GHANA AND THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS) SINCE THE NEW MILLENNIUM

BY

CLAREBEL NAA ADOLEY BROWN

(ID: 10109914)

THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE MA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEGREE

LEGON          JULY 2013
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the product of an original research that I undertook under the supervision of Dr. Iddi Ziblim. This work has never been submitted partially or wholly elsewhere for any award, that all sources used have been duly acknowledged.

CLAREBEL NAA ADOLEY BROWN
(STUDENT)

DR. IDDI ZIBLIM
(SUPERVISOR)

DATE..........................  DATE..........................
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my loving husband, George Nii Akwei Pappoe, my parents and siblings.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I give thanks to the Lord Almighty, for giving me the strength and wisdom to undertake this work. My sincere thanks go to my supervisor, Dr. Iddi Ziblim, for his effortless guidance and assistance in bringing this work to a successful finish. I also want to thank my lecturers at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) and the staff of the LECIAD library for their contribution towards my course and to this research, especially Mr. Eric Amartey.

My heartfelt gratitude also goes to the Research Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration for making this dream a reality.

To all those who motivated me and contributed in diverse ways to aid me undertake this research, I say a big thank you.
# ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACP</td>
<td>Africa, Caribbean and Pacific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APRM</td>
<td>African Peer Review Mechanism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CET</td>
<td>ECOWAS Common External Tariff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIIB</td>
<td>Criminal Investigative Intelligence Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAC</td>
<td>East African Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOBIZ</td>
<td>ECOWAS Business Directory System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOMOG</td>
<td>ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECSC</td>
<td>European Coal and Steal Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPA</td>
<td>Economic Partnership Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETLS</td>
<td>ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ExPECT</td>
<td>Export Promotion and Enterprise Competitiveness for Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNCCI</td>
<td>Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLCG</td>
<td>High Level Contact Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and Communication Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEPA</td>
<td>Interim Economic Partnership Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISODEC</td>
<td>Integrated Social Development Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAIPTC</td>
<td>Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LECIAD</td>
<td>Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LURD</td>
<td>Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MODEL</td>
<td>Movement for Democracy in Liberia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSC</td>
<td>Mediation and Security Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEPAD</td>
<td>New Partnership for Africa’s Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSA</td>
<td>Non-State Actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>Regional Economic Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RINSA</td>
<td>Regional Integration Networks of Non-State Actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPFS</td>
<td>Regional Program for Food Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UEMOA</td>
<td>Union Economique et Monetaire Del Ouest Africaine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNAMSIL</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNOMIL</td>
<td>United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT</td>
<td>Value Added Tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAGP</td>
<td>West African Gas Pipeline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAMI</td>
<td>West African Monetary Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAMZ</td>
<td>West Africa Monetary Zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAPP</td>
<td>West Africa Power Pool</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - i  
DEDICATION - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ii  
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS - - - - - - - - - - - - iii  
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS - - - - - - - - - iv  
TABLE OF CONTENTS - - - - - - - - - - - - vi  
ABSTRACT - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - x  

## CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH DESIGN

1.0 Introduction - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 1  
1.1 Statement of the Problem - - - - - - - - - - - 3  
1.2 Objectives of the Study - - - - - - - - - - - 4  
1.3 Scope of Study - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 5  
1.4 Rationale of the Study - - - - - - - - - - - 5  
1.5 Hypothesis - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 5  
1.6 Theoretical Framework - - - - - - - - - - - 6  
1.7 Literature Review - - - - - - - - - - - - - 9  
1.8 Sources of Data - - - - - - - - - - - - - 14  
1.9 Methodology - - - - - - - - - - - - - 14  
1.10 Organization of the Study - - - - - - - - - 15  
Endnotes - - - - - - - - - - - - - 16
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS) IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>History of ECOWAS</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Aims and Objectives of ECOWAS</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Organs/Institutions of ECOWAS</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Achievements of ECOWAS since the New Millennium</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.1</td>
<td>Peace and Security</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.2</td>
<td>Community Levy</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.3</td>
<td>Free Movement of Person and Goods</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.4</td>
<td>Market Integration</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.5</td>
<td>Institutional Building</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.6</td>
<td>Democracy and Good Governance</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.7</td>
<td>West Africa Monetary Zone (WAMZ)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.8</td>
<td>Infrastructure Development</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.9</td>
<td>ECOWAS Vision 2020</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Challenges in Achieving the Objectives of ECOWAS</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.1</td>
<td>Sensitization of the Citizens</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.2</td>
<td>Political Commitment</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.3</td>
<td>Intra-Regional Economic Community (REC) Trade</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.4</td>
<td>Production Structures</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.5</td>
<td>Political Instability</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5.6</td>
<td>Bad Governance and Corruption</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CHAPTER THREE: GHANA’S ROLE IN ECOWAS IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

### 3.0 Introduction

- - - - - - - - - - 47

### 3.1 Ghana’s Role in the New Millennium

- - - - - - - - - - 47

#### 3.1.1 The Fast-Track Initiative

- - - - - - - - - - 48

#### 3.1.2 Promotion of Good Neighbourliness

- - - - - - - - - - 49

#### 3.1.3 ECOWAS Chairmanship

- - - - - - - - - - 50

#### 3.1.4 Ghana with the first Executive Secretary Position

- - - - - - - - - - 51

#### 3.1.5 Transforming of the Secretariat into a Commission

- - - - - - - - - - 52

#### 3.1.6 Leadership Role in Peace and Security

- - - - - - - - - - 53

#### 3.1.7 Role in Maintaining the Trade Liberalization Scheme

- - - - - - - - - - 59

#### 3.1.8 West African Monetary Institute (WAMI)

- - - - - - - - - - 60

#### 3.1.9 Economic Partnership Agreement-EPA Negotiations

- - - - - - - - - - 60

#### 3.1.10 Establishment of Regional Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Bureau

- - - - - - - - - - 61

#### 3.1.11 Leadership in Good Governance

- - - - - - - - - - 62

#### 3.1.12 Participation in the ECOWAS Parliament

- - - - - - - - - - 63

#### 3.1.13 Role in Terms of Finance

- - - - - - - - - - 65

#### 3.1.14 Role in Transit Trade

- - - - - - - - - - 65

#### 3.1.15 Regional Integration Month

- - - - - - - - - - 66

#### 3.1.16 Regional Integration of Non-State Actors (RINSA)

- - - - - - - - - - 66

#### 3.1.17 The ECOWAS Business Directory System (ECOBIZ)

- - - - - - - - - - 67
3.1.18 Quarterly Newsletter-The ECOWAS Front - - - - 68
3.1.19 Other Roles - - - - - - - - 68

3.2 Some Challenges Ghana Has Posed to the West African Integration Since the New Millennium - - - - - - - - 69
3.2.1 The “Dziwu fie asem” Statement - - - - - - - - 70
3.2.2 The Monetary Union - - - - - - - - 70
Endnotes - - - - - - - - - - 72

CHAPTER FOUR: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction - - - - - - - - - - 74
4.1 Summary of Findings - - - - - - - - - - 74
4.2 Conclusions - - - - - - - - - - 76
4.3 Recommendations - - - - - - - - - - 77
Bibliography - - - - - - - - - - 80
Appendices - - - - - - - - - - 85
ABSTRACT

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was formed in 1975 after regionalism had become significant and a number of regional groupings had been formed. Ghana is one of the 15 member-states participating in the ECOWAS scheme. This has been through the various roles and contributions it has been playing since the inception of the sub-regional group. In the new millennium, Ghana has been very active and has spearheaded a number of activities – peace and security and made tremendous efforts in achieving the ideals and aims of the Community. However, Ghana along the way has not been able to push hard towards the regional integration process with its failure in the challenge of achieving a monetary union among others. This work concludes that Ghana’s active participation in ECOWAS has contributed to the growth of the sub-regional group in the new millennium.
CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.0 Introduction

Regional integration is a process by which states enter into regional agreement in order to enhance cooperation through regional rules and institutions. Ginkel van Hans and Luk Van Lengenhove have defined regional integration as the process by which states within a particular region increase their level of interaction with regard to economic, security, political, social and cultural issues.\(^1\)

Since the latter part of the 20\(^{th}\) Century, regionalism and regional integration has been cited in books and journals by various authors like Professor S.K. Asante as a key strategy for development. This view was significantly influenced by the initial successes achieved by the European Economic Community (EEC) which was formed out of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The main objective of the ECSC was to unify democratic countries of Europe during the Cold War in 1951.

In Africa, from the second decade after independence, regionalism became significant and a number of regional groupings were formed. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was, for instance, formed in 1975. Similar arrangements such as the East African Community (EAC) were also formed around the same time which has been re-launched again in 2001 after the previous Cooperation Treaty in 1977.\(^2\)
Real Lavergne states that regional integration generally involves a kind of complex web of cooperation between countries within a given geographical area. It demands harmonization of policies in sectors such as trade, investment, security, infrastructural development as well as economic and monetary policies of member states. The overall objective is essentially to ensure stability and sustainable economic growth and development within the integrating area.  

Since independence, African leaders have recognized the significance of regional integration for attaining economic development, promoting regional stability and a peaceful atmosphere, hence various regional organizations have come about as a result and only a few of them have produced tangible results following the success of the European Economic Community (EEC) now the European Union (EU). Independent states thus commit themselves to undertake common goals through regional ‘alliances’ and interactions at the national level.  

Regional integration in West Africa is considered the most well accepted means towards economic development and prosperity. This has instigated several attempts by countries in West Africa to attain the level of integration that would yield dividends to member countries. The most recognized sub-regional group in West Africa is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). This study, therefore, examines Ghana and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) since the new millennium. Ghana has been the vanguard of regional integration since the inception of ECOWAS. S.K. Asante, hence states that due to the link between sub-regional integration and the Pan-Africanist activities of people like J.E. Casely-Hayford and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana has historically been at the frontline of West African integration. Presently, Ghana is promoting good neighbourliness, economic diplomacy as well
as implementation of all the ECOWAS protocols. This falls in line with Article 40(d) (iv) of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana.\textsuperscript{6}

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The regional integration experiment in West Africa has been plagued with a number of challenges since its inception. A number of these have been discussed and includes, for example, the fact that Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone which are English-speaking countries are surrounded by Union Economique et Monetaire Del Ouest Africaine (UEMOA) countries all of which are French-speaking. The Gambia is culturally and economically part of Senegal but not a member of the French-speaking bloc of the Senegal River because it is English-speaking. This has therefore created the UEMOA/ECOWAS dichotomy which is a bane in achieving the ECOWAS project.\textsuperscript{7} Other problems and challenges include the issue of transport infrastructure, the harmonization of a common monetary policy which is scheduled to come into force in 2015.\textsuperscript{8} The subject of external influence within the sub-region is not left out as well as border disputes, conflicts and insecurity.

