



40 ECOWAS
YEARS OF (1975 - 2015)



Edited by
Ladi Hamalai
and
Mike Obadan

Editorial Assistant
Hakeem Mobolaji

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EDITORS

Ladi Hamalai
and
Mike Obadan

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT
Hakeem Mobolaji

ISBN: 978-978-52490-8-8

Acronyms

ACP-EU	Africa Caribbean Pacific - European Union
AEC	African Economic Community
AEC	African Economic Community
AfDB	African Development Bank
AGIR	Global Alliance for Resilience Initiative in the Sahel and West Africa
ALPC	D'armes Légères et de Petit Calibre
AML	Anti-Money Laundering AML
AML/CFT	Anti-Money Laundering and Counter Financing of Terrorist Financing
ANAD	Agreement on Non-Aggression and that of Assistance in Matters of Defense
AQMI	Al Qaeda in Islamist Maghreb
AQMI	Al Qaida au Maghreb Islamiste
ARIA	Assessing Regional Integration in Africa
ARTI	Acute Respiratory Tract Infections
ARVs	Anti -Retro Virals
ATT	Treaty on the Transfer of Arms
AU	African Union
BAD	African Bank of Development
BCEAO	Central Bank of West African States
BCP	Basle Core Principle
BOAD	Banque Ouest Africaine pour le Développement
BRVM	Bourse des Valeurs Mobilières
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme
CADEG	African Charter for Democracy and of Governance of African Union
CBM	Christoffel Blind en Mission
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CDP	Community Development Programme
CDP	Consortium for Development Partnerships
CEAO	Communauté des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
CEDEAO	Communauté Économique des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
CEMAC	Economic Community of Central African States
CEMAC	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
CER	Communauté Economique Régionale
CET	Common External Tariff
CFA	Communauté Financière d'Afrique
CFT	Counter-Financing of Terrorism
CIC	Community Investment Code
CJEU	Court of Justice of the European Union
CM	Common Market

CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
COFENABVI-AO	Confédération des Fédérations Nationales de la Filière Bétail
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPCC	Cadre de Prévention des conflits de la CEDEAO
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CPS-AU	Council for Peace and Security in the African Union
CREEE	Centre for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DAF	Department of Administration and Finance
DNFBPs	Designated Non-Financial Business and Professions
DPA	Department of Parliamentary Affairs
DTT	Digital Terrestrial Television
EAC	East African Community
EALA	East African Legislative Assembly
EBID	ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECCJ	ECOWAS Community Court of Justice
ECJ	European Court of Justice
ECO WAP	Regional Agricultural Policy for West Africa
ECOAGRIS	ECOWAS Regional Agricultural Information System
ECOMOF	ECOWAS Mining and Petroleum Forum
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAP	ECOWAS Common Agricultural Policy
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOWIP	Draft ECOWAS Investment Policy
ECREE	ECOWAS Centre for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency
ECREEE	The ECOWAS Centre for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency
ECT	Energy Charter Treaty
EEC	European Economic Community
EEC/EU	European Economic Community/ European Union
EEEP	ECOWAS Energy Efficiency Policy
EEG	Export Expansion Grant
EFCCD	ECOWAS Fund for Co-operation, Compensation and Development
E-Learning	Electronic Learning
EMCP	ECOWAS Monetary Cooperation Programme
EMSC	ECOWAS Mediation Standing Committee
EP	ECOWAS Parliament
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
ERDF	ECOWAS Regional Development Fund
ERDF	ECOWAS Regional Development Fund
EREP	ECOWAS Renewable Energy Policy
ERIB	ECOWAS Regional Investment Bank

ETLS	ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme
EU	European Union
FAA	African Armed Force
FAA	Force Armée Africaine
FAAC	Forces Armées Alliées de la Communauté
FAC	Force d'Attente de la CEDEAO
FAC	Waiting Force of ECOWAS
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FATF	Financial Action Task Force
FIUs	Financial Intelligence Units
FRCI	Forces Républicaines de Côte d'Ivoire
FSRB	Style Regional Body
FTA	Free Trade Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GEF-SPWA	Global Environment Facility Strategic Programme for West Africa
GIABA	Inter-governmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa
GIEPC	Gambia Investment and Export Promotion Agency
GIPC	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre
GSPC	Group Salafiste for the Predication and the Combat
GSPC	Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV/AIDS	HIV/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICP	Informed and Coordinated Purchasing
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action
ICT	Information, Communication Technology
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization on Migration,
IPU-IGAD	Inter-Parliamentary Union of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development
ISER	Integrated Epidemic Monitoring and Response
ISRT	Inter-State Road Transit
JBP	Joint Border Post
LCBC	Lake Chad Basin Commission
LDUs	Legislative Drafting Units
LPI	Linux Professional Institute
LURD	Liberians United Reconciliation and Democracy
MCP	Monetary Cooperation Programme

MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MEPs	Members of the European Parliaments
MICECI	Mission de la CEDEAO en Côte d'Ivoire
MICEMA	Mission of ECOWAS in Mali
MISMA	International Mission of support to Mali
ML/TF	Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing
MNLA	National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad
MONUL	United Nations Observation Mission
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MRU	Mano River Union
MSE	Menaces Sécuritaires Emergentes
NAC	National Approvals' Committee
NAIP	National Agricultural Investment Plan
NANTS	National Association of Nigerian Traders
NAPTIP	National Agency Against Trafficking of Persons
NEEAP	National Energy Efficiency Action Plans
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NHCS	National Health Care Systems
NILS	National Institute for Legislative Studies
NIPC	Nigeria Investment Promotion Commission
NPLs	Non-Performing Loans
NRA	National Revenue Authority
NRA	National Risk Assessment
NREPs	National Renewable Energy Policies
NSE	Nigeria Stock Exchange
NTBs	Non-Tariff Barriers
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OAU/AU	Organisation of African Unity/African Union
OCCGE	Organization for Coordination and Cooperation in the Fight against
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONUCI	Organisation des Nations Unies en Côte d'Ivoire
PACE	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
PAMD	Protocol of Mutual Assistance in Defense
PAP	Pan African Parliament
PCASED	Programme of Coordination and Assistance for Security and for Development
PEPs	Politically Exposed Persons
PHC	Primary Health Care Systems
PIDA	Programme of Infrastructure Development in Africa

PIDA	Programme of Infrastructure Development in Africa
PLWHIV	People Living with HIV
PNA	Protocol on Non-Aggression
PNA	Protocole de Non-Agression pour la Sécurité et le Développement
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PRIA	Regional Agricultural Investment Plan
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PTAs	Preferential Trade Agreements, PTAs
RBA	Risk-Based Approach
RBM	Roll Back Malaria
REC	Regional Economic Community
RECP	Renewable Energy Programme
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RFSA	Regional Food Security Reserve
RSP	Regional Strategic Plan
RTGS	Real- Time Gross Settlement
SADC	Southern African Development Authority
SADC-PF	SADC Parliamentary Forum
SEDL	Southwest Educational Development Laboratory
SENSAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
SLIEPA	Sierra Leone Investment and Export Promotion Act
SPCC	Spill Prevention, Control, and Countermeasure
SSA	Sub-Saharan African
SSI	Sight Savers International
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
STRs	Suspicious Transaction Reports
TANA	Needs Assessment on Technical Assistance
UEMOA	West African Monetary Union
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNOWA	United Nations Office for West Africa
USAID	United States International Agency for Development
VAT	Value Added Tax
WAAC	West African Airways Corporation
WACB	West African Central Bank
WACB	West African Currency Board
WAEC	West African Examinations Council
WAHC	West African Health Community
WAHO	West African Health Organisation

WAMA	West African Monetary Agency
WAMI	West African Monetary Institute
WAMZ	West African Monetary Zone
WANEP	West African Network for Peace Building
WAPP	West African Power Pool
WCO	World Customs Organization
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Contents

Acronyms	iii
List of Tables	xvii
List of Figures	xviii
List of Boxes	xix
List of Annexes	xx
Foreword	xx
Acknowledgement	xxiv

