the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. The ECOWAS, civil society groups and the international community^{lii} have taken measures to resolve and end violent conflicts in the sub-regions. Despite these efforts which have achieved some appreciable success, the cradle of peace and stability in the sub-region remains brittle and the possibility of resurgence of seemingly ending conflicts is high.

Ending war or conflicts especially in West Africa has been quite a challenge due to its complex multi-casual factors, multiple actors and the nature of the conflict, often contributing to prolonging the conflicts.^{liii} The causes include bad governance, corruption, poverty, human rights violation, ethnic marginalization.

Dunstan Wai commenting on the racial suspicion between black Africans and Arabs noted that “the absence of unifying elements between both “worlds” will continue to impede the growth of collaboration, unless specific measures are taken by the leaders to encourage understanding and mutual appreciation.^{liiv} The politicization of ethnic differences by African elites as they struggle for positions of power has not helped nation-building on the continent.

Some analysts foretold that the insurgency raging in the north east region would lead to

balkanization of the nation.^{lv}Nigeria's old Biafra problem has reared its head again and with it, the specter of disintegration. Minister of defense, Mohammed Ali, has warned that the current wave of pro-Biafra agitations in part of the south-east of the country may escalate and constitute threat to national unity.^{lvi}

Insurgency in any of ECOWAS member states may be an impediment to the realization of integration if not properly handled. According to a writer, "an attack on one is an attack on all and winning the fight against insurgency in Nigeria is winning a crucial fight against insecurity in the sub-region".^{lvii} When smaller entities like nation states cannot integrate to develop a feeling of oneness, it is difficult to see how the continent-wide integration is to be realized.

CONCLUSION

In order to fight the scourge of insurgency in ECOWAS and achieve the objective of integration, all the Heads of States in ECOWAS must look into the root causes of insurgency in the states and deal with it. Femi Falana^{lviii} stated that the predictions of disintegration of Nigeria will not come to pass due to the resolve of imperialism and its local lackeys to keep Nigeria together to facilitate the reckless exploitation of her abundant resources.

ENDNOTES

ⁱSee www.ecowas.int. accessed 15 May 2022..

ⁱⁱ Ablam Benjamin Akoutou, Rike Sohn, Matthias Vogl, Daniel Yeboah 'Introduction: WAI-ZEI Paper No. 17: Understanding Regional Integration in West Africa – A Multi-Thematic and Comparative Analysis' p.8/213

ⁱⁱⁱAbubakar M. Sambo 'ECOWAS: The Challenges Of Regional Integration' www.gamji.com/article8000/NEWS8443.html accessed 3 April 2022.

^{iv}<https://simplifiedupsc.in/ecowas/> accessed 6 March 2022.

^v See Rebecca Michel 'The Integration of West Africa' *UW-L Journal of Undergraduate Research* vii (2004).

^{vi}Stanislas Adoteri cited in the Integration of West Africa. *Ibid*.

^{vii}Webster J.B., Boahen A.A. and Idowu H.O. *In the Revolutionary years: West Africa since 1800* (Growth of Africa Civilization) Longman, London.1967.

^{viii}*Ibid*.

^{ix}*Ibid*.

^xReve Laveigne, 'Regional Integration and Co-operation in West Africa: A Multidimensional Perspective, DRC/ Africa', Word Press.1997, Ottawa cited in Rebecca Michel, *ibid*

^{xi}Reflection on Africa's Historic and current initiatives for Political and Economic unity" NISER www.allafrica.com/stores/primable/200203010736.Jtm/ accessed 19 April 2022.

^{xii}Asobie, H.A., In West Africa: The Nigerian Prospective. In the case of Nigeria: (the national seminar of Nigeria From 26-28 Feb. 2008 in Lagos) Karthaig, 2016, p.24.

^{xiii}*Ibid*.

^{xiv} Kayode Soromekun 'Nigeria's Quest for Regional Integration in West Africa' in Yomi Akinyeye (ed) *Nation-states and the Challenges of Regional Integration in West Africa: the case of Nigeria*.Karthala, 2010 p.41.