An area that has been minimally discussed is the challenges or contributions engendered by specific countries towards the objective of regional integration. In 1999, before the new millennium, for instance, Ghana and Nigeria are on record to have planned to hasten the pace of integration through the fast-track approach. A number of Francophone West African Countries are also thought to have slowed down the ECOWAS process through their activities within UEMOA. Other countries have reportedly contributed to an enhancement or otherwise of the objectives of integration. This can only be determined through in-depth country studies. Since its
establishment, Ghana has been at the forefront of ECOWAS activities. A number of activities in line with regional integration have been assessed in the past, however, it appears that Ghana’s role in the ECOWAS in the new millennium has been least discussed. This is what the study seeks to address.

This study is guided by the following research questions:

a. What has been Ghana’s contribution to the success of ECOWAS since its inception, with specific emphasis on the new millennium?

b. What are the bottlenecks and challenges that Ghana faces in participating in ECOWAS?

c. What are the gains of Ghana’s participation in ECOWAS?

The research is restricted to the new millennium starting from 2000 till present.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The study aims at the following objectives:

- To review the state of the ECOWAS since the new millennium.
- To examine Ghana’s contributions to West African integration since the new millennium.
- To identify challenges Ghana has faced in West African integration since the new millennium.
- To present recommendations towards enhancing Ghana’s role in West African integration.
1.3 Scope of the Study

The study focuses on the integration process in West Africa with specific emphasis on the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the role and contributions of Ghana since the new millennium in the integration process.

1.4 Rationale of the Study

The study examines how far regional integration has been a critical issue in the sub-region, especially how far the Economic Community of West African States has come and the roles member-states have played with regards to challenges and contributions in achieving its objectives with specific emphasis on Ghana’s role since the new millennium. Students and scholars of international relations will thus have an insight into the major roles Ghana has played in ECOWAS from the 2000s with its contributions and challenges as well as a review of ECOWAS since the millennium.

This will in turn augment the literature and provide in-depth information on the various activities which Ghana has undertaken which becomes handy to fall on when need be. The findings of the study will serve as a useful guide to policy makers in the sub-region towards the integration process. The recommendations of the study will further be to the benefit of the governments and the people of West Africa.

1.5 Hypothesis

Ghana’s active participation in ECOWAS has contributed to the growth of the sub-regional grouping in the new millennium
1.6 Theoretical Framework

The study is situated within the framework of ‘Liberal Institutionalism’ propounded by Robert Keohane.

In spite of the self-help anarchic nature of the international system, countries still find collaboration under regional arrangements useful for a number of reasons hence the study is conducted within the framework of Liberal Institutionalism which states that states can cooperate together through institutional mechanisms and bargaining that undermine the propensity to base interests simply military terms.

Liberal institutionalism is a recent theory of international relations which claims that international institutions and organizations such as the United Nations, NATO and the European Union can increase and aid support between states, thus the Economic Community of West African States is of no exception under which member states cooperate to achieve its objectives. The theory can be compared to idealism, the international relations theory which emerged after the First World War when the League of Nations was founded because of the ideal nature it sees a situation in which organisations can increase and aid cooperation between states.\(^9\)

Liberal institutionalism, like realism, acknowledges that the international system is anarchic and places emphasis on the fact that sovereignty is still sacrosanct. During the 1980s and 1990s, there was great debate between realists and liberal institutionalists about whether liberal institutionalism was really an alternative to realism with critiques such as Stanley Hoffman and Joseph Grieco pointing out that international organizations such as the United Nations during the
Cold War were paralyzed by US-Soviet vetoes and the financial needs of liberal states to deal with security issues which led to meagre resources for the development of poorer states.10 Liberal institutionalists believe that cooperation between states can and should be organized and formalized in institutions. ‘Institutions’ in this sense means sets of rules which govern state behaviour in specific policy areas, such as the Law of the Sea. The European Union is the best example of economic integration engendering closer economic and political framework for their mutual benefits.

However, Mitrany argued that initially cooperation between states would be achieved in technical areas where it was mutually convenient, but once successful it could ‘spill over’ into other functional areas where states found out that mutual advantage could be gained.11 In development of this argument, Keohane and Nye explained how, through membership of international institutions, states can significantly broaden their conceptions of self-interest in order to weaken the meaning and appeal of state sovereignty.12

Liberal institutionalists acknowledge that cooperation between states is likely to be fragile, particularly where enforcement procedures are weak. However, in an environment of growing regional and global integration, states can often discover – with or without the encouragement of a hegemon – a coincidence of strategic and economic interests which can be turned into a formalized agreement determining the rules of conduct.13

On the other hand, liberal institutionalists believe that international relations need not be a zero-sum game, as many states feel secure enough to maximize their own gains regardless of what
accrues to others. Mutual benefits arising out of cooperation are possible because states are not always preoccupied with relative gains. For neo-realists such as Waltz, states are concerned with ‘relative gains’- meaning gains assessed in comparative terms thus who will gain more. Accordingly, neo-realists argue that states will baulk at cooperation if they expect to gain less than their rivals.\textsuperscript{14}

A limitation of liberal institutionalists is the fact that they neglect the impact that domestic forces and policies have in promoting a more cooperative strategy to deal with moral and ethical issues. Helen Milner in her book \textit{Interests, Institutions and Information} highlights the impact that domestic policies can have on international cooperation stating that political actors are more concerned with electoral processes hoping to be re-elected into office hence seek cooperation with other nations.\textsuperscript{15}

Domestic interests have had a major impact on cooperation in international relations, public reactions to the deaths of US soldiers in Somalia led to the Clinton administration pulling out of a peacekeeping mission to the war torn country whilst public demand for action on Climate Change has led to member states such as Australia to sign up to the Kyoto Protocol.\textsuperscript{16}

This reflects the fact that domestic issues and policies have a major influence on how states cooperate with other states on an international stage. If a state was to go into agreement with another on trade relations, but that state had a bad record on human rights, the government might reconsider doing a deal if its constituents elected them on the basis of a strong human rights stance. This reflects the need for greater development of the liberal institutionalists’ argument in terms of domestic influences on decision making at an international level.\textsuperscript{17}
Also, the realist complaint lodged against liberalism is an alleged tendency to turn foreign policy into a moral crusade. Whereas realists claim that heads of state are driven by strategic necessities, many liberals believe moral necessities impose categorical imperatives on leaders. On one hand, they deny the universal applicability of any single moral standard in culturally pluralistic world. They worry that adopting such standards will breed a self-righteous, messianic foreign policy.

The liberal institutionalists’ theory is suitable for the study because it emphasizes that cooperation in areas such as environmental degradation and the threat of terrorism is ideal, therefore the argument that formalized for cooperation between states is compelling is also important which is critical to the ECOWAS integration. In view of this, socio-economic cooperation was recognized as important to the development efforts in the sub-region and this study highlights the role Ghana has played since the new millennium towards the efforts of West African integration. It is in the light of the above that Ghana and ECOWAS since the new millennium is examined.

1.7 Literature Review

Literature to be reviewed includes books and journals articles. Although literature on regional integration has reasonably been written specifically on Ghana and ECOWAS, scholarly literature regarding Ghana’s role in ECOWAS since the New Millennium is generally limited. Thus the study attempts to provide the relevant information regarding Ghana’s role and the ECOWAS during the period under review.
Ghana has, in the pre-colonial era, but particularly in the period after independence played an integral role in the integration process of the entire African continent. According to Afua Yakohene, the process of integration be it political, economical, technological or with the use of human resources requires a conscious mission with a goal to be realized.\textsuperscript{20} This, Ghana has demonstrated vividly especially with her leadership role as ECOWAS chairperson during the J. J. Rawlings and J. A. Kufuor administrations respectively, in which massive goals were achieved specifically in the areas of peace and security in the sub-region.

Writers on integration, therefore, have laid out several features common to various states to which the most important to states is loyalty which is from one centre to another with emphasis on communication within the units to be integrated. In general, integration theorists hold that member states adopt integrative behaviour because of expectations of joint rewards or penalties.\textsuperscript{21}

S.K.B. Asante in his book, \textit{The Strategy of Regional Integration in Africa} states that regional economic integration among a group of small developing countries such as Africa, which provides for the pooling of resources and coordinated efforts in the use of their pooled resources, can bring about results in the development and enhancement of external bargaining power that are greater than the sum of results if each country acted alone.\textsuperscript{22} This the ECOWAS has as one of the regional groupings in Africa is striving to achieve and somehow managed to gain tremendous results especially in the area of peace and security within the sub-region which would not have been accomplished by the country alone as stated by Asante.
He further argues that, regional integration is the only viable strategy for optimal development of the region in today’s contemporary economic and political circumstances on the continent as well as in the world as a whole. I believe the ECOWAS is on the right path with its adoption of the ECOWAS Vision 2020, the vision is meant to build a “borderless, prosperous and cohesive region where people have the capacity to access and harness its enormous resources through the creation of opportunities for sustainable development and environmental preservation towards a democratic and prosperous community. Ghana needs sustained cooperation and integration in all fields of economic activity within the framework of ECOWAS. Soumana Sako also argues that given the nature of the continent’s economies, regional cooperation and integration are important for facilitating the integration process. He states that the success of the European Union (EU) since the 1950s bears a strong testimony to the potential benefits of regional integration which if properly conceived and implemented, offers numerous advantages to developing economies. It would then be appropriate to say that Ghana has been able to achieve some of these prospective benefits hence the study.

However, Ahmed A.H.M.Aly is very pessimistic about regional economic cooperation in Africa. He indicated that regional economic cooperation in Africa has been a major cause of concern, stating that these decades of continued efforts have ended in bankruptcy, which has given rise to a growing worry about the direction in which the cooperation drive is heading. He thus sees little prospects for regional integration for Africa even though he added it is the only choice. I agree with Aly that regional integration may be the only choice despite the countless efforts within the community but then African leaders within the sub-region have not relented on their
oars and this seems to be a good sign, especially with the community spirit which exist among the member states.