Section A: Establishment Instruments for Ecowas.....1

Chapter One	2
Introduction	2
1.1 Preamble	2
1.2 Evolution of Ecowas	3
1.3 Overview of Ecowas Programmes And Performance	5
1.4 Significance of The Book	9
1.5 Overview of The Chapters	9
Chapter Two	20
Establishment Instruments of Ecowas	20
2.1 Introduction	20
2.2 Conceptual Clarification of Key Terms	22
2.2.1 Clarifying Regional Economic Integration	22
2.2.2 Meaning of Economic integration	22
2.2.3 Nature of Harmonization of Laws	23
2.3 Nature And Scope of The Legal Regime Establishing Ecowas For Regional Economic Integration	24
2.3.1 Establishment Treaties	24
2.3.2 Community Conventions and Protocols	27
2.3.3 New legal regime and legislative Power of the Community	27
2.4 Successes In the Implementation and Progressive Realization of The Aims and Objectives of The Ecowas Establishment Instruments	29
2.4.1 The Four Phases of Economic Integration	30
2.4.2 Harmonization of Laws and Policies	33
2.5 Human Rights Protection as a Principal Rationale for Regional Integration in Ecowas	34
2.5.1 Human Rights as Fundamental Principles of ECOWAS	34
2.5.2 Human Rights as State obligations in ECOWAS	36
2.6 Conclusion and Way Forward	36
Section B: Ecowas Institutions	46

Chapter Three	46
The Role of The Ecowas Commission	46
3.1 Introduction	46
3.2 Evolution of The Ecowas Commission	49
3.3 Orientation of The Ecowas Commission	51
3.4 Evolving Objectives of The Ecowas Commission	54
3.5 The Ecowas Commission and Vision 2020.....	55
3.6 Summary and Conclusion	60
Chapter Four	79
Role of Ecowas Parliament in Ecowas.....	79
4.1 Introduction	79
4.2 Ecowas	80
4.3 The Ecowas Parliament	83
4.3.1 Structure of the Parliament.....	84
4.3.2 Competence of Parliament	85
4.3.3 Activities of the First Legislature	86
4.3.4 Modalities for Referrals	87
4.3.5 Activities of the Second Legislature	89
4.3.6 Activities of the Third Legislature	93
4.3.7 The Role of the ECOWAS Parliament in ECOWAS.....	96
4.3.8 Challenges of the Parliament.....	98
4.4 Conclusion.....	99
Chapter Five	101
Examining the Dynamics of Processes of The Enhancement of Powers of The Ecowas Parliament	102
5.1 Introduction/Background	102
5.2 The Ecowas Parliament	105
5.3 The State of the Literature on Regional Parliaments and Their Powers	107
5.3.1 The East African Legislative Assembly	108
5.3.2 The European Parliament	111
5.4 Enhanced Legislative Powers for the Ecowas Parliament: Framework, The Challenges, Strategies and Implications	114
5.4.1 Perspectives of Key Stakeholders	121
5.4.2 Key Challenges	128
5.5 Conclusions, Strategies and Next Steps	132
Chapter Six	136
The Role Of West African Health Organizations	136
6.1 Introduction	136
6.2 Structure And Competence of Parliament.....	139
6.2.1 Structure of Parliament.....	139
6.2.2 Competence of Parliament	141

6.3	Capacity For Legislative And Parliamentary Work	145
6.3.1	Human Resources Capacity	145
6.3.2	Infrastructure and Facilities.....	150
6.3.3	Financial Resources.....	152
6.4	Operational Activities and Effectiveness	157
6.5	The Committees	157
6.5.1	Strategic Planning Framework	158
6.5.2	Activities of Parliament and Impact.....	164
6.5.3	Effectiveness of Support Services.....	166
6.5.4	Visibility of ECOWAS Parliament in the Sub-Region	167
6.5.5	Challenges to Parliament’s Performance	167
6.6	Conclusions And Recommendations	169
6.6.1	Conclusions	169
6.6.2	Recommendations	173
	Chapter Seven	183
	The Role Of The Ecowas Community Court of Justice.....	
	In The Integration of West Africa: Small Strides In The Wrong Direction?	183
7.1	Introduction	183
7.2	Not All That Glitters: Replicating Institutional Design But Not The Results	185
7.2.1	ECOWAS – A search for collective economic development in West Africa	186
7.2.2	The First Decade of The Eccj: Designed To Fail Or Failure of Design?.....	189
7.3	Reinventing relevance: A new role in a different path?.....	192
7.4	That Gap Between Failed Dreams and Inflated Expectations.....	196
7.4.1	The methods, results and consequences of the ECJ’s enhanced role.....	197
7.4.2	The approach of the ECCJ- More human rights, less economic integration.....	198
7.5	Conclusion.....	203
	Chapter Eight	207
	The Inter-Governmental Action Group Against Money	
	Laundering In West Africa (Giaba).....	207
8.1	Introduction	207
8.2	Mission, Functions And Organisation Of Giaba	208
8.2.1	Mission	209
8.2.2	Functions	209
8.2.3	Organisation	210
8.3	Regional Response to Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing	210
8.4	Achievements	213
8.5	Challenges	216
8.6	Looking Ahead/Conclusion.....	220
8.6.1	Looking Ahead.....	220
8.6.2	Conclusion.....	221
	Chapter Nine	223

The Role Of West African Health Organizations	223
9.1 Introduction	223
9.2 Waho Missions And Structures	224
9.2.1 Missions	225
9.2.2 WAHO's Structural Organization	226
9.3 Evaluation of Waho's Programmes and Actions	228
9.3.1 Primary Health Care and Disease Control	229
9.3.2 Human Resource Development and Research and Health Information Systems	233
9.4 Challenges and the Way Forward for Waho	235
9.4.1 Major defects of the WAHO Health Care System	235
9.4.2 Strengthening health cooperation among member countries and the need for a global approach to regional security threats	238
9.5 Conclusion	242
Section C: Ecowas Protocols, Programmes And Initiatives	245
Chapter Ten	246
An Assessment of The Ecowas Protocol on Free Movement	246
10.1 Introduction	246
10.2 Migration	246
10.3 The Economic Community Of West African States (Ecowas)	249
10.4 The Ecowas Treaty And Free Movement Protocol	252
10.5 The Free Movement Protocol Regime	254
10.6 The Ecowas Free Movement Implementation Status Ecowas has Made Giant Stride In Implementing The Three Phases as Highlighted In Tables 10.1 And 10.2	255
10.7 Challenges To The Ecowas Free Movement Protocol	257
Chapter Eleven	265
An Assessment Of Implementation of The Ecowas Protocol on Trade Liberalisation Scheme (Etls)	265
11.1 Introduction	265
11.2 Overview of Developments in The Protocol	266
11.2.1 The Groupings of Product	266
11.2.2 Method of Defining Originating Products	267
11.3 Level of Implementation Of The Protocol By Member Countries	269
11.3.1 Implementation in Selected ECOWAS Member States	269
11.3.2 ELTS Compliance Level: Focus on WAMZ Countries	271
11.4 Obstacles to full compliance	275
11.4.1 Public sector perspective of the challenges	276
11.4.2 Private sector perspective of the challenges	276
11.5 Strategies For Deepening Trade Integration in the Community with a View to Enhancing Improved Compliance	279
11.5.1 Role of the legislature	281

11.6	Conclusion.....	282
	Chapter Twelve	288
	An Assessment Of Monetary Integration In Ecowas	288
12.1	Introduction	288
12.2	Forms of Monetary Integration	289
12.3	The Monetary Integration Roadmap	290
12.3.1	Institutional framework for monetary integration in ECOWAS.....	290
12.3.2	Actualizing the Road Map	292
12.4	Appraisal And Analysis of Challenges and Opportuinites of Monetary Integration Programmes.....	296
12.4.1	An Appraisal of the Monetary Integration Programme	296
12.4.2	Some notable achievements of ECOWAS Monetary Integration programmes....	301
12.4.3	Challenges Facing Monetary Integration.....	301
12.5	Recommendations and Conclusion	302
	Chapter Thirteen	306
	An Assessment Of The Peace And Security Initiative Of The Ecowas	306
13.1	Introduction	307
13.2	Legal Framework: A Sure Security Engagement.....	308
13.3	The Working Mechanisms	314
13.3.1	The experiences of ECOMOG.....	314
13.3.2	ECOWAS Mechanism Of Conflicts Management	316
13.4	Challenges And Perspectives.....	318
13.4.1	The Political and Financial Difficulties	318
13.4.2	The unfortunate interference of foreign powers	319
13.5	The Applicable Therapy.....	320
13.5.1	A Rigorous Application Of The Texts.....	320
13.5.2	The crucial role of prevention.....	321
13.6	Conclusion.....	323
	Chapter Fourteen	327
	An Assessment of The Ecowas Initiative on Democracy and Good Governance	327
14.2	Shifting From “Soft Law” To Mandatory Law	328
14.2.1	1993 Revised Treaty and 1999 Protocol.....	329
14.2.2	Good governance standards	331
14.3	Mechanisms For The Implementation Of Vario Realization of The Aims And us Instruments	334
14.3.1	Flexible mechanism	334
14.3.2	A Binding Mechanism	336
14.4	Challenges And Outlook	337
14.4.1	Challenges of all the initiatives.....	337
14.4.2	Outlook	340