- ^{xv} Cape Verde joined in 1977.
- ^{xvi} Alistair Boddy-Evans, 'Economic Community of West African States ruled from www.africanhistory.about.com/od/Jossary/ECOWAS.html accessed 12 April 2022.
- ^{xvii} www.globaledge.msu.edu/trade-blocs/ecowas/history accessed 19 April 2022.
- ^{xviii} Article 3 (1) Revised Treaty of the Economic Community of West Africa State.
- ^{xix} Gasiokwu, M.O.U 'ECOWAS: Problems of Citizenship and Movement (with Basic Documents)' Enugu, Chenglo Ltd, 1998, p18.
- ^{xx} Onwuka R.I, 'Transnational cooperation Regional Integration' In Onwuka, R.I and Sesay, A. (eds). *The Future of Regionalism in Africa* London, Macmillian Ltd 1985.
- ^{xxi} Ajomo M.A and Adewale O. (eds) African Economic Community Treaty, Issues, Problems and Prospects. NIALS conference series No. 3. Lagos, 1993.
- ^{xxii} Charmely, P. 'A note on the Concept of Integration on Paths and on the Advantages of Integration' in Mihaly Samai and Katalin Garam(eds), *Economic Integration; Concept, Theories and Problems*. Budapest. Academai Kiado. 1977.
- ^{xxiii} Ajomo and Adewale.(ed) n.21.
- ^{xxiv} Abok, S.A, The West African Sub-Region, History and Limit of Collective Conflict Resolution. Research project submitted to National Research project submitted to National War college(NWC) Abuja 1995.
- ^{xxv} Ajomo and Adewale .(eds) n.21.
- ^{xxvi} *Ibid*. p44-45.
- ^{xxvii} *Ibid* p.3.
- ^{xxviii} <https://en.m.wikipedia>, the free encyclopedia accessed 6 March 2022.
- ^{xxix} <https://www.vocabulary.com/insurgency> accessed 9 June 2022.
- ^{xxx} Victor Akran, Lawrence Okechukwu Udeagbala 'Ecowas Regional Security Architecture for Counterterrorism and Counter Insurgency in West Africa: A Discussion of Case Studies and Challenges' [2022] 3(3) *KIU Journal of Humanities* p4/13.
- ^{xxxii} Essien Abel Essien 'A Record of Regional Integration in West Africa' *WAI-ZEI Paper No. 17: Understanding Regional Integration in West Africa – A Multi-Thematic and Comparative Analysis* p3/213.
- ^{xxxiii} <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world//war/mano-river.htm> accessed 12 January 2022.
- ^{xxxiv} *Ibid*.
- ^{xxxv} <https://www.helion.co.uk/conflicts/sierra-leone-civil-war.php> accessed 22 January 2022.
- ^{xxxvi} <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/first-ivorian-civil-war-2002-2007/> accessed 18 May 2022.
- ^{xxxvii} <http://www.pearltrees.com/markos2001/ivory-coast/id5395026> accessed 26 February 2022.
- ^{xxxviii} <https://www.education-in-crisis.net/country-profiles/africa/item/496-togo> accessed 19 March 2022.
- ^{xxxviii} ECOWAS Annual Report 2005
- ^{xxxix} *Ibid*.
- ^{xl} <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/togo-implausible-election-results/> accessed 2 January 2022.
- ^{xli} Africa Independent Television News 8pm 27th May 2014.
- ^{xlii} News247.com.ng. <http://www.news247.com.ng>.
- ^{xliiii} <https://egoboosterbooks.wordpress.com/2014//04/the-media-and-counterinsurgency-operations-investigating-the-impact-of-media-surveillance-on-boko-haram-terrorist-attacks-2009-2014> accessed 23 March 2022.
- ^{xliiv} *Ibid*.
- ^{xli v} www.CScanada.net/index.php/CSS/boko-haram-insurgency-in-Nigeria-and-the-counter-Terrorism-Policy-4259 accessed 17 April 2022.
- ^{xli vi} www.remikuti.com/media/14104/ECOWAS-leaders-condemn-Boko-Haram-Insurgency accessed 17 March 2022.
- ^{xli vii} Panle Dadur, Shittu Kassim Aliyu 'Boko Haram as a Threat to Security of Lake Chad Basin : The Impact of Multinational Joint Task Force Counter-Operations in the Fight against Boko Haram Insurgency' *Gusau International Journal of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University, Gusau, Vol.4 , No. 3, October, 2021* p14/23.
- ^{xli viii} Panle Dadur, Shittu Kassim Aliyu 'Boko Haram as a Threat to Security of Lake Chad Basin : The Impact of Multinational Joint Task Force Counter-Operations in the Fight against Boko Haram Insurgency' *Gusau International Journal of Management and Social Sciences, Federal University, Gusau, Vol.4 , No. 3, October, 2021* p14/23.
- ^{xli ix} *Ibid*.
- ^l *Ibid* p15/23.
- ^{li} www.africanhistory.about.com/od/glossary/g/ECOWAS.html accessed 7 March 2022.
- ^{lii} www.nta.ng/news/diplomacy/20150127-united-nations-support-nigeria-to-end-insurgency-in-the-country accessed 20 April 2022.

^{liii} www.ahrlj.up.ac.za/tableofcontents-2014/41-issues/volume-14-no-1-2014/437-insurgency-in-Nigeria-addressing-the-causes-as-part-of-the-solution accessed 23 February 2022.

^{liv} Ajomo M.A and Adewale (eds) n.21 p.70 citing Dunstai M.Wai, "African-Arab Relations: Interdependence or Misplaced Optimism? *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 21(2) 1983 p.172.

^{lv} www.vanguardngr.com/2015/11/pro-biafran-protests-may-destabilize-nigeria-defence-minister-warns accessed 5 June 2022.

^{lvi} [Blogs.cfr.org/Campbell/2016/02/02/nigerias-pro-biafran-agitation-a-mix-of-crisis-and-opportunity](https://blogs.cfr.org/Campbell/2016/02/02/nigerias-pro-biafran-agitation-a-mix-of-crisis-and-opportunity) accessed 16 May 2022.

^{lvii} www.channelstv.com/boko-haram-insurgency

^{lviii} Saharareporters.com/2014/11/19/insurgency-Nigeria-legal-challenge-FemiFalana