The promotion of economic cooperation among developing countries is now a well-accepted part of international development policy, a statement made by S.K.B Asante. He further emphasises that almost all issues in the field of international economic relations are currently subordinated to the quest for regional economic associations and groupings among more or less contiguous areas. I strongly agree with him that as today, a country cannot develop effectively without cooperating and integrating with other countries especially within the same sub-region. He confirms, that over the past three decades more than a dozen customs and monetary unions, common markets, free trade areas and other regional cooperative arrangements have been proposed or established in Latin America, Asia and Africa following the success of the European Economic Community (EEC), now the European Union.

Asante further stated that some of these cooperative schemes never got off the ground; some were ripped apart in the early stages by deep political conflicts. But then, countries continued to display genuine desire to negotiate with each other for economic cooperation. Therefore economic cooperation has come to be viewed as a means to reinforce their political and economic independence as well as their collective economic strength. He thus concludes that, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is the most concrete African initiative in the right direction. I also share in S.K.B’s opinion in that ECOWAS is striving hard to achieve economic cooperation among its member states.
William M. Lyakurwa has also argued that since capital investment and technological progress are ways to economic growth, regional integration in Africa, which has a prospect of attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flows, would enhance technological progress and capital investment. It is argued that regional cooperation in sub-Saharan Africa requires an external anchor to be viable and sustainable. He further goes on to argue that the link between integration and FDI is confirmed by the experience of Portugal and Spain which are examples of two different economies. He further goes on to note that FDI to these countries were increased according to Romer, P.M. In this instance, it is unfair to compare the economies of Africa to that of Portugal and Spain since there is a vast difference.

Seth Kaplan also states that integration needs to be pursued through empowered institutions with the capacity not only to enforce decisions on governments but also to monitor the activities and performances of these governments, thereby creating a supra-national entity in these institutions. He further emphasizes the need to organize these institutions at the sub-regional level and then consolidate their achievements into one final integrated entity. Thus, the introduction of the ECOWAS Vision 2020 in June 2007 is aimed at setting a clear direction and goal towards a democratic and prosperous community by raising the standards of West Africans. It is a step in the right direction which the ECOWAS Authority of Heads of State and Governments have reaffirmed its commitment to.

According to Kwame Boafo-Arthur, Ghana has carved a niche for herself as a key player in sub-regional political matters arising, out of the unstable nature of member states. With this Ghana is noted to be at the forefront. He also made the point that the economic balkanization that
has untimely split the sub-region, even in the framework of ECOWAS, into Francophone and Anglophone is debilitating and frustrating. He further goes on to state that in the midst of these problems, Ghana has remained a beacon of peace and the role of peace maker and as a stabilizer in the sub-region.\(^{37}\)

Yakohene\(^ {38}\) further emphasizes that one of the key ingredients in the successes of Ghana’s integration efforts, is due to the fact that Ghana has generally enjoyed a comparatively stable political period that has translated in relative economic stability.\(^ {39}\) This has therefore increased her influence on the continental scene.\(^ {40}\)

### 1.8 Sources of Data

The study is mainly a library research and relies on textbooks, journal articles and seminar papers from the LECIAD library, Balme Library of the University of Ghana and the internet. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration is also contacted for official documents from the Africa and Integration Bureau, as well as the ECOWAS Secretariat at the Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Centre (KAIPTC). Unstructured interviews are also conducted with experts in the field like Professor S.K.B Asante, Amb. D.K. Osei and Mr. Ernest Ortsin.

### 1.9 Methodology

The study adopts a qualitative method in analysing the data collected. The qualitative method is employed for this study because it focuses on the use of already existing data, books, articles, journals as well as internet sources which is related to my work. The study also benefits from
primary data collected through the use of unstructured method to interview three (3) experts in the field of study. This method is appropriate for the study because it helps to draw empirical evidence in areas of high uncertainty, as well as situations where research findings may take a long time to discover.

1.9 Organization of the Study

The study is arranged in four (4) chapters. Chapter one is the Research Design, which entails an Introduction to the Study, Statement of the Problem, Objectives of the Study, Scope of Study, Rationale of the Study, the Hypothesis, Literature Review, Theoretical Framework, Sources of Data, the Methodology and finally the Organization of the Study.

Chapter two goes on to review the state of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in terms of achieving the objectives of sub-regional integration scheme since the new millennium. Chapter three further examines Ghana’s role in ECOWAS in the new millennium and Chapter four which is the final one constitutes the Summary of Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations.
ENDNOTES


2 Ndomo, A. ‘Regional Economic Communities in Africa’ A progress Overview, Study Commissioned by GTZ (2009).


14 Ibid., p. 65.


17 Ibid.


19 Ibid.


23 Ibid. p.7.


25 Sako ,S. ‘Challenges Facing Africa’s Regional Economic Communities in Capacity Building’ (ACBF Occasional Paper No. 5 2006).


27 Ibid.


29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.


32 Ibid.


34 Ibid.

ibid.

ibid., pp.34.

Yakohene, A.B., op. cit., p.16.

ibid. p 16.

ibid., p 16.
CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS) IN THE NEW MILLENIUM

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the state of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in terms of achieving the objectives of sub-regional integration scheme since the new millennium. The Chapter is divided into two parts. The first part gives a brief history of the community, its aims and objectives as well as its organs/institutions. The other part of the chapter reviews the state of ECOWAS with respect to its achievement since the new millennium in the following areas: peace and security, community levy, free movement of persons and goods, market integration, institutional building, democracy and good governance, the Second West Africa Monetary Zone (WAMZ), infrastructure development and the Vision 2020 and highlights some of the challenges the community is facing in regards to achieving the objectives of the sub-region.

2.1 History of ECOWAS

The creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is known to have preceded quite a lot of events with former Liberian President William Tubman acknowledged with developing the initiative of creating a West African economic community. His idea spurred the signing of an agreement between Cote d’Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone in February 1965; however, the agreement was more of a requirement than an actual call to exploit as well as the Ghana-Guinea-Mali initiative which was spearheaded by Dr Kwame Nkrumah.¹
In this regard, General Gowon of Nigeria and General Eyadema of Togo reintroduced the idea in April 1972. These generals drafted proposals and treaties for a new community and then spent July and August of 1973 travelling to 12 countries in West Africa to assess interest and to elicit support. The draft treaty was further examined at a meeting of potential member states in Lome, Togo, in December 1973, at a meeting of experts and jurists in Accra, Ghana, in January 1974; and finally at a meeting of Ministers in Monrovia, Liberia, in January 1975.\(^2\)

The Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) is a regional economic bloc created by the Authority of Heads of State and Governments of West Africa on the 28th of May, 1975 in Lagos, Nigeria. ECOWAS is composed of the following West African countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d’Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo with Mauritania leaving the grouping reducing the number to fifteen (15) instead of sixteen(16). The signing of the Treaty of the Lagos Plan of Action is the basic frame work for realizing African regional cooperation and integration. However, the Final Plan of Action constitutes one of the documents which backed the formation of the ECOWAS and paved the way to foster close interaction among member-states particularly in the following areas:

- Strengthen trade cooperation by removing barriers to free trade and increase free movement of people, labour, goods, and capital across national borders;
- Develop infrastructure programmes in support of economic growth;
- Promote democratic institutions and governance;
- Reduce social exclusion and the development of an inclusive civil society;
- Contribute to peace and security in the region, and
Strengthen the region’s interaction with other regions of the world

The Treaty of ECOWAS further states that the founding fathers of the Economic Community of West African States, (ECOWAS) were very conscious of the overriding need to accelerate, foster and encourage the economic and social development of their states in order to improve the living standards of their people.

However, on July 24, 1993, the 16 members of ECOWAS signed a revised treaty were to remain legitimate and enforced, except for those that were inconsistent with the revised treaty. In agreement with the text of the revised treaty, all community conventions, protocols, decisions, and resolutions were made in the 1975 treaty. However, the revisions that were presented in the 1993 version of the treaty were made with the two basic goals of accelerating the integration of economic policy and improving political cooperation. But in December 1999, Mauritania withdrew from the ECOWAS because of conflicting opinions on some of the decisions that were made during a Summit, lowering the number of member States back to 15. The basic goal, has therefore, in the areas of economic and political integration of West Africa and the African continent as a whole, been the ambition and aspiration of political leaders in Ghana.

2.2 Aims and Objectives of ECOWAS

Article 2 of the ECOWAS treaty (1993) states the aims of the Community which is to “promote co-operation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its peoples and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among member states and contribute to the progress and development of the African Continent.”
The same Article 2 sets out the main objectives which also states that the community shall by stages endeavour to achieve these objectives namely:

- The establishment of a customs union through the creation of a free trade area and the adoption of a common external tariff by gradually abolishing all customs duties taxes of equivalent effect and quantitative and administrative restrictions on trade among Member states as well as all other obstacles to the free movement of goods, services, capital and personnel;

- The harmonization of policies and promotion of community projects in all the main socio-economic sectors, including transport, communication, agriculture, industry, natural resources, energy, social and cultural matters;

- The harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies of Member States.

### 2.3 Organs/Institutions of ECOWAS

The ECOWAS is made up of the following institutions which seek to prosecute its function, namely:

- **The Authority of Heads of State and Government** - The Authority of Heads of State and Government of Member States is the supreme institution of the Community and is composed of Heads of State and/or Government of Member States. The Authority is responsible for the general direction and control of the Community and takes all measures to ensure its progressive development and the realization of its objectives. The Authority meets at least once a year in ordinary session. An extraordinary session may be convened by the Chairman of the Authority or at the request of a Member State provided
that such a request is supported by a simple majority of the Member States. The office of
the Chairman is held every year by a Member State elected by the Authority.

❖ **The Council of Ministers** - The Council comprises the Minister in charge of ECOWAS
Affairs and any other Minister of each Member State. The Council is responsible for the
functioning and development of the Community and by the powers delegated to it by the
Authority, the Council issues directives on matters concerning coordination and
harmonization of economic integration policies. It also makes recommendations to the
Authority on the appointment of the External Auditors, prepares and adopts its rules of
procedure, and carries out all other functions assigned to it. The Council meets at least
twice a year in ordinary session. An extraordinary session may be convened by the
Chairman of Council or at the request of a Member State provided that such request is
supported by a simple majority of the Member States.