14.5	Conclusion.....	341
	Chapter Fifteen.....	344
	Ecowas Energy And Natural Resources Management:	
	Law And Policies	344
15.1	Introduction	344
15.2	Conceptual Clarification	345
15.2.1	Energy and natural resources	345
15.2.2	Law and Policies	348
15.3	Prospects And Challenges of Managing Ecowas Energy and Natural Resources.....	350
15.4	ECOWAS Law And Policies For Managing Energy and Natural Resources.....	352
15.4.1	ECOWAS Revised Treaty	352
15.4.2	ECOWAS Energy Protocol.....	353
15.4.3	ECOWAS Vision 2020	354
15.4.4	ECOWAS White Paper for a Regional Policy (January, 2006).....	355
15.4.5	ECOWAS Renewable Energy Policy (EREP).....	355
15.4.6	ECOWAS Energy Efficiency Policy 2013	356
15.4.7	ECOWAS Environmental Policy 2008.....	357
15.5	Implementating Ecowas Law and Policies Regulating Energy and Natural Resources Management	358
15.6	Recommendations And Conclusion	360
	Chapter Sixteen	366
	Evaluation Of The Ecowas Policy On Political Integration.....	366
16.1	Introduction	366
16.2	The Ecowas: A Sub Regional Integration Process On Course.....	367
16.2.1	An improved institutional architecture in the course of time	367
16.2.2	The development of a normative law.....	373
16.3	Advances And Challenges of Regional Integration In West Africa	376
16.3.1	Significant progress made by ECOWAS.....	376
16.3.2	Obstacles To Ecowas Integration Policy	381
16.3.3	The Challenges Facing Ecowas	385
16.4	Conclusion.....	388
	Section D: Future Perspectives On Ecowas	389
	Chapter Seventeen.....	390
	Understanding The Ecowas Vision 2020	390
17.1	Introduction	390
17.2	Changing Context of ECOWAS	392
17.2.1	What is ECOWAS context?.....	393
17.2.2	Geographical and Demographical Context.....	394

17.2.3	Socio-economic developments	395
17.2.4	Political Developments	401
17.2.5	Economic and Monetary Integration	403
17.2.6	Cross-Cutting Issues	406
17.2.7	Institutional Developments	407
17.3	The Ecowas Transformational Vision.....	409
17.3.1	Rationale	409
17.3.2	ECOWAS Vision 2020.....	411
17.3.3	Building Blocs of the Vision.....	414
17.4	Performance Assessment And Challenges	415
17.4.1	Performance Assessment	415
17.4.2	Challenges.....	415
17.5	Concluding Remarks	419
	Chapter Eighteen	421
	Legislative Drafting Office as a Tool For Regional Integration: A Comparative Study Of The Ecowas And Eu.....	421
18.1	Introduction/Background	422
18.2	Statement Of The Problem(S)-The Need For A Legislative Drafting Office In Ecowas And Eu	425
18.3	Arguments In Favour Of Establishing A Legislative Drafting Office As A Tool For Facilitating Regional Integration In Ecowas And The Eu.....	434
18.4	Harmonisation Of Legal Practice As An Objective And Strategy For Achieving Regional Integration	435
18.5	A Drafting Office Is Necessary To Produce A Legislative Drafting Manual Which is a Tool For Harmonisation.....	436
18.5.1	Drafting Office as “ a Mechanism to keep Legislative Drafting manual under review”	438
18.5.2	Empirical evidence that establishment of a Legislative Drafting Office improves the quality of Legislation	439
18.5.3	The definition of legislative drafting implies the requirement for a Legislative Drafting Office, A Modern Prevalent Trend and Best Practice.....	440
18.6	Definition Of Legislative Drafting	440
18.7	Conclusion.....	443
	Chapter Nineteen	451
19.1	Overview	451
19.2	Challenges /Constraints Facing Ecowas	453
19.3	Conclusions On Some Specific Issues	455
	ANNEXES	463
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	683

INDEX.....769

List of Tables

S/N	Description	Page
Table 5.1	Chronology of the Evolvement of the EP	138
Table 5.2	Overview of Democracy in select Regional Parliaments	144
Table 6.1(a)	Mandatory Referrals to the ECOWAS Parliament under the Supplementary Act	171
Table 6.1(b)	Non mandatory Referrals to the ECOWAS Parliament	172
Table 6.2	Training/Capacity Building Programmes desired by the Members of Parliament	174
Table 6.3	Staffing Position in the Divisions/Units	176
Table 6.4	Infrastructure Constraints and Needs of some Divisions	178
Table 6.5	Budgeted Revenue and Expenditure of the Third legislature, 2011-2015	180
Table 6.6	Community Levy, 2010 - 2014	181
Table 6.7	Structure of Parliament's Budget Expenditure (Percent)	182
Table 6.8	Parliament's Activities adversely affected by inadequate Funding	183
Table 6.9	Objectives of the ECOWAS Parliament	187
Table 6.10	Familiarity of Members with the Vision, Goals and Transitional Mandate of ECOWAS	188
Table 6.11	Implementation of Activities in the Action Plan, August 2011 – August 2015	190
Table 6.12	Summary of Sessions and Resolutions of the ECOWAS Parliament, 2000-2014	191
Table 8.1	Compliance of Member States with FATF 40 + 9 Recommendations	245
Table 8.2	Compliance with AML/CFT Measures	246
Table 10.1	Implemented Projects on Free Movement	285
Table 10.2	Implementing the Free Movement Protocol (Work in Progress)	285
Table 10.3	Overview of Major Impediments to ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol	289
Table 12.1	Roadmap for Monetary Integration in West Africa	321
Table 12.2	Monetary Programme Convergence Criteria	323
Table 12.3	Performance on the Convergence Criteria	327

List of Figures

S/N	Description	Page
Fig. 4.1	Stages of Economic Integration	106
Fig. 4.2	Structure of the Parliament	111
Fig. 4.3	Competence of the Parliament	112
Fig. 4.4	The Referral Process where the Parliament is the Initiator	114
Fig. 4.5	The Referral Process where the Institutions are the Initiator	115
Fig. 5.1	Select Regional Parliaments' Empowerment over time	141
Fig. 5.2	Co-Decision in the European Parliament	147
Fig. 5.3	Lawmaking, Oversight and Power of Approval of Appointees	149
Fig. 5.4	Priority Areas of focus for enhancement powers of parliament	150
Fig. 5.5	Additional proposals for the enhancement powers of ECOWAS parliament	153
Fig. 10.1	The Protocol Implementation on Phases	283
Fig. 10.2	Decisions and Protocols on ECOWAS Free Movement	284
Fig. 10.3	Achievements since 1979	286
Fig. 11.1	ETLS Implementation level in selected Member States	300
Fig. 11.2	Existing levels of Intraregional trade (%)	305
Fig. 17.1	Access to Electricity (% of Population)	424
Fig. 17.2	Out-of-school children of primary school age, both sexes (number)	425
Fig. 17.3	Human Development Index (HDI) for West Africa: 2010-2013	426
Fig. 17.4	Life Expectancy at Birth (Years)	427
Fig. 17.5	Prevalence of Undernourished in Total Population (%)	428
Fig. 17.6	No. of Health Personnel (per 100,000)	429
Fig. 17.7	ECOWAS Real GDP Growth Rates	430
Fig. 17.8	Inflation rate (%)	431

List of Boxes

S/N	Description	Page
Box 6.1	Distribution of Seats in the ECOWAS Parliament	164
Box 6.2	The Standing Committees of the ECOWAS Parliament	167
Box 6.3	Areas of Competence of ECOWAS Parliament under the Current Mandate	169
Box 11.1	ECOWAS Rules of Origin	298
Box 11.2	Summary of Complaints by Member States on ETLS	307

List of Annexes

S/N	Description	Page No.
Appendix 1	1975 Treaty of ECOWAS No. 14843	496
Appendix 2	1993 Revised Treaty of ECOWAS (English Text – <i>Texte Anglais</i>)	524
Appendix 3	2006 Treaty of ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol Aisp.1/06/06 Amending the Revised ECOWAS Treaty the High Contracting Parties	565
Appendix 4	ECOWAS Parliament - Protocols Decisions and Regulation (2006) Economic Community of West African States	574
Appendix 5	Enhancement Of ECOWAS Parliament	600
Appendix 6	Chapter 6 in French - le Role des Organisation Ouest Africaines de la Sante	630
Appendix 7	Chapter 10 in French - Evaluation de la Politique de la Cedeao En Matiere de Paix et de Securite	658
Appendix 8	Chapter 11 in French - Evaluation des Initiatives de la Cedeao en Matiere de Democratie et de Bonne Gouvernance	688
Appendix 9	Chapter 13 in French - Evaluation de la Politique D'integration de la Cedeao	714

FOREWORD

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has maintained a laudable objective since it was formed by leaders of West African countries on 28 May, 1975. The aim of the Community remains the promotion of cooperation and integration “leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its people and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among member states and contribute to the progress and development of the African continent.”