❖ **The Community Parliament** - The ECOWAS Parliament has 115 seats, which are
distributed among the 15 ECOWAS Member States on the basis of their population.
Nigeria, which has by far the largest population, has 35 seats; Togo, Liberia, Cape Verde,
Guinea Conakry, Guinea Bissau, Republic of Benin, the Gambia, Sierra Leone have 5
Parliamentarians each; Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Senegal have 6 Parliamentarians
each; Cote d’Ivoire is entitled to 7 representatives; Ghana has 8 seats. The Parliament
plays an essentially consultative role: it provides advisory opinion on issues covering a
wide range of areas that are of crucial importance for the integration process. These
include respect for human rights, the interconnection of communication and
telecommunication links, health, education, and revisions of basic community texts. The
Parliament’s political organs are the plenary, the Bureau, the Conference of Bureaux and the parliamentary standing committees.

- **The Economic and Social Council** – They perform an advisory role and the composition includes representatives of the various categories of economic and social activity.

- **The Community Court of Justice** - The court addresses complaints from member states and the institutions of ECOWAS, as well as issues relating to defaulting nations. The court has a president, chief registrar and seven judges and is a permanent institution.

- **The Executive Secretariat** - The Secretariat is headed by the Executive Secretary assisted by Deputy Executive Secretaries and other staff as may be required for the smooth functioning of the Community. The Executive Secretary directs the activities of the Executive Secretariat. The duties of the Executive Secretariat include: execution of decisions taken by the Authority and application of the regulations of the Council; promotion of Community development programmes and projects as well as multinational enterprises of the region; convening as and when necessary meetings of sectoral Ministers to examine sectoral issues which promote the achievement of the objectives of the Community; preparation of draft budgets and programmes of activity of the Community and supervision of their execution upon their approval by Council; submission of reports on Community activities to all meetings of the Authority and Council; preparation of meetings of the Authority and Council as well as meetings of experts and technical commissions and provision of necessary technical services among others.

- **The Fund for Co-operation, Compensation and Development** - The Fund prepares the Community projects and programmes and submits them for the consideration of
Council through the Executive Secretary, either on its own initiative or at the request of Council or the Executive Secretary; ensure the harmonisation and co-ordination of projects and programmes of the Community; monitor and facilitate projects and programmes and also carry out any other functions assigned to it.

- **Any other institutions that may be established by the Authority.**

The institutions of the Community perform its functions and act within the limits of the powers conferred on them by the Treaty and the protocols.⁶

### 2.4 Achievements of ECOWAS since the new millennium

ECOWAS has chalked a number of successes since the dawn of the new millennium; especially following the adoption of a fast track approach at the 22⁹ ECOWAS Summit held from 9-10th December, 1999 in Lome, several meetings were held in Accra and Abuja with Ghana and Nigeria initiating a strategy to accelerate the ECOWAS integration process.

#### 2.4.1 Peace and Security

Peace and security initiatives have been the key to ECOWAS since its inception and the community has therefore taken the appropriate measures in the best possible means to maintain stability over the decades. The establishment of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peace-keeping and Security (ECOWAS Mechanism for short) allows ECOWAS to intervene in situations that threaten to trigger humanitarian disasters; of serious and massive violation of human rights and the rule of law; and in the event of an overthrow or attempted overthrow of a democratic government. This in fact is a major hurdle forward towards
strengthening the fundamental freedoms of the individual as well as support for democratic governance.7

The Mechanism has wide ranging objectives and functions as its name implies; and comprehensive in terms of its institutions as well. The Authority, composed of the Heads of State and Government of member-states, is the highest decision making body. A three-tier, nine-member Mediation and Security Council (MSC) is responsible for taking decisions on peace and security on behalf of the Authority. The Defence and Security Commission which furnishes the MSC with technical advice is made up of the heads of various security agencies and experts from related Ministries of member states. The Executive Secretariat has a Deputy Executive Secretary (for Political Affairs, Defence and Security) to ensure that the ECOWAS develops institutional facilities to manage and back field operations. The Council of Elders is drawn from a list of eminent persons from various segments of society to act as mediators, conciliators and facilitators. The ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) composed of several stand-by multi-purpose modules of civilian and military units to handle various aspects of conflict management.8

The existence and achievements of the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) which was established to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts in the sub-region has played a vital role in the peace and security sector of the community which today stands as an ideal model on the international front especially in its role in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, Cote d’Ivoire and recently, Mali. The ECOMOG has indeed made the sub-region well known on the international scene through its peacekeeping roles.
In December 2001, ECOWAS leaders adopted a supplement to the Mechanism, the Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance which seeks to address issues of corruption, free and fair elections, and civilian control of the military and unconstitutional changes in government.

It must be emphasised that ECOWAS appears to have found the right formula in coordinating with the UN in task sharing when it comes to the maintenance of Peace and Security. In Cote d’Ivoire and Liberia, ECOWAS went in as a stabilization force and its troops were later recapped as part of the UN mission. This proved more effective than UNOMIL’s ‘supervisory’ role in Liberia’s first war, and UNAMSIL’s troubled take-over from ECOMOG in Sierra Leone.  

Also, the swift manner in which ECOWAS leaders brokered a negotiated settlement in September 2003 in Guinea-Bissau was commendable and even infectious. Following the military coup that ousted President Kumba Yala after three years of erratic rule, he was offered a dignified exit by formally and publicly resigning while the military was granted amnesty in lieu of hanging on to power. It was indeed an innovative addition to ECOWAS’s conflict management toolkit sourced from the traditional African practice where elders got up at dawn to settle disputes in the family. And in 2004, after the 6th-7th October military mutiny over arrears, ECOWAS’ widow’s mite of half a million dollars towards the settlement of the arrears was a practical demonstration of commitment, coming as it were, from an impoverished organization.

2.4.2 Community Levy

A Community levy system was adopted in June 2003, based on 0.5% of levies on imports from 3rd countries into the region. Revenue accruing is then deposited directly into ECOWAS Accounts at all the Central Banks of member states, which are then remitted to ECOWAS.
Accounts in Abuja for the running of its institutions and activities. On the average annually, $120 – 150 million is yielded. This could be more, if corruption is reduced and efficiency becomes the hall-mark of our Customs agencies as well commitment by member states to remit the Commission.\textsuperscript{11}

2.4.3 \textit{Free Movement of Persons and Goods}

ECOWAS has facilitated regional mobility of labour whereby it has derived a common travel document that permits nationals of one member-state to enter another country without any visa requirements, the right of residence and right to establishment. This has therefore created a community spirit and regional solidarity whereby we can talk of a West African citizen who does not need a visa before travelling to another West African country as Ibn Chambas, former Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, pointed out to 'New African' magazine recently, ECOWAS is indeed the only region in Africa where it is possible to travel without a visa. Residents of West Africa now have the right to move freely, to get settled wherever they want within the Community to carry out any activity. An ECOWAS passport was introduced in December 2000 and is to serve as a replacement for national passports.\textsuperscript{12}

The ECOWAS Commission has also embarked upon reflection with technical partners for establishment of an electronic registration system at border entry and exit points. This activity is intended to be accomplished with the aid of the new ECOWAS identity card which will replace national identity cards. By insuring free movement of goods and persons and improving the road transport system the Authority of Heads of States and Government adopted a decision calling for national committees to be established in order to monitor implementation of ECOWAS decision
and protocols on free movement of persons and vehicles. An ECOWAS- West African Monetary Institute (WAMI) Joint Task Force has also been established in 2008 to ensure the effective and accelerated ratification and implementation of all ECOWAS Protocols and conventions relating to trade and free movement of persons, goods and services.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{2.4.4 Market Integration}

There has been the elimination of tariffs, the free movement of goods and services and more intra-ECOWAS trade which is helping boost intra-trade among Member States. Though this integrative function of the community has not been fully realized, it is worth noting that much has been done to facilitate an integrated market community.

The Community’s activities in trade and Customs issues are being executed within the framework of the Niamey Decision of the Authority of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government on the application of the ECOWAS Common Tariff (CET), the Protocol of 27 July 1996 instituting Value Added Tax (VAT) in member states, and the Mandate for Negotiating the Economic Partnership Agreement for West Africa adopted in January 2003. ECOWAS thus seeks to have the following issues as priority areas:

\begin{itemize}
  \item The establishment of a common market in West Africa, leading to the creation of a free trade zone and the institution of a Custom Union.
  \item Establishment of the Computerized Custom Data Processing System (ASYCUDA), which makes it easier to generate trade data within ECOWAS and enhance custom revenue collection. Also continuous efforts were made at the harmonization of the Community Customs Code and Customs Valuation.
\end{itemize}
● Harmonization of domestic tax legislation.


● Creation of Trade Opportunities Management Systems (TOP) to show-case business opportunities in ECOWAS.

● Regular organization of Trade Fairs, Exhibitions and similar events which has been one of the vital channels of promoting intra trade. Five ECOWAS Fairs held in (Dakar - 1995, Accra - 1999, Lomé - 2003, Lagos – 2005, 5th in Burkina Faso, March 2008, 6th in Cote d’Ivoire in 2010. During the 5th one, 11 member states, over 2000 economic operators, public/private enterprises and 6 West African regional organizations participated. The daily business turn-over was about 56 million CFA Franc. The 7th ECOWAS Trade Fair is scheduled to be held in Ghana in October, 2013, emphasis has been made to involve the West African Private Sector operators.

In 2010, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) adopted the “West African Common Industrial Policy” and one of its key objectives is to increase the share of intra-regional trade from currently around 12% of total trade to 40% in 2030, with a vision to maintain a solid industrial structure, which is globally competitive, environmentally-friendly and capable of significantly improving the living of the people by 2030. This is the latest step in a long history of ambitious attempts for regional integration in West Africa, and it follows a global trend towards regionalisation of trade integration.


2.4.5 Institutional Building

**ECOWAS Parliament** – The ECOWAS Parliament launched in 2004 is a remarkable progress. It was established under Articles 6 & 13 of the Revised ECOWAS Treaty (1993) as a forum for dialogue, consultation and consensus for the representatives of the people of West Africa with the aim of promoting integration to which it is enabling the peoples of the sub-region to make their views known.\(^\text{18}\)

The headquarters is situated at Abuja-Nigeria and there are 115 members excluding the Speaker of the House. The Parliament is noted to meet twice every year in which currently each session lasts for four weeks but however, there are emergency sessions if the need arises. Also the Parliament, through its standing Committees, holds meetings outside its headquarters in Abuja. These meetings are aimed at bringing the activities of the Parliament closer to the people.\(^\text{19}\)

**ECOWAS Commission** - The Heads of State and Government broke with the past by their historic decision to transform the ECOWAS Secretariat into a Commission in 2006. The difference goes beyond a name change and an increase in the number of officers at the management level. After more than thirty years of existence, ECOWAS finds itself at a crossroad. At thirty-eight, ECOWAS has come of age, it is mature and the master of its destiny. These initiatives were boosted by the Heads of State and Government when they endorsed institutional transformation covering all ECOWAS Institutions.\(^\text{20}\)

By implementing this transformation process which should reposition ECOWAS vis-a-vis the West African populations to whom pledges have been made, the leaders of the region have taken
the destiny of their institution into their own hands. Indeed, by subscribing to the vision of the founding fathers of ECOWAS, they have taken ownership of the objectives designed to improve the living conditions of the citizenry, ensure economic growth and create an environment conducive to development and integration. By becoming a Commission with enhanced powers and Commissioners in charge of smaller and clearly defined sectors, the ECOWAS Commission has more impact and become more visible in member states.\textsuperscript{21}

The main features of restructuring the Commission include the following:

- To better adapt to the international environment.
- To play a more effective role in the integration and development process.
- A President, a Vice-President and 7 Commissioners.
- A smaller and more clearly defined sector for each Commissioner.
- Support to member states to build their capacities for program implementation.
- A predictable rotation system based on equity, transparency and functionality for the appointment to key positions.\textsuperscript{22}

**ECOWAS Community Court of Justice** - The Court of Justice which is mandated to adjudicate disputes relating the implementation and application of the ECOWAS Treaty began operating in 2001 as well. The Court is also situated in Abuja-Nigeria, whose membership of seven including a President and Vice-President is elected by the members from among themselves which are all from different Member-States. The Court of Justice is the principal legal organ of the ECOWAS and its main function is to settle disputes between countries in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty. It also has the power, at the request of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, Council, one or more Member States, or the President of the Commission and any
other institution of the community, to give a legal opinion or interpretation of the ECOWAS Treaty in an advisory capacity.\textsuperscript{23}

With regards to the judicial activities for the year 2010, the Court recorded eighteen (18) new cases, held sixty-seven (67) sittings and delivered seventeen (17) judgements. The statistical data of that year did not only indicate the opportunity provided the Court with expansion of its judicial capacity to cover human rights cases but also the provisions making the Court available when resource to all internal channels for appeal had been exhausted. Furthermore, this was an indication of determination of the judges to work together in the spirit of amity and cordiality in order to produce work of high quality. In doing this ECOWAS has brought the Court closer to the public and has made it possible for the Community Citizens to know the Court better in order to exercise their legal rights adequately. E.g. the Court held a hearing in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso from 20\textsuperscript{th} to 23\textsuperscript{rd} April, 2010 in a case involving the Civil Service; here the Court seized the opportunity to organize a press conference, interviews and distributed its publications to the public.\textsuperscript{24}

**ECOWAS and the Private Sector** - The ECOBANK, one of the sub region’s largest banks, with 57 branches and offices in 12 countries across West Africa, though a private sector initiative has been largely supported by the ECOWAS. This has given credence to the community’s objective of involving the private sector in the integration process. Also few ECOWAS nationals know that ECOWAS has a container-handling facility, based in Lome, called ECOMARINE. It was established in June 2001 with funding from the World Bank. A regional airline, ECOAIR - also a first for the continent - is being planned since 2000, with
Nigeria and Ghana, among others, owning shares. Regrettably it has yet to attract sufficient capital to see the project take off.\textsuperscript{25}

\textbf{2.4.6 Democracy and Good Governance}

Attention is being given to the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance boosted by the African Peer Review Mechanism. There is a new wave of democracy blowing in the sub-region, where we see one democratically elected government handing over power to another without the interference of the military. ECOWAS is concerned and interested in these developments, hence the spate of election monitoring/observations being undertaken e.g. the observer missions to Togo in 2010, Guinea- Bissau in 2012 and Cote d’Ivoire 2010 in order to ensure credible, transparent, as well as free and fair elections.

Agreeably, there are abuses by incumbent governments, thereby throwing the process into some disrepute. All the same, it is better and gradually through education and awareness of civil society coupled with a meaningful role by the media, things will change, as it happened in Ghana December (2000 & 2008) Benin (April 2006), Sierra Leone (August 2007) and Togo (October 2007).\textsuperscript{26}

Also in the area of Democracy and Good Governance the commission has facilitated the institutionalisation of the Network of National Human Rights Institutions by adopting a triennial plan of activities and a medium-term action plan in order to strengthen the Human Rights in Member States.
2.4.7 West Africa Monetary Zone (WAMZ)

The West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) was formed in the year 2000 to run alongside the CFA Franc zone which already existed in the sub-region. The primary objective of the WAMZ is to establish a common Central Bank that will issue and manage a common currency namely the ECO, with a cooperative integration framework and finally merge the two zones into a single ECOWAS currency zone. The West African Monetary Institute (WAMI), located in Accra-Ghana, was therefore set up to prepare member countries for the second monetary union, by implementing the WAMZ programmes, consisting a set of macroeconomic convergence criteria that member states are to attain and build the architecture of the WAMZ.²⁷

WAMZ is made up of The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. These countries alongside Liberia have committed themselves towards the establishment of the Second West African Monetary Zone scheduled for 2015 after several postponements in January, 2003, July, 2005, and December, 2009 respectively. This has been due to a number of key issues and constraints namely the slow pace to which contribution to the WAMZ programme by member-states, expediting the convergence process which most countries are not able to move up on the convergence scale as expected of them due to having extra budgetary expenditures and the constant borrowing from the West African Central Bank, also the poor nature to which an effective sensitization programme to all stakeholders has to be implemented. In addition, the area of losing the sovereignty of controlling their countries’ currencies serves as another major challenge.²⁸ Despite these challenges, WAMZ has paved the way for the ECOWAS single monetary zone that has been envisaged in accordance with its objective which is likely to hasten
the process of fiscal integration within the community among other benefits like an effective convergence of financial systems.\textsuperscript{29}

\subsection*{2.4.8 Infrastructure Development}

The implementation of the key regional infrastructure projects namely the $500m cross border West African Gas Pipeline (WAGP) project to produce and channel natural gas from Nigeria to other member states of the Community is underway. It consists of 569 kilometre long off-shore pipeline to ship natural gas from Nigeria oil fields to Benin, Togo and Ghana for electricity generation and for other industrial use. The cost of the project which was estimated to cost $700 million is now about $1 billion. Other details about the project are all major construction works which have been completed within Nigeria and the Itoki Natural Gas Export Terminal of the WAGP which was commissioned on 27 May 2007.\textsuperscript{30}

The pipeline has however, experienced hitches in its operations which resulted to a shut down for eight months, following the August, 28, 2012 pipeline breech caused by an illegal vessel trying to escape from the Nigerian Navy. This pipeline breech which occurred offshore caused a leak, resulting in the entry of salt water into the pipeline.\textsuperscript{31}

The West Africa Power Pool which has also commenced to ensure inter-connectivity of national electricity grids with an installed capacity of 10,000mv is to provide equivalent the region’s energy requirements by 2015.\textsuperscript{32} The Power Pool was created by Decision A/DEC.5/12/99 during the 22\textsuperscript{nd} Summit of the Authority of ECOWAS Heads of States and Government in order to address the issue of power supply deficiency within West Africa. The West African Power Pool
is guided by a Steering Committee comprising of Energy Ministers of ECOWAS Member States, supported by a Project Implementation Committee, comprising Managing Directors of Member States utilities and Technical and Institutional Working Groups.33

Road transport is the dominant mode of transport in the ECOWAS sub-region accounting for between 80 to 90% of the sub-region’s passenger and freight transport and provides the only form of access to over seventy per cent (70%) of the population residing in rural communities. The road network is among the sub-region’s largest assets. West Africa has completed more than 83% or 3,777 kilometres, of the coastal highway, according to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The community is in the process of building the highways, some of these construction projects in the region, under the auspices of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). The bulk of the remaining work is in sections that link to Liberia, Cote d’Ivoire and Sierra Leone, due to the years of conflict destroying much of the infrastructure in those countries. A total of 9000 km of road and 1100 km of inter connecting road are also being constructed to open up land-locked countries.34

ECOWAS has also developed an action plan the construction of the 1,028 km Lagos-Abidjan highway. Nigeria and other four countries namely Benin, Togo, Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire adopted the plan at a meeting in Abuja with the aim of speeding up the building work. The Abidjan-Lagos Corridor covers a total distance of 1,028 km and connects some of the largest and economically most dynamic cities of West Africa, including Lagos, Accra, Cotonou, Lome and Abidjan. Building is planned to commence sometime in 2014 and will be completed within 24 months. But then sections of the road infrastructure are in poor condition and continue to fall
below internationally acceptable standards for a regional corridor due to the multiple check points, numerous control posts, which obstruct the ECOWAS protocol on free movement and interstate road transport facilitation, cross-border traders and travellers without the appropriate documents suffering various degrees of harassment and extortion at the border which need to be kept on high alert.  

Telecommunication has also been tremendously improved in an attempt to facilitate smooth communication among member states. The INTELCOM II Program for the development of Telecommunication and Information Communication Technology (ICT), especially a common convertible SIM card for the region. With ‘MTN’ SIM card, you can operate in Ghana, Benin, Nigeria and Cameroun. Also with ‘Orange’ you can operate in Mali, Senegal, Guinea-Conakry, Guinea Bissau and Cote d’Ivoire. The only problem for now is one has to recharge the SIM card from the country of purchase. ECOWAS is therefore renowned as the strongest sub-regional group in Africa which has modernized the communication network in the sub-region.