In view of the instability and conflicts in the sub-region, ECOWAS has added a political dimension to its functions, namely, prevention and settling of regional conflicts. Its achievements in this area have been very visible since the past two decades. To achieve its objectives, it has developed appropriate structures, created institutions, and formulated policies and programmes. The latter have been implemented in various degrees in the quest to accelerate growth and development in the sub-region. The impact of the Community, after forty years of existence, on the peoples of the sub-region is definitely of significant interest. In light of this, the National Institute for Legislative Studies (NILS), a foremost research and training institution of the National Assembly, decided to conduct research into the operations and performance of ECOWAS as part of activities to mark forty years of its existence on May 28, 2015. This book is the result of the research efforts. The publication also aligns with one of the mandates of the Institute which is to strengthen democratic processes, structures and institutions.

Very illuminating insights are provided by the book into the Organisation’s programmes, achievements, challenges and prospects. The book is, accordingly, of notable policy relevance. From the findings, it is clear that ECOWAS has made moderate progress on the accomplishment of its objectives. But the achievements could have been more substantial if the Heads of State and Government of the Community had the political will to implement agreed decisions, protocols and programmes. This issue of weak political will straddles nearly all the programmes of the Community as a militating factor. Therefore, if the goals of the Community are to be realized in a significant way, the political leaders must muster the will to implement agreed protocols and programmes. The States must also be willing to cede part of their sovereignty to ECOWAS as a supra-national regional body seeking to promote integration and development of the sub-region. A substantial transfer of sovereignty to the Community will enable it to truly achieve regional integration by giving priority to the Community interest. The fact that the numerous attempts at formal regional integration have not resulted in significant results and impact is due, in part, to the reluctance of Member States to agree on how best to maintain their sovereignty within the organization. This issue will need to be adequately addressed in favour of ECOWAS.

The book is structured into four sections and nineteen chapters contributed by accomplished researchers and policy makers. The issues addressed are of significant

policy relevance to the ECOWAS institutions and other stakeholders. Of particular interest to me as the Speaker of the ECOWAS Parliament, that is, the Community Parliament, are the chapters on the activities of the Parliament and its quest to enhance its powers. The latter has been a major item on the Agenda of the Third Legislature. It is gladdening that under my leadership, significant progress has been made in that direction with the adoption, on December 14, 2014, of the Supplementary Act on the Enhancement of the Powers of the ECOWAS Parliament by the Authority of heads of State and Government. This book draws attention to the implications of the enhancement and makes recommendations on required immediate actions after the Act would have been signed. The leadership of ECOWAS Parliament will also find useful, other recommendations relating to strengthening of the Parliament in order to appropriately respond to the challenges of its enhanced status.

The ECOWAS Commission and the other institutions of the Community, and other stakeholders should also be able to benefit from the findings documented in this book, especially those relating to the following, among others:

- The Monetary Cooperation Programme, especially the issues surrounding the non-realisation of the single currency objective;
- Free Movement of Persons and Goods Programme;
- Initiatives on Peace and Security;
- Initiatives on Democracy and Good Governance;
- ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme;
- Institutions such as the West African Health Organisation and ECOWAS Community Court of Justice; and
- ECOWAS Vision 2020 which seeks to transform ECOWAS from an “ECOWAS of States” to an “ECOWAS of Peoples.”

If ECOWAS had not achieved substantial progress in terms of having substantial impact on the living conditions of the citizens of the Community, it is because it had been confronted with several challenges, and these are documented in the book. These need to be adequately appreciated and addressed by the Community leaders to provide a basis for ECOWAS to do more and achieve more on the economic integration and development objectives.

The style of writing the book is such that will elicit the interest of different categories of readers. Chapter 1 is introductory and provides an overview of ECOWAS programmes and performance while the concluding chapter highlights key conclusions from earlier chapters along with the challenges that have posed threats to the economic integration efforts. A reading of the two chapters will give the reader highlights of the findings, major conclusions and recommendations.

I, therefore, recommend the book to the Community stakeholders, parliamentarians, policy makers, academic researchers and others who take keen interest in economic integration issues. They will find the book to be of significant interest and relevance.

Senator (Dr) Ike Ekweremadu, CFR

Deputy Senate President, Nigerian National Assembly and Speaker, ECOWAS
Parliament

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Institute acknowledges the efforts of all the authors. In particular, it commends Dr. Tonye Clinton Jaja for overseeing this publication from inception till completion. It equally appreciates the efforts of the Project Coordination Team headed by Dr. Hakeem Mobolaji and Dr. Kabeeer Garba of ECOWAS Parliament. In addition, the Institute appreciates the efforts of Dr. Jake Dan-Azumi for providing technical support and indexing this book and Mr. Lekan Olagunju for carefully editing, proofreading and copyediting the entire manuscripts. The Institute equally acknowledges the contributions of all the scholars from West Africa especially the Francophone Countries. Sincere appreciation to Alfred Tokunbo Aduloju for providing logistical support and ensuring timely publication of this book. Finally, the input of everyone who has, in one way or the other, contributed to the publication of this book and particularly Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung West Africa Regional Office, is highly commended. African Capacity Building Foundation funded some of the research input and the printing of this Book.



SECTION A: ESTABLISHMENT INSTRUMENTS FOR ECOWAS

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

MIKE I. OBADAN, Ph.D, fnes, fssan, fime
*In-house Consultant, NILS & Chairman
Foundation for Education and Development
Benin City, Nigeria*

1.1 PREAMBLE

In West Africa, regional cooperation and integration initiatives pre-dated the post-independence era. The regional cooperation initiatives of the colonial period were driven by the need for the colonial powers to facilitate exchange between the colonies and the industrial countries of Europe. To this end, notable region-wide schemes featured such as the West African Currency Board (WACB) and West African Airways Corporation (WAAC) in the Anglophone (English speaking) colonies of Nigeria, Ghana, The Gambia and Sierra Leone. WACB issued the legal tender for the four countries to facilitate trade transactions while WAAC facilitated air transportation. Also, the West African Examinations Council (WAEC) conducted a common examination for university admission in the four colonies. France created a monetary union with the Francophone colonial territories. In this scheme, the CFA franc which is linked to the French franc served as the monetary unit of account and it has subsisted till date. But most of the institutions/instruments of integration collapsed in Anglophone West Africa in the post-independence period. During this period, African leaders, perceiving regional economic cooperation and integration as a veritable instrument for faster, all-encompassing and least-cost way to achieve rapid economic and social development, made attempts to form regional integration blocs or groups. In West Africa, such efforts of West African political leaders of 16 countries bore fruit in the mid-1970s with the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). As at today, ECOWAS is the most populous regional economic community in Africa. It is the umbrella regional economic grouping in West Africa with groupings such as the Mano River Union and UEMOA being sub-sets.

May 28, 2015 marked the 40 anniversary of the formation of ECOWAS. The National Institute for Legislative Studies, having considered the event as significant, commemorated it with the publication of this book which examines aspects of the operations and performance of ECOWAS over the forty-year-period.

1.2 EVOLUTION OF ECOWAS

ECOWAS was set up on 28th May, 1975 and comprised 16 member-states which signed the enabling Treaty (Treaty of Lagos), namely: Benin, Cape Verde, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. Mauritania, however, withdrew its membership in 2001, thus leaving 15 countries as the current member states. Article 2 of the Treaty defined the aim of ECOWAS as "to promote co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity, particularly in the field of industry, transport and communications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions in all social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its peoples, increasing and maintaining economic stability, fostering closer relations among its members, and of contributing to the progress and development of the African continent". To this end, the aspiration is to have established a West African Common Market and a Monetary Union.

In 1993, the 1975 Treaty was revised to accelerate the process of regional integration. The revised Treaty (signed on 24th July, 1993) re-affirmed the 1975 Treaty and re-stated the aim of the Community as promoting cooperation and integration "leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its people and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among member states and contribute to the progress and development of the African continent". The revised Treaty extended economic and political co-operation among member states and designated the achievement of a common market and a single currency as economic objectives. On the political front, the Treaty formally assigned the Community with the responsibility of preventing and settling regional conflicts.

Furthermore, ECOWAS member states decided that the organisation would, over time, become the sole economic community in the region with a view to economic integration and the realization of the objectives of the African Union (AU). In line with this, in May 2002, the ECOWAS Conference of Heads of State and Government adopted a Declaration and Plan of Action for the Implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and designated ECOWAS as the coordinating and monitoring body for the implementation of the Programme in West Africa. ECOWAS, therefore assumed the role of the regional

community responsible for making NEPAD operational in West Africa. So far, it has internalized the NEPAD programme.