2.4.9 ECOWAS Vision 2020

The “ECOWAS of people” initiative is a project that is of an immense importance to the community– which is distinguished to be a new direction for ECOWAS within the framework of Vision 2020. What this means is that, all the programmes and activities are people-centered. It is all about the people, the Community citizens. The hole objective of the ECOWAS Vision in this regard is the total well-being of the citizens, hence the transformation from an ECOWAS of states to an ECOWAS of the people.
Here, the emphasis is be made that when the people begin to see that ECOWAS exists for their own benefit, they are encouraged to buy-in and assume ownership of the integration process. The new direction is very clear to all our institutions and citizens. For instance, citizens are taking full advantage of the existence of the Community Court of Justice and bringing their cases for negotiation. Initially, only states enjoyed such a benefit, but today citizens who have issues even with their own countries can take them to the Court of Justice. A case in point is the Association of Nigerian Traders in Ghana taking the Government of Ghana to the ECOWAS Court of Justice for adjudication on the effects of the policy on retail trading in Ghana this was due to closure of over 40 shops belonging to Nigerian traders on the 13th February, 2013.

2.5 Challenges in Achieving the Objectives of ECOWAS

ECOWAS is faced with a lot of challenges towards achieving its objectives in the direction of a regional integration even though it has chalked many successes. These challenges include:

2.5.1 Sensitization of the Citizens

For ECOWAS, perhaps the greatest challenge is to engage the region's 257 million citizens with the project of regional integration. The quirk of fate of the bad hype that ECOWAS has received because of the conflicts in the region is that, whether we like it or not, it is publicity after all. Even if outsiders continue to see West Africa as an unstable region, ECOWAS is firmly ensconced in most West African's consciousness. ECOWAS doesn't do referendums whereby people can get to know there is a regional grouping such as ECOWAS. However, you will be hard-pressed to find a Liberian, a Sierra Leonean or an Ivorian who has not heard of ECOWAS.
In Ghana, as well not much of its citizens know about the community to the extent of the various protocols and conventions to which Ghana has signed and is yet to sign. The variety of trade fairs and exhibitions held by ECOWAS should be made more publicly as Ghana is scheduled to host the 7th ECOWAS Trade Fair in 2013 to which most Ghanaians are not aware of not to talk of other member-states.

2.5.2 Political Commitment

It was the “Political Will” by some leaders of the sub-region at the time which deployed ECOMOG in Liberia with the resultant abatement of the humanitarian tragedy. Unfortunately, some leaders, due to political and other interests are not committed and dedicated to their promises and agreements reached, thus frustrating regional integration efforts. The ratification of Treaties and Protocols for example is a problem to some of them. See Appendix A for the ratifications of Protocols and Conventions of the ECOWAS as at 15th August, 2012 which indicates how some leaders are committed and those who do not sign the protocols and conventions.

So far evidence suggests what appears to be a lack of special interest in support and total commitment on the part of member-states to the goals and objectives of the community. It is noted that in the scheme of things in most ECOWAS countries matters of economic integration are not accorded the same priority in the mind as primarily national issues. This has therefore manifested in member-states independently developing their own strategies, plans and priorities with regional cooperation hardly reflecting in them. A case in point is Ghana betraying the Ivory Coast when needed most especially having signed a communiqué in line with the stepping
down of then President Gbagbo. Ghana in this direction failed to send its troops to assist as expected only for the late President Mills to come up with the statement of ‘Dziwu fie asem’ which means mind your own business. It is in this regard that Ekow Spio Garbrah stated that ‘the way the President went about the situation was clearly a betrayal of the cause of ECOWAS to which the international scene realized the front of ECOWAS has been broken’. \(^{42}\) This Ghana did not execute well especially in championing the aims and ideals of ECOWAS.

### 2.5.3 Intra-Regional Economic Community (REC) Trade

According to S.K.B. Asante, the slow progress in ECOWAS integration does not concern mainly tariff and non-tariff barriers, but it is in the community’s approach to West African economic integration. The continuous emphasis on market integration with little done on production integration makes it difficult for member states to trade among themselves as the commodity to trading is problematic. There is also the slow trade liberalization in West Africa while North and South Africa has its trade on a high side. This has to do with the tariff and non-tariff barriers which have not been effectively removed. Member states still trade largely with the north as against intra community trade. \(^{43}\)

ECOWAS has however been noted to have established a moderate growth in intra-Regional Economic Community trade between 2000 and 2007. The region’s export registered an average growth rate of 32\% and import average growth rate of 36\% for intra-REC trade for the period under review. This figure is similar to the region’s trade with the rest of the world remains steadily at 24\% of export and 27\% for import within the sub-region. \(^{44}\)
2.5.4 Production Structures

The ECOWAS communities are still dominated by primary export products without diversified basic production. ECOWAS has not been able to establish major multinational industrial projects to produce finish goods to reduce the dependency on imported goods. According to S.K.B. Asante, there is generally the lack of harmonization of sectoral policies in agriculture, industry, transportation and energy. It was in 2005 that a Common Agriculture Policy was adopted, which has not been yet been implemented. It must be emphasized that there is a poor integration of production structures as both the 1975 Treaty and the 1993 Revised Treaty provided for a harmonized agriculture policy in West Africa in which much has not been done to bring these policies to light. Also, the 1984 Protocol on Community Enterprise designed to promote integration of production through joint industrial projects failed to materialize. Moreover, most of the West African countries do not produce manufactured goods, but they export their raw materials to other parts of the world like Europe. This poses a challenge to intra-community trade.\(^{45}\)

2.5.5 Political Instability

The description of West Africa is a succession of conflicts: Most of the states have seen civil wars reminiscent of Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau and currently Ivory Coast, coups d’État in member states namely Gambia, Niger, Guinea as well as ethnic and religious clashes which include Benin, Nigeria and Mali since gaining independence and entering the new Millennium. Moreover, Adebajo states that poverty, political despotism, corruption and foreign intrusion have turned ‘the dreams of an economically integrated and politically united West Africa into a living nightmare for most of its citizens’.\(^{46}\)
These conflicts keep rising up and are noted as one of the challenges for impeding the integration process which the sub-region desires to attain. Currently is the Malian crisis which ECOWAS is trying to resolve with the assistance from the French Armed Forces. These conflicts impede integration programmes as the community is usually compelled to channel its scarce resources into peacekeeping operations. Political instability also puts pressure on governments of member states such that they tend to put all their attention on their unstable political legitimacy and how to survive the pressure as against demands from ECOWAS.

In this regard, earlier this year during a visit, President Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria, speaking in Yamoussoukro, Cote d’Ivoire, stated that ‘leaders of the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, must work together to achieve peace, security, political stability and economic prosperity, without political stability, the economies of member countries cannot grow, and stronger economies will help achieve greater political stability, he further stated that ‘ECOWAS needs to be strengthened and this can be achieved by strengthening individual countries economically and politically.’

2.5.6 Bad Governance and Corruption

The region is endowed with a lot of natural and human resources which when well managed should translate into socio-economic development, which is the primary objective of ECOWAS. But bad governance, greed, avarice and massive corruption have been the order of the day. Also, there is a new trend of amending constitutions by incumbent presidents in order to extend their terms of office, there have been instances where incumbent presidents have refused to accept election defeat just like it happened in Cote d’Ivoire when former President Gbagbo refused to
accept the election results, these unfortunately entice the military to intervene and promising elections sooner than later but end up staying in office for long. These are some of the causes of conflict and crisis within the sub-region which ECOWAS has to contend with.\textsuperscript{48}

Corruption is principally a governance issue – a failure of institutions and lack of capacity to manage society by means of a framework of social, judicial political and economic checks and balances. When these formal and informal systems break down, it becomes harder to implement and enforces laws and policies that ensure accountability and transparency. From an institutional perspective, corruption arises when public officials have wide authority, little accountability and perverse incentive, or when their accountability responds to informal rather than formal forms of regulations.\textsuperscript{49} A common form of public sector corruption in West Africa is the appearance of ‘ghost names’ on the civil service payroll. For instance, in Ghana, the deputy Auditor-General disclosed in March 2002 that more than US $20 million had been paid to about 2,000 ghost names in the previous two years. Thus West African States do not perform well on the Africa rankings: only three countries – Ghana, Senegal and Burkina Faso – are ranked among the first ten least corrupt countries in Africa.\textsuperscript{50}
ENDNOTES

1 http://globaledge.msu.edu/trade-blocs/ecowas/history accessed 01/07/13
2 ibid
3 ECOWAS Secretariat: Revised Treaty of the ECOWAS 1993: 6-18
4 ibid., p.1.
5 http://globaledge.msu.edu/trade-blocs/ecowas/history accessed 01/07/13
6 ibid., p. 8.
8 ibid
9 ibid
10 ibid
12 http://www.fes.de/cotonou/DocumentsEN/ThematicFocus/Regional%20Integration/Statusofintegrationin Africa.pdf
13 Ladzekpo .D. op. cit.
15 Uexkull. E.V. ‘Regional Trade and Employment in ECOWAS.’ 2012
16 ibid
18 2010 Annual Report of ECOWAS
20 ibid
21 ibid
22 Ortisan K.A. ‘ECOWAS Q&A’ published by UNISPHERE (Ghana) under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (2012)
25 ibid.
27 ibid.
30 This day Newspaper, Tuesday, 23rd April, 2013.
31 ibid.
34 ibid.
35 Ladzekpo .D. op. cit.
39 Ladzekpo, D. op. cit.
44 ECOWAS vanguard Vol.2 Issue 5, op. cit.
46 Adebajo A. ‘Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau’ (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 2000)
48 Ladzekpo D. op. cit.
CHAPTER THREE

GHANA’S ROLE IN ECOWAS IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines Ghana’s role in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the new millennium which is from 2000 till present. The chapter gives a brief history to Ghana’s membership in the Community and her role, and then goes further to examine Ghana’s role in achieving the aims and objectives of the Community towards regional integration in the new millennium. The latter part of the chapter identifies some challenges Ghana has posed to West African integration since the New Millennium.

Ghana is noted to be one of the founding members of ECOWAS, but the then Head of State, General I.K. Acheampong did not play an active role in the formation process because his government was so engrossed in domestic politics and did not pay much attention to the ECOWAS. Similarly, Dr. Hilla Limann’s, People’s National Party (PNP) and civilian administration was also tied down to the stagnant economy and the politicized military it inherited which made it not to be bothered by the politics of ECOWAS.¹ Even if the Limann administration was committed to the ideals of ECOWAS, it did not have enough time to demonstrate it, since it was overthrown less than two years after its four-year term in office had commenced.²

As a result, it was only during the decade of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) rule that Ghana’s interest in integration schemes was rekindled. The PNDC era however partially
coincided with the period of destabilization of the West African sub-region and had to be involved in peace negotiations and the sending of peacekeepers to war torn Liberia, a role that was continued by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) government in Sierra Leone and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in Côte d’Ivoire.³

It must therefore be emphasized that Ghana became a member of the Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) together with Nigeria, Gambia, Mali and Togo in 1990 which was to find a solution to the Liberian crisis. In this direction, Ghana played a leading role in the formation of the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and made the second largest contributions in terms of peacekeepers, logistics and funds apart from Nigeria. It also contributed the first ECOMOG Commander, Lt. Gen. Arnold Quainoo. Ghana was also instrumental in promoting all the Liberian peace accords by hosting the Akosombo and Accra conferences in 1994, and Flt.Lt. Rawlings serving a two-term tenure as ECOWAS Chairman from 1994-1996, a period that facilitated the return of peace in Liberia especially contribution of personnel and logistics to the 1997 Liberian election. Mention must also be made of the leading role he played towards ensuring peace in Sierra Leone, particularly following the May 1997 coup d’état in that country.⁴

3.1 Ghana’s Role in the New Millennium

According to Ambassador Kwabena Baah-Duodu, Ghana’s foreign policy has remained largely unchanged since independence in 1957. Whatever changes there have been are to a matter of emphasis in tandem with new global and domestic realities, as well as the ideologies of the
government in power. To him, this has always been largely influenced by its history, geography, the perception of external threats, the economy, values, culture and domestic political situation.\textsuperscript{5}

The beginning of the new millennium for Ghana witnessed the New Patriotic Party (NPP) coming into power and the economic situation of the country was not in good footing and was coupled with the excessive fiscal expansion in the run-up to the 2000 Presidential and Parliamentary election among other things.\textsuperscript{6} However, Ghana did not relent in its roles and commitment to the ECOWAS which it had set the pace for other member-states to follow. Ghana’s role in the ECOWAS since the new millennium has been exhibited in the following areas:

\subsection{3.1.1 The Fast-Track Initiative}

On entering the New Millennium, Ghana’s commitment to the ECOWAS project was more underscored when together with Nigeria; it initiated a fast track approach to regional integration at an ECOWAS meeting in Lome, in December, 1999. The proposed fast track approach was a direct outcome of the lack of progress in the integration process of ECOWAS, vis-a-vis the seeming success of the Francophone grouping within the ECOWAS.\textsuperscript{7}

The rapid and successful integration among the countries in the Union Economique et Monetaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA) thus served as an important factor which led Ghana and Nigeria the birth of the fast track initiative. Conceptually, the initiative emphasized that if two or more member states were ready to implement a particular ECOWAS programme, they should be allowed to proceed with the implementation of the programme. These member states
implementing the said programme would then constitute a fast track group which the ‘slower track countries’ could join later. The idea was formally endorsed by the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government in Bamako, Mali in January 2000. Cletus Kossiba goes ahead to say that “the two countries that initiated the fast track approach have shown ample proof of their commitment to the process and leaders then, had consistently advocated for an accelerated integration process.”

3.1.2 Promotion of Good Neighbourliness

At the time NPP assumed the mantle of administration of the country, Ghana was not having the best of relations with some of its immediate neighbours: Togo - largely because the then President, Gnassingbe Eyadema did not like the presence of many of his country’s dissidents, especially Gilchrist Olympio in Ghana, and Burkina Faso due to the distrust between President J.J. Rawlings and President Compoare, arising from suspicions surrounding the assassination of ex-President Thomas Sankara. There was also instability in Cote d’Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Liberia.

Accordingly, the policy of Good Neighbourliness was thus crafted to promote a climate of peace and stability in the sub-region, a bold step taken by then President Kufuor to help build the trust and confidence between Ghana and her neighbours as a common basis for addressing common challenges to development across national frontiers; as explained by Nana Akufo Addo, the longest serving Foreign Minister under President Kufour “to ensure that conflicts in the sub-region do not degenerate to the extent of spilling over into neighbouring countries, since from all indications, Ghana is most likely to bear the brunt of the problems that will emanate there from,
under whatever circumstances. Our ultimate goal, however is to ensure that conflict is eliminated completely from the region so as to create the right atmosphere for countries within ECOWAS and beyond to pursue their economic, political and social agenda appropriately”.$^{10}$

This policy made Ghana stand tall among member-states, especially its neighbours, and this has thus strengthened and improved relations in the Community.

3.1.3 ECOWAS Chairmanship

After the Chairmanship of President J.J. Rawlings, the new millennium placed Ghana at the full glare of publicity within the ECOWAS Community. President Kufuor, the millennium President of Ghana, was also elected as the ECOWAS Chairman from 2003 to 2005 which placed Ghana for a second time in leading the management of the Community’s affairs.$^{11}$ In an interview with Professor S.K.B. Asante, he stated that these positions held by Ghana dynamically established the extent of the country’s interest in, and advocacy for, West African cooperation and integration.$^{12}$

President Kufuor, as ECOWAS Chairman for the two successive terms did marvellously especially in the area of peace and security with the sub-region specifically in Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast. In an interview with former Ambassador D.K. Osei, he stated some of the achievements of President Kufour as ECOWAS Chairman as consisting of the West African Gas Pipeline which today is to supply power to some member-states. He emphasised that this was an initiative from him, whereby he gathered team of experts to help provide gas from Nigeria, through Benin, Togo, and Ghana. Ambassador Osei also mentioned the initiative of starting a Maritime Programme by Kufuor as he realized that member-states could not establish shipping
lines on their own and it would be appropriate for the member-states to come together to achieve this. He also made mention of the initiative of the Joint airline to be owned by ECOWAS and private organizations and to be funded by the private sector bank ECOBANK.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{3.1.4 Ghana with the first Executive Secretary Position}

Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas become the first Executive Secretary of the ECOWAS and he showed a lot of commitment to the sub-regional body. He was elected Executive Secretary of ECOWAS at the 25th session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government in Dakar on 21 December 2001.\textsuperscript{14}

Dr Chambas was centrally involved in the ECOWAS mediation efforts in Liberia and directly participated in negotiations leading to the agreements ending the Liberian civil war. He further successfully positioned ECOWAS as a model regional organisation in Africa due to its accomplishments in the resolution of the conflicts in Cote d’Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau and Togo. He also has increased the profile of the organisation and forged beneficial relations between the community and development partners such as the United Nations, the European Union, and The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the African Development Bank and numerous donor countries. In addition, the relationship between ECOWAS and the African Union (AU) Commission became stronger. Under his leadership, ECOWAS also, achieved synergy between its integration programmes and the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) initiatives, again blazing the trail with regards to the regional approach to the implementation of NEPAD.\textsuperscript{15}
3.1.5 Transforming of the Secretariat into a Commission

Ghana's Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) received overwhelming endorsement from the West African leaders to be the first President of the proposed ECOWAS Commission. His appointment for a four-year term, took effect from January, 2007 when the ECOWAS Commission replaced the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat.16

Dr. Ibn Chambas was assisted by a Vice-President who was to be selected from Burkina Faso and seven Commissioners selected from Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo and Nigeria respectively. The decision to transform the Executive Secretariat into a Commission was taken by the West African leaders at the end of the 30th Ordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government in Abuja, Nigeria. The leaders adopted a system which provided for a well-defined rotation scheme to ensure a predictable and smooth replacement of the Commissioners. The decision by the West African leaders to transform the ECOWAS Secretariat into a commission was to enable the sub-regional body to deepen and accelerate the integration process, enhance the supranational powers of ECOWAS and adopt a new legal regime.17

In an interview with the Daily Graphic in June 2006, Dr. Ibn Chambas explained that under the legal text approved by the West African leaders for the establishment of the proposed Commission, some of the decisions of the President of the Commission, the Commissioners and Authority of Heads of State and Government would be binding on ECOWAS member states. The establishment of the Commission, he said, would usher in the emergence of supranationality in West Africa, a situation which would augur well for the integration process and economic
development of the sub-region. Dr. Ibn Chambas performed excellently in this capacity and raised high the flag of Ghana within the community.

3.1.6 Leadership Role in Peace and Security

Ghana has invested both human and financial resources in the search for sustainable peace and security in West Africa by participating in peace-keeping missions as well as negotiations and other initiatives for the maintenance of peace and security. Ghana is known to have succeeded after several unsuccessful attempts by ECOWAS and some regional leaders to bring all the warring factions together. These include:

**Liberia** - the first phase of the Liberia conflict which ended in 1997 with Ghana at the fore front hosting the Accra Peace Talks on 4th June 2003, brought all eighteen political parties together namely the two rebel groups (the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), civil society organizations and the Government of Liberia who were represented at the talks. At this event, President Charles Taylor expressed his intention to step down from office if that could bring peace to Liberia. However, while the opening ceremony was going on in Accra, the UN Special Tribunal in Sierra Leone served a warrant of the arrest of Mr. Taylor, allegedly through the Government of Ghana. Following the opening ceremony and the tensions created by the purported arrest of President Taylor, the Peace Talks commenced at Akosombo, Ghana, under the daily mediation of the ECOWAS Mediator, General Abdul salami Abubakar, former Head of State of Nigeria, assisted by a team of facilitators/technical experts drawn from the African Union (AU), the European
Union (EU), the United Nations (UN), the ECOWAS Secretariat and the US State Department, which was under the initiative of President Kufuor.\textsuperscript{20}

It is the swirl of this intensive negotiations conducted at Akosombo and, subsequently, at Accra, where the Peace Talks where moved to, that an Agreement on Ceasefire and Cessation of Hostilities was signed, on 17 June 2003, between the Government of Liberia, the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL). Here, it was anticipated that a Comprehensive Peace Agreement would be reached within 30 days after the signing of the Ceasefire Agreement, but took longer to be achieved, due to a number of factors, including the insistence of LURD and MODEL that President Charles Taylor should abdicate the office and leave the country, and, further, that they should head a transitional government to be set up after his departure.\textsuperscript{21} President Taylor however, insisted that he could only leave after the arrival of peacekeepers to ensure an orderly transfer of power. In this respect, it should be recalled that President Taylor, on 6 July 2003, confirmed his acceptance of the offer of asylum in Nigeria from President Olusegun Obasanjo who also paved way for the transition process. On 31 July 2003, after an Extraordinary Summit in Accra devoted to the situation in Liberia, an ECOWAS Ministerial Delegation flew to Monrovia to inform President Taylor that the Vanguard Force decided on by the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council, at its meeting held in Dakar, on 22 July 2003, would be deploying into Monrovia on 4 August. The Delegation also proposed to President Taylor that he step down on 7 August, that is, three days after the arrival of the Vanguard Force. However, President Taylor stepped down on 11\textsuperscript{th} August and handed over to Vice-President Moses Blah, in accordance with the consensus reached within the region that the transitional period which would follow the departure of President Taylor

54
would take the form of a two-tier process. The swearing in of Mr. Blah as Interim President was witnessed by the Chairperson of the African Union, President Joachim Chissano, President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and President John Kufuor of Ghana, the then Chairman of ECOWAS, as well as the Prime Minister of Togo.  