In order to facilitate cooperation, coordination, harmonization and integration, several institutions have, over time, been created or provided for to be created in the protocols.

Among these are the following:

- The Conference/Authority of Heads of State and Government
- The Council of Ministers
- The Executive Secretariat (the Commission from 2006)
- The Community Parliament
- The Community Court of Justice
- The Economic and Social Council (yet to be created)
- The West African Health Organisation (WAHO)
- ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID)
- ECOWAS Regional Development Fund (ERDF)
- ECOWAS Regional Investment Bank (ERIB)
- West African Monetary Agency (WAMA)
- West African Monetary Institute (WAMI)
- Specialized Technical Commissions

Many of the above institutions were the products of the 1993 revised Treaty.

For ECOWAS, as an organisation, to play a more effective role in the integration and development of the sub-region within the global economic environment, the ECOWAS Authorities have, over the years, operated the strategy of reviewing and modifying the mandate and structure of the Community Institutions. One of such reforms was the transformation of the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat into a Commission. At its Summit in Niamey on 12th January, 2006, the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of States and Government decided to transform the ECOWAS Secretariat into a nine-member Commission, headed by a President to be assisted by a Vice-President and seven sectoral commissioners. The objectives of the transformation are to enhance the supranational capacity that would enable it function in an optimal manner and make the institutions more efficient with a view to enabling them fully play their role in the integration and development process of the region and to better adapt to the international environment. The initial restructuring is reflected in seven Directorates as follows with a Commissioner in charge of each Directorate:

- Administration and Finance with four departments: General Administration; Human Resources; Conference services; and Finance.
- Agriculture, Environment and Water Resources, with two departments: Agriculture and Rural Development; and Environment and Water Resources.

- Human Development and Gender, with three departments: Education, Science and Technology; Gender, Youths, Sports and Culture; and Humanitarian and Social Affairs.
- Infrastructure, with three departments: Transport and Telecommunications;
- Industry; and Energy.
- Macroeconomic Policies, with three departments: Multilateral Surveillance;
- Research and Statistics; and Private Sector.
- Political Affairs, Peace and Security, with three departments: Political Affairs;
- Observation Centre; and Peace Support Operations and Regional Security.
- Trade, Customs and Free Movement of Persons with three departments: Trade and Customs; Free Movement of Persons and Tourism; and Industry and Mines.

The ECOWAS Commission effectively took off on Thursday, 1st February, 2007, with the assumption of duty of the Vice President and six Commissioners. Later, further restructuring was effected such that the directorates are now referred to as Departments. Against the backdrop of the need to enhance the effectiveness of the integration process and improve the development outcomes in the sub-region, the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Government, in 2007, introduced a transformational ECOWAS Vision 2020. The Vision seeks to transform ECOWAS from the current “ECOWAS of States” to an “ECOWAS of People”. The vision statement is as follows: “to create a borderless, peaceful, prosperous and cohesive ECOWAS sub-region built on good governance where all the people have the capacity to access and harness the region’s abundant resources through the creation of equal opportunities for sustainable development and environmental preservation”. This entails the transformation of ECOWAS into a single economic space in which its people transact business and live in dignity and peace under the rule of law and good governance, have access to the abundant resources of the sub-region, and are able to exploit them through the creation of opportunities under a sustainable environment. The achievement of the vision is hinged on five building blocs: regional resource development, peace and security, governance, economic and monetary integration, and private sector growth. The Vision 2020 Plan is the current framework for the integration activities of the Community.

1.3 OVERVIEW OF ECOWAS PROGRAMMES AND PERFORMANCE

Over the years, ECOWAS has evolved as the umbrella organisation for sub-regional cooperation, integration and development in West Africa. To this end, several programmes have been formulated and implemented or are still being implemented, reflecting the priorities of poverty reduction, consolidation of peace and security, food security, infrastructure development, trade capacity enhancement, and market integration. Some of the key programmes are as follows:

- i. Free movement of persons: A major programme of ECOWAS, this seeks to promote trade and integration through the promotion of free movement of persons, goods, services and capital, as well as the right of residence and establishment for all Community citizens. It entails the abolition of entry visas, introduction of the ECOWAS passport and the ECOWAS brown card.
- ii. ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS): This programme aims at facilitating free trade among members by abolishing tariff barriers on all forms of trading (among members). The Community has made significant progress on this scheme. With the coming into force of the Common External Tariff (CET) in January, 2015, ECOWAS has achieved the status of a customs union.
- iii. ECOWAS Monetary Cooperation Programme (EMCP): ECOWAS adopted the Monetary Cooperation Programme (EMCP) in 1987 as a logical component of its economic integration agenda. The EMCP was designed to create a harmonized monetary system for ECOWAS through the observance of a set of convergence criteria intended to strengthen the macroeconomic fundamentals of the member states. A stable system of exchange rate management and eventual adoption of a single monetary policy and currency for the sub-region was also envisaged. The EMCP was to become operational in 1992. A five-year-time frame (1987-1992) was adopted to enable member countries prepare for the single currency. But the target date could not be realized, nor the subsequent ones. The new target date is year 2020. Meanwhile, a Second West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) has been established by four Anglophone countries (The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone) and Guinea. The hope is that this zone will merge with UEMOA (Francophone countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo) to create a single monetary zone for the sub-region. The problem though is that before the two zones can merge, the UEMOA countries would need to delink from the euro (to which they are attached through France) and independently manage their currency in order to create a level playing field. Reluctance on their part in this respect, may cast doubt on the target date of 2020 for the region-wide currency.
- iv. Peace and Security, Democracy and Good Governance: This programme seeks to facilitate the attainment of the core objectives of the Community. However, it has for some time now, occupied the centre stage of the activities of ECOWAS. West Africa has remained a region characterized by political instability and insecurity. As a result, ECOWAS has initiated actions to promote regional peace and security through direct intervention in crisis areas

such as Liberia and Sierra Leone. Violent conflicts have been contained, through conflict prevention interventions in the areas of preventive diplomacy initiatives, fact finding missions, quiet diplomacy, diplomatic pressure and mediation. Interest has been demonstrated by the Community in the promotion of good governance especially through ensuring free, fair and credible election as a panacea for the avoidance of conflicts in the region.

- v. Common Agricultural Policy: The ECOWAS Common Agricultural Policy (ECOWAP) was established in light of the agrarian nature of the sub-region. The programme aims at a modern and sustainable agriculture based on effective and efficient family farms as well as the promotion of agricultural enterprises.
- vi. Infrastructure: This programme recognizes that lack of infrastructure (transport, energy, communication and water) seriously affects trade, competitiveness and the development of the region. The improvement of infrastructure is therefore, aimed at reinforcing the economic, trade and political integration as well as help to achieve greater social equity and reduce asymmetries among countries. The programme is multifaceted, focusing on areas such as telecommunications, energy, road, air and rail transport. It includes the establishment of road and rail as well as air links between Member States. The Community is also designing for implementation of a Programme of Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) through measures which include resource mobilization and a greater involvement of the private sector.

On the whole, ECOWAS has recorded modest progress. Although the goal of full monetary and economic union has yet to be achieved, some achievements are discernible. A number of programmes have been introduced, as noted above, and implemented in different degrees. A common external tariff was approved in December, 1999 and substantial progress has been made towards its full implementation to the point of coming into effect of the Common External Tariff in January, 2015. Notable but slow progress has also been made in the establishment of a second monetary zone, namely, the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) which, hopefully, will merge with the West African Monetary Union (UEMOA) to create a single monetary union in West Africa. Besides, ECOWAS has been working towards developing and integrating regional infrastructures, for example, in the spheres of inter-connecting the existing national transportation and communication networks and the energy sector. Not least among the achievements is the contribution of the organization to peace and security in the sub-region. West Africa has experienced a notable return of peace, and security in recent years. ECOWAS has, over the years, gained the confidence of the international community for its intervention in

Liberia, Sierra-Leone, Togo, and Guinea-Bissau. With the establishment of the Council of Wise to further promote peace and prevent conflict, a more proactive step has been taken to secure peace in the region.

Nevertheless, there has been a big gap between decision-making and implementation as most programmes remain weakly implemented. The result is that economic and social conditions in the sub-region remain uninspiring. Although, as at today, West Africa is the most dynamic regional economic community in Africa, with economic growth rates that averaged about 6.0 percent in recent years, the growths have not translated into poverty reduction and improved quality of life of the citizens. Most member states fall into the group of countries with low Human Development Index (below 0.50). More than 56 percent of the sub-region's 300 million population in 2014 lived on less than a dollar a day while 40 percent are illiterate. About 40 percent of the population lack access to potable water. Unemployment, especially youth unemployment, is very high across the sub-region. Thus, even with the progress made, real development has continued to elude the sub-region. ECOWAS remains one of the poorest regions in the world with pervasive human misery and endemic and seemingly intractable poverty. Many of the regional and national programmes have apparently not yielded the desired impact on development or improvement in the lives of the citizens.

Very many factors have mutually interacted to constrain striking progress in the Community. Notable among these are the issues of colonial heritage, weak political will, inadequate funding of community institutions, institutional weaknesses and bad governance, poor private sector participation, proliferation of regional integration schemes resulting in overlapping memberships, and the economic constraint reflected in the pursuit of import-substitution policies and protection of inefficient industries by high tariff barriers, coupled with high economic dependency syndrome. On the one hand, the colonial heritage left many countries to be dependent on their former metropolitan countries and this tended to work against viable regional groupings as commercial and political links with the former colonial masters tended to be more important than links within the sub-region and commercial and transport networks are oriented towards former colonial centres to the detriment of intra-regional trade. On the other hand, the political factor relates to lack of will and commitment manifested in unwillingness of governments to surrender sovereignty on macroeconomic policy making to a regional authority. Besides, decisions reached at the political level of the Heads of States and Government are not immediately reflected in national legislatures, budgets, development plans and programmes. In other words, in many cases, agreements reached and protocols signed at the regional level have hardly been implemented or ratified at the national level.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BOOK

The book, “Forty Years of ECOWAS”, is of significance considering that it has been written at the time of marking the forty years anniversary of the organization, having been established on May 28th, 1975, with clear objectives which hinge on using economic integration as a strategy to achieving accelerated growth and development of the sub-region, and substantial improvement in the living conditions of the citizens. Forty years is a relatively long period in the life of an organization that is geared towards improving human development. Since its establishment, ECOWAS has developed structures, created institutions and, above all, formulated policies and programmes, and adopted protocols, all aimed at accomplishing its objectives. It has also implemented institutional and structural/policy reforms. In light of these, the National Institute for Legislative Studies (NILS), a foremost policy and legislative research institution, considered it apposite to commission research into the different aspects of the activities of ECOWAS including its institutions, programmes and the strategic framework of Vision 2020 which seeks to transform the Community from an “ECOWAS of States” to an “ECOWAS of People” by the year 2020. It was considered that the researches would provide useful insights into the achievements, lessons, challenges and prospects of the organization, and be of significant policy relevance. Indeed, the ECOWAS authorities would find the contents of most aspects of the book quite useful in charting new directions for the organisation after forty years of existence. Some of the chapters, for example, those which focused on the ECOWAS Parliament, contain in-depth assessments, observations and recommendations which the institution could benefit from immensely. Besides, policy makers, academic researchers and various stakeholders will find the book to be of notable interest and relevance.

1.5 OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

The book is divided into nineteen chapters. **Chapter 1**, as the introductory chapter, provides an overview of ECOWAS in terms of its evolution and objectives, the key programmes initiated to achieve the goals of economic integration and development of the sub-region, and performance in terms of achievements. The point is underscored that overall, ECOWAS has recorded modest progress. Although the goal of full monetary and economic union has yet to be achieved, a number of achievements are discernible. However, there has been a big gap between decision-making and implementation as most programmes remain weakly implemented. The result is that economic and social conditions in the sub-region remain uninspiring. Efforts must, therefore, be intensified by the ECOWAS Commission to do more if the Vision 2020 will be achieved and the conditions of living of the citizens improved significantly. But then, the sub-region’s Heads of States and Government must develop the political will to implement agreed protocols and programmes, otherwise the attainment of Vision 2020 will be highly doubtful.

Chapter 2 discusses the establishment instruments of ECOWAS. The chapter first clarifies the concepts of regional economic integration, ECOWAS Community laws and harmonization of laws. Thereafter, it examines the nature and scope of the legal regime establishing ECOWAS, as an institution aimed at achieving regional economic integration, and some successes in the implementation of the Community establishment instruments. Apart from providing insights into the primary and secondary sources of the Community laws, the chapter outlines the Community Conventions and Protocols as well as the new legal regime and legislative power of the Community reflected in Supplementary Acts, Regulations, Directives, Decisions, Recommendations and Opinions. Besides, are the insights into the four phases of economic integration in the sub-region, and human rights protection in the context of regional integration. One point that is stressed is that the experience of ECOWAS, though not perfect, confirms that unless member states give up some parts of their national sovereignty and empower regional integration institutions to make binding decisions, and to implement them, little progress can be made. Another is that the realization of the aims and objectives of the economic integration agenda is heavily dependent on the political will of the member states to discharge their obligations in the context of the Community agenda.

Chapter 3 focuses on the role of the ECOWAS Commission in the economic integration process in West Africa. The Commission evolved from the Secretariat through a restructuring process to enable it implement programmes, projects and policies aimed at achieving the vision, mission and objectives of ECOWAS. In light of this, the chapter addresses a number of issues which seek to advance understanding of the role of the ECOWAS Commission in regional integration, economic cooperation and peace building. Specifically, the chapter discusses the evolution of the ECOWAS Commission and its objectives, orientation of the Commission, and the Commission in relation to the Vision 2020. A set of recommendations conclude the chapter. The chapter makes the important observation that the objectives of ECOWAS have shifted from purely economic matters to accommodate cultural, environmental, peace and security issues. Indeed, the philosophical worldview of ECOWAS, as a regional organization, has changed and the organization is working in sectors other than the economy and the state. Perhaps, in view of the current activism of the Community in peace keeping and conflict prevention, there is the observation in the chapter that the Commission must extend its operations beyond political management to inculcate technical expertise that will stimulate development of the region's productive forces. Also, in light of the aspiration of the Community to transit from an ECOWAS of states to an ECOWAS of people, the Commission must place emphasis on the human dimensions of development that have become critical in the international discourse of development. Overall, the author is of the view that much has been achieved by ECOWAS in the 40 years of its existence. But there

is more to be accomplished, especially at the level of civil society. The ECOWAS vision of an integrated and borderless region predicated upon the principles of democracy and the rule of law is on course but has not been fully realized. And for this to happen, the Commission needs to articulate the required grassroots approach that is commensurate with the vision of an “ECOWAS of the people.”

After providing an overview of ECOWAS in terms of the identifiable programmes, **Chapter 4** examines different aspects of the activities of the ECOWAS Parliament which constitute the focus. Information is provided on the structure of the Parliament, its competence, and highlights of the activities of the three legislatures so far. The activities relate to deliberations and reports/resolutions on referrals from the Community institutions and self-initiated matters on regional integration and development, promotion of democracy and good governance, and what can be considered as a landmark achievement of the Third Legislature, namely, the adoption by the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of States and Government, in December, 2014 of the Supplementary Act on the Enhancement of the Powers of the ECOWAS Parliament. This Act provides for legislative and co-decision making powers for the Parliament. However, even now that the Parliament has no legislative powers, it ensures the representation of the people of the sub-region within the integration process. It gives the people a voice by advising the Community Decision makers on issues and policies that are in the best interest of the people. The ECOWAS Parliament has, however, had to contend with several challenges, some of which are: lack of legislative powers and autonomy, duality of membership status, multiple changes in the composition of Parliament in the course of a legislature, and technical staff inadequacy.

The focus of **Chapter 5** is an examination of the dynamics of the processes of the enhancement of the powers of the ECOWAS Parliament to include law making and oversight against the backdrop of the fact that since its existence so far, the Parliament has had the power to only proffer advisory and consultative opinion on matters relating to integration and development in the sub-region. But there have been moves to enhance the powers. And so, in view of the historical evolution of the Parliament and the steps taken to enhance its powers from advisory to co-decision-making, the chapter examines the challenges of the proposed legal framework for the enhancement of the powers of ECOWAS Parliament, and hence provide a better understanding of the political challenges within the institution. To this end, the chapter is structured into four sections. After the introductory section which highlights the evolutionary nature of regional integration, is section 1 which briefly discusses the ECOWAS Parliament and its quest for enhanced powers. The literature on regional parliaments and their powers is reviewed in section 2 to provide comparative context. In section 3, the framework for enhanced legislative powers for ECOWAS Parliament, the challenges, strategies and their

implications are discussed. Information from the literature is complemented with information from interviews of stakeholders. The last section contains conclusions, strategies and next steps to actualize the enhancement of powers goal. The author is of the view that from a technical perspective, the proposed framework for enhancing the powers of the ECOWAS Parliament is feasible and can be achieved. It is, however, important to be realistic and recognize the fact that it is more a political than a technical process which could drag on for some years. The ECOWAS Parliament will have to find mechanisms of constructively engaging Heads of States in the sub-region as well as consider other strategies identified in the chapter to get the power enhancement process to move beyond the adoption, in December 2014, by the Authority of Heads of States and Government, of the Supplementary Protocol on the Enhancement of Powers of the Parliament.

The focus of **Chapter 6** is an assessment of the operational effectiveness of the ECOWAS Parliament. The assessment entailed the following: examination of the structure of the Parliament and its ability to carry out the specified mandate; assessment of the operational processes of the Parliament; appraisal of the activities, results achieved and impact; identification of the factors enabling or hindering performance; identification of needs to bridge identified performance gaps; and making useful recommendations. The core sections (1-4) contain the analysis and discussions while section 5 provides conclusions and recommendations. The assessment shows that since the inauguration of the first legislature in November, 2000, the Parliament has developed its organizational structure, built institutions and capacity and implemented activities geared towards achieving its current mandate. It has also had to contend with challenges to its ability to effectively represent the populace of the sub-region, some of which relate to its advisory role/lack of law-making powers, and lack of continuity of tenure of members drawn from various National Parliaments. Besides, there have been a number of operational issues relating to structure, capacity and its effective use, and activities. However, in the context of its current mandate of proffering advice and consultative opinion on economic integration and development issues in ECOWAS, the parliament has recorded some notable achievements, one of which is the adoption on December 15, 2014, of the Supplementary Act on the Enhancement of the Powers of Parliament, at the Forty-Sixth Ordinary Session of the Authority of ECOWAS Heads of States and Government held in Abuja. But it needs to strategise on how to tackle the likely challenges to the implementation of the Supplementary Act, for example, determining the cost implications of implementing the Act; and mobilizing adequate funding to run a full- edged Parliament. Although it is important that the Parliament has been relatively effective in implementing its current mandate, there is the need to improve the operational performance by: getting the remaining actions on the Supplementary Act concluded and commencing its implementation; exploring sources of adequate and stable funding for the

activities of Parliament including Development partners; improving infrastructure and facilities in identified areas of deficiencies; providing systematic capacity building programmes for Members of Parliament and staff; and ensuring that Members and staff have adequate remuneration.

Chapter 7 examines the role of the ECOWAS Community Court of Justice (ECCJ) in the integration of West Africa and seeks to find out if small strides had been taken in the wrong direction. It undertakes a comparative analysis of the early experiences of the ECCJ and the European Court of Justice (ECJ) to demonstrate that International Courts with fairly similar design features and mandates may end up playing significantly different roles in relation to their parent organisations as a result of different socio-political needs within the integrating region. The chapter observes that although the ECCJ has design features that are similar to the ECJ, the former has not impacted integration in West Africa anywhere near as much as the ECJ has impacted on European integration. Indeed, the ECCJ has been active in protecting human rights in recent times, a role that sends it in the wrong impact direction. This observation derives from the discussions in sections 2, 3 and 4. But the chapter also argues though that the protection of human rights is not irrelevant to the integration project. For this to be so, the ECCJ's human rights mandate should be applied as a functional instead of a general human rights competence. The last section concludes the chapter.

Chapter 8 focuses on the activities, achievements and challenges of one of the ECOWAS institutions – the Inter-governmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa (GIABA). This institution is concerned with promoting concerted actions in the design and diligent implementation of harmonized anti-money laundering (AML)/counter-financing of terrorism (CFT) regimes in West Africa, consistent with international standards. The chapter observes that at the time of the establishment of GIABA in 2000, its mandate focused on money laundering alone. But as the link between *money laundering* and terrorist financing became increasingly evident across the globe, the status of GIABA was revised in 2006 in order to incorporate *terrorist financing* into its mandate. Thus, the significance of GIABA lies in the full awareness of ECOWAS member States that achieving a stable regional, financial system is impossible in the context of rapidly growing risks of serious financial crimes such as money laundering and terrorist financing and related organized crimes.

GIABA, according to the chapter, has made significant progress in a number of spheres. It can be said with a high degree of confidence that West Africa has made significant progress in the struggle against the increasing global threats of money laundering and terrorist financing since the year 2000 when GIABA was established. But then, while it may be untenable to argue that the scourge of money laundering and terrorist financing in the region has gone down with the establishment of GIABA, the very fact that the

institution provides a platform for regional collaboration and cooperation against these evils is a notable stride that cannot be gainsaid. Also, in all Member States the necessary political will to permit and promote the implementation of acceptable international AML/CFT measures has been growing, as evident in the enactment and revision of relevant laws and the resourcing of relevant agencies. Nevertheless, enormous challenges remain to be tackled by the institution. These are expected to be tackled in the institution's 2016 – 2020 Strategic Plan.

Chapter 9 examines the activities of the West African Health Organisation (WAHO), a specialized agency of ECOWAS whose operations transcend the linguistic borders of the sub-region. It was created in view of the health issues plaguing the sub-region with the aim of providing the highest possible level of health care delivery to populations in the sub-region based on harmonized policies in Member States, pooling of resources and cooperation between Member States and third-party countries, with a view to collectively and strategically finding solutions to community health problems.

The chapter seeks to address how WAHO has managed to improve the health security environment in ECOWAS member states, the role of WAHO through an analysis of its missions and structures, programmes and actions. These are examined in sections 2 and 3. The chapter observes that, as part of its strategic plans, WAHO executed some actions aimed at combating malaria, malnutrition, HIV/AIDS, maternal and infant mortality; preventing blindness; promoting drugs and vaccines; epidemiological monitoring; training and health information management, among others. Some achievements are discernible. But the health care sector problems remain quite acute in the sub-region in spite of the remarkable results that have been obtained. Thus, notable challenges have continued to constrain achievements. Section 3 discusses the various challenges that are inherent in the proper functioning of the organisation's regional health system. The chapter has a notable suggestion to the effect that WAHO's health strategy should focus on strengthening cooperation and coordination, supporting sharing of viable knowledge and information with three major axes that it identified.

One of the core elements of the ECOWAS regional integration and development agenda is the free movement of persons, services and capital and the right of residence and establishment. This is in view of its importance in achieving the overall integration goal of growth and development of the sub-region through the nexus between migration and trade, integration and development. In 1979, the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons was adopted. **Chapter 10** assesses the performance on this protocol. The point is made that although significant progress has been made in the implementation of the protocol, free movement of persons and goods within the sub-region has not been fully achieved. The achievements of the free movement protocol include abolition of visa requirement, legal recognition of the rights of residence and establishment, growing use of ECOWAS

travel documents, adoption of the use of biometric identity cards, among others. But there are still many obstacles to the free movement of persons across borders including administrative hurdles in securing valid travel documents, high costs of procuring travel documents, multiplicity of check points by security units which serve corrupt interests of some officials, language barriers, and harassment, intimidation and extortion of migrants at border posts. There is the political factor of weak political support and rivalry along language lines (Francophone versus Anglophone). Also of note is lack of political will to implement faithfully the Protocol on free Movement. Besides, political instability in the sub-region, often involving armed conflicts, is a disincentive to movements across the sub-region. After examining different aspects of the implementation of the Free Movement Protocol in sections 2 to 4, the chapter, in section 5, discusses the challenges. Section 6 concludes the chapter with recommendations directed at redressing the challenges.

Chapter 11 focuses on the implementation of the Protocol on the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS). The interest is on the performance of the Scheme which the author considers as less than satisfactory, considering the subsisting low volume of intra-regional trade, significant obstacles to the movement of goods across national borders in the sub-region, and transport bottlenecks. Indeed, the chapter examines the public and private sector perspectives on the obstacles to the full compliance with the Trade Liberalisation Scheme, among which are challenges relating to completion of ETLS application for m, determination of rules of origin (computation of value addition/determination of the value of local content of the product not wholly produced in the Community), existence of multiple procedures for customs clearance, high cost of transporting goods across borders, etc. The five core sections, in succession, examine/discuss the development of the ETLS protocols, the level of implementation of the protocols by member states, the factors militating against the full implementation of the scheme, and ways to enhance its implementation. A short conclusion ends the chapter. One final point relates to the chapter's verdict on the performance of the ETLS. Another school of thought considers the Scheme as largely successful to the extent that the Common External Tariff has been adopted and was launched for implementation in January, 2015.

Monetary integration in ECOWAS is assessed in **Chapter 12** with a view to identifying the achievements, major challenges, and proffering suggestions to redress them. The chapter first provides a background by discussing the various forms of monetary integration: informal exchange rate union, a formal exchange rate union, a full monetary union, adoption of another country's currency (dollarization), and a currency board. The point is made that in ECOWAS, UEMOA, comprising 8 Francophone countries, exhibits the features of a full monetary union while the non-UEMOA countries implement a

looser form of monetary cooperation. The discussion of ECOWAS' monetary integration road map in section 2 throws light on the institutional framework for monetary integration and aspects of the elements of the road map. Section 3 of the chapter appraises the Monetary Cooperation Programme and identifies challenges. One major finding is that the much expected single currency objective has not been achieved. The launch date for the currency has been postponed a number of times, and 2020 is now the new date. Partly accounting for this problem is the non-compliance of members of the zone with the macroeconomic convergence criteria, and these have remained a stumbling block. Till date, no member country has met all the agreed criteria. The countries with the highest compliance rate met five out of the ten criteria. This, along with many other challenges, also outlined, have continued to threaten the achievement of the monetary integration objectives. Section 4 of the chapter concludes with some recommendations.

Chapter 13 discusses the Peace and Security Initiative of ECOWAS. It observes that ECOWAS was established as an international organization with an economic orientation. However, because it was confronted with insecurity and chronic political instability of member states, the organization became concerned early with questions relating to regional peace and security which are necessary for successful economic integration. Accordingly, ECOWAS proceeded to extend its area of competence from economics to defence and security. It has over the years adopted protocols and mechanisms/instruments geared towards bringing about peace in the sub-region. For the past two decades, it has had cause to intervene in some conflict-ridden member states by sending troops to help restore peace and security. This chapter examines the different aspects of the ECOWAS Peace and Security Initiative: the legal framework and texts in section 1 and the mechanisms for managing conflicts in section 2. Against the backdrop of the difficulties encountered in efforts to manage conflicts in the sub-region, section 3 highlights the political and financial challenges and the interference of foreign powers. The point is also stressed that apart from the political crises and classical conflicts, the West African sub-region must, henceforth, face new security problems like the "Emergent Security Menaces" from terrorist and separatist groups. The fourth section draws attention to the need for new security strategies relating to a rigorous application of the texts and prevention of conflicts. In conclusion, the chapter observes that ECOWAS has become one of Africa's sub-regional organisations which have invested in the domain of peace and security. But it is far from realizing the environment of peace and security it wishes, and so its policy initiatives remain relevant.

An assessment of the ECOWAS Initiative on Democracy and Good Governance is undertaken in **Chapter 14**. In this direction, the chapter is structured into three major sections. The first section highlights the various Treaties, Protocols, and Instruments aimed at ensuring democracy and good governance in ECOWAS, in particular,

mechanisms for conflict prevention, management, resolution, peace keeping and security. Section 2 focuses on the mechanisms for the implementation of the various instruments while 3 discusses the challenges and outlook. The chapter acknowledges that ECOWAS had undertaken many initiatives over the last two decades which have brought relative stability to the sub-region. But within the framework of democracy and good governance, the initiatives have achieved mixed results despite the adoption, in 2001, of the Additional Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance. An important observation is made to the effect that the success of the democratization process and the building of democracy requires economic progress for the enhancement of the population's living conditions and to sustain their interest in the democratization process. Also, beyond the innovative nature of the various mechanisms, the range of initiatives remains limited in substance and in implementation due largely to lack of leadership and political will, among other challenges.

Chapter 15 focuses on analysis of the laws and policies relating to ECOWAS energy resources and management. It is written against the backdrop of the need to appraise the progress of ECOWAS in achieving its objectives relating to promoting cooperation and development in energy and natural resources. The chapter first clarifies the concepts of energy and natural resources, law and policies in section 1, and then examines in section 2, the prospects and challenges of managing ECOWAS energy and natural resources. In the latter section, it is observed that the sub-region is blessed with diverse energy and natural resources which, if adequately managed, could propel the region to a developed country status. Although the region has achieved respectable economic growth rates, propelled mostly by natural resources, such achievement has not translated into improved quality of life for ECOWAS citizens. Section 3 identifies ECOWAS' laws and policies for managing energy and natural resources in the sub-region while the succeeding section examines the implementation of the laws and policies. The section observes that regional energy framework and strategies were adopted because of the stubborn energy crisis confronting the region and its effects on the economic development of member states. In the light of limited impact, ECOWAS has continued to work with Member states and other development partners to improve energy production, distribution and utilization. The fifth section concludes with a summary and recommendations, stressing the need to harmonise the energy and natural resources sectors given the interlinkages between them.

Chapter 16 has the title: "Evaluation of the ECOWAS Policy on Political Integration". The author acknowledges that the sub-regional integration process entails political, economic and social convergence of a group of countries conscious of the limitations of their national policies and desirous of optimizing their prospects of development. In execution, however, the scope of discussion is narrowed to an evaluation of important aspects of political integration in ECOWAS, in terms of performances and challenges. To

this end, the chapter is structured into two main sections. The first section which considers the ECOWAS sub-regional integration process as being on course, examines the institutional architecture of integration. It acknowledges that ECOWAS has many institutions that ensure, at any point in time, the integration of the different member states with a mechanism of singular functionality. It also highlights the various protocols, texts and legal frameworks relating to the free movement of persons and goods; security, prevention and resolution of conflicts in the community space; and democracy and good governance. In light of these, the conclusion is reached that ECOWAS has acquired the tools of its sub-regional integration policy that would enable it to make significant progress. In section 2 of the chapter, is the view that after forty years of existence, ECOWAS has, to its credit, a number of concrete achievements, despite the difficulties encountered in the field. The achievements are highlighted in two areas: political (relating to the establishment of the Community Justice System and ECOWAS Parliament) and economic (relating to the free movement of persons and goods, and sector-based infrastructure policies). Among the sub-regional economic communities in Africa, the author considers ECOWAS to be ahead on the free movement of persons, goods and services programme. But the chapter acknowledges that despite the advances made, a number of obstacles and challenges slow down the pace of integration in the sub-region; some of them stand on the political and institutional, and structural and normative domains. In this direction, the chapter argues that for the effectiveness of ECOWAS, member states must have the political will to transfer sovereignty to Community Institutions and bodies.

Chapter 17, although entitled, “Understanding the ECOWAS Vision 2020”, does much more than the title suggests by providing rich information and analysis of the ECOWAS integration experience before the introduction of the Vision 2020 in 2007. By so doing, the chapter provides a robust context for outlining the elements of the vision and integration performance. The chapter, in section 1, following the introduction, discusses the changing context of ECOWAS in terms of geography and demography, socio-economic developments, political developments, economic and monetary integration, institutional development, among others. The point that emerges is that although ECOWAS has made remarkable progress, real development has continued to elude the region which remains one of the poorest among the regions in the world. This is the background to the adoption of Vision 2020 which is discussed in section 2 in terms of the rationale, elements of the vision including the building blocs. The point is made that in moving to adopt a common people-oriented regional vision, ECOWAS leaders recognized that past and unsuccessful development efforts have been dominated by government and its agents. Believing strongly that West Africa’s development can best be achieved by working together within an ECOWAS of people framework, the ECOWAS Heads of States expressed a common regional will by adopting a vision that

replaces the current “ECOWAS of States” with an “ECOWAS of People”. Section 3 of the chapter briefly assesses the performance of the vision plan and discusses the challenges. Of particular significance are the challenges relating to intra-regional trade, youth unemployment, de-industrialisation, single currency, TLS, free movement of persons, and democracy and good governance. Embedded in the discussion of the challenges are suggestions of desired actions. The final section contains short concluding remarks.

The theme addressed in **Chapter 18** is: “Legislative Drafting Office as a tool for Regional Integration: A Comparative Study of the ECOWAS and European Union”. The chapter argues that good legislation could serve as a catalyst for regional integration within the European Union (EU) and, by extension, the Economic Community of West African States which is arguably modelled after the institutions of the EU. Further, since legislation is a product of the legislative drafting process which is undertaken by legislative drafting offices (which are currently non-existent within the EU and ECOWAS), the chapter argues that legislative drafting offices are critical and fundamental for promoting regional integration within the ECOWAS and that the first steps should be taken to establish such offices. But then, there will be need to choose one from two competing models: a centralised legislative drafting office, which is the prevalent model and “mechanism” within the common law or a decentralised legislative drafting model prevalent within the civil law systems. According to the author, each of these two choices has its implications in terms of advantages and disadvantages. In arriving at these conclusions, the chapter undertook, in five sections, a comparative analysis of the institutional arrangements for legislative drafting within the EU as primary comparator. Vital lessons are then distilled from the models of legislative drafting of national governments and intergovernmental organisations as secondary comparators.

Chapter 19 concludes the book by drawing key conclusions from the discussions of the various issues focused by the chapters. It also highlights some recommendations in the context of the conclusions.

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