It was Ghana’s lead role which led to the signing of a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Accra on the 18th August, 2003 after two months of negotiations. This agreement made provision for the establishment of a Transitional Government and the Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Re-integration (DDRR) of all fighters among other matters in Liberia. It must be noted that Ghana was the leading troop contributor to the ECOWAS Stabilizing Force sent to maintain peace ahead of the UN Mission in Liberia, (UNMIL) when the relapse violence started.

Sierra Leone – Ghana continued to play a similar role in the crisis of Sierra Leone which was as a result of the May1997 coup which forced ECOWAS to send peacekeeping troops to that country until peace was restored in 2002 leading to the Legislative and Presidential elections held in May 2002. However, Ghana exhibited its leadership role with the intervention of then Foreign Affairs Minister, Nana Akufo Addo on 25th March, 2004 when he made it clear at the UN Security Council that the sudden withdrawal of UNAMSIL would represent a destabilizing factor, considering the security situation in the Mano River Basin in general. Consequently, the Security Council at its meeting on 30th March, 2004 noted that indeed the security situation in the country remained fragile, and therefore extended UNAMSIL’s mandate. This again shows Ghana’s concern and commitment for peace and security in the sub-region.
Cote d’Ivoire – with the second largest economy in ECOWAS and the largest among UEMOA countries, Cote d’Ivoire, as the financial heart of the region stretched the wits of ECOWAS leaders to the limit in search for solutions to the crisis which, if was not well-contained, could have brought disaster to countries like Ghana. Former President Kufuor was Chairman of ECOWAS during that moment and thus placed Ghana on the spotlight again. With this, it may be recalled that the Cote d’Ivoire crisis begun on the 19th September, 2002. The report of a coup d’état or mutiny by a group of soldiers came as a surprise because a two-month National Reconciliation Conference was reported to have gone on smoothly with all the political actors participating. As Chairman of ECOWAS, President Kufuor was invited to address the conference and his speech was reported to have inspired the process. Following the outbreak of hostilities on 19th September, 2002, Ghana accepted to host an Extraordinary Meeting of ECOWAS to discuss the conflict. The meeting was held on Sunday, 29th September, 2002 in Accra.

The Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS set up a High Level Contact Group (HLCG) comprising Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Togo to establish contact with the insurgents to prevail upon them to cease all hostilities, restore normalcy to occupied towns, and negotiate a general framework for the resolution of the crisis.

Ghana’s influence on the work of the HLCG was tremendous, leading to the signing of a Ceasefire Agreement on the 17th October, 2002. This Agreement was the precursor to the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement which was signed by all the Ivorian political forces in Paris on 24th January, 2003. However, the Accord ran into some difficulties which Ghana stepped in to salvage, the Government of Ghana consequently invited representatives of all political forces in
Cote d’Ivoire to a Round Table meeting in Accra from 6-7th March, 2003 where through the instrumentality of President Kufuor all the faction accepted his proposal to distribute ministerial portfolios in a Government of National Reconciliation. The Accra Accord instilled fresh impetus and a lifeline to the Linas-Marcoussis Accord.  

In the fourth quarter of 2003, the peace process again encountered difficulties, President Kufuor, still the Chairman of ECOWAS quickly organized a mini-summit in Accra on 11th November, 2003 to try and restore peace again. It was at this meeting that a delegation of ECOWAS Foreign Ministers, led by Ghana as usual, in the capacity of Hon. Nana Akufo Addo, the then Foreign Affairs Minister, was given the mandate to plead for the blue-helmet of the ECOWAS forces in Cote d’Ivoire. This mandate was successfully discharged, and the UN Security Council eventually sent a robust UN force to the West African country which subsumed the ECOWAS force and rescued the Community from the financial quagmire that expenditure in connection with its peacekeeping force in Cote d’Ivoire had ran into. Ghana also hosted the High Level Meeting which led to the signing of the Accra III Agreement, in July 2004, which led to the re-activation of the peace process in Cote d’Ivoire.

Guinea-Bissau – President Kufuor once stated that peace and stability are *sine qua non* for any meaningful sustainable development on the continent. In this regard, Ghana demonstrated its desire for peace as President Kufuor invited the then President, Mr. Koumba Yala, to Accra for consultations when he realized the deteriorating political situation in Guinea Bissau but this did not yield any results as the plea to President Yala fell on deaf ears and the military attempted to overthrow the government on 14th September, 2003. In order to prevent the normal classic coup
d’état form taking place, President Kufuor as ECOWAS Chairman, dispatched his Foreign Minister once again as the Head of an ECOWAS Mission to Guinea-Bissau to help curb the problem. A series of extensive consultations with the Armed Forces, representatives of political parties and civil societies was held in Bissau. This led to a compromise in which a transitional government of national unity headed by H.E. Mr. Henrique Rosa, to steer the affairs of the country for two years after which a transparent, free and fair elections were to be held for the country to return to normalcy.33

Furthermore, President Kufuor did not relent on his efforts with the restoration of some political sanity in Guinea-Bissau in September, 2003. He continued to use the influence and weight of ECOWAS in appealing to the UN, the AU, the EU, and the Bretton Woods institutions, the donor community, in general, to lend financial support to Guinea-Bissau to enable her embark on a successful democratic transition and socio-economic reconstruction.34

Togo- the crisis following the death of President Gnassingbe Eyadema on February 5th, 2005 and installation of his son, Faure Gnassingbe to complete his father’s term until 2008. Ghana’s actions were guided by the need to prevent another unstable or volatile situation on its eastern flank. In this direction Ghana took the initiative under leadership of President Kufuor to eliminate from the region so as to create the right atmosphere for countries within ECOWAS and beyond. With this, ECOWAS leaders subsequently imposed sanctions on Togo and called on Togolese authorities to revert to the status quo ante and manage the succession in line with the constitution of Togo. This forced the regime to back-track on their actions, with the stepping down of Faure Gnassingbe as President. Agreements were subsequently reached with the
authorities to organize free and fair elections, involving all political forces in Togo within sixty days, with the Speaker of Parliament as Interim President, in accordance with the Togolese constitution. Ghana contributed immensely to the negotiations.

3.1.7 Role in Maintaining the Trade Liberalization Scheme

A lot of Ghanaian companies have benefited from the establishment of the Trade Liberalization Scheme. Alhaji Muhammad Mumuni, former Minister for Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, stated that companies registered under the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS) are now able to circulate their finished products freely without restriction. Alhaji Mumuni also said Ghana is strongly pursuing the implementation of the ETLS, which provides the opportunities for small and medium enterprises to access the markets of other member states. He said in the first quarter of 2012, 22 Ghanaian products had been given approval to enjoy the benefits under the scheme. He further encouraged companies to take full advantage of the scheme to add value to their various products and participate in the various ECOWAS Trade Fairs despite the bottlenecks which may be encountered.

He said in order to reinforce trade, the ECOWAS Initiative for Export Promotion and Enterprise Competitiveness for Trade (ExPECT) initiative had been set up with the objective of building a sustainable structure to support export competitiveness by promoting high export potential value chains and increasing exports and this had to be done through engaging the region's private sector, donors, partners and other valuable stakeholders.
Indeed, Asante made emphasis in his book “Ghana and the West African Economic Integration Process in the 21st Century: Potential Development Opportunities, Challenges and Prospects” that expanding trade between Ghana and her ECOWAS partners is conceived as a long-term development strategy for the strengthening of political, social and economic relations and the fostering of a regional self-reliant development process that improves the livelihoods of their people, thus the Ghana Trade Policy was launched in December 2004, to enhance the integration of ECOWAS into a full customs union that will provide access to a larger market which will promote investment and industrialization.\(^\text{38}\)

### 3.1.8 West African Monetary Institute (WAMI)

The West African Monetary Institute was established in 2000 and began operations in 2001 which was to oversee the implementation of the WAMZ Programme. The main function of WAMI was to facilitate the creation of the West African Central Bank (WACB) that would supervise the introduction of the second West African currency. In an interview with S.K.B. Asante, he stated that there was serious competition between Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria with the location but Ghana triumphed thus the West African Monetary Institute (WAMI) is situated in Accra, Ghana.

### 3.1.9 Economic Partnership Agreement-EPA Negotiations

With regards to EPA negotiations, it should be recalled that the West Africa (ECOWAS Member States and Mauritania) have undertaken to negotiate as a bloc with their European counterparts. Ghana as usual in the lead together with Cote d’Ivoire have in December 2007, initialled an Interim Economic Partnership Agreement (IEPA), which provides a framework for trade in
goods only between the two parties. The IEPA was necessitated by the looming deadline for the previous agreement that governed trade and aid relations between the ACP countries and the EU. The previous agreement, known as the Cotonou Agreement, had been in existence since 2000. The Cotonou Agreement was preceded by four Lome Accords. These agreements set the terms for trade between the EU and ACP from the post-colonial period of the late 1950s up to 2007.\textsuperscript{39} According to the 2010 Annual Report of ECOWAS, much progress has been recorded by Ghana in the discussions on the EPA project. However, some divergent points persist, particularly concerning the issue of the Most-Favoured-Nation clause, agricultural subsidies, the Rendezvous clauses among others.\textsuperscript{40}

3.1.10 Establishment of Regional Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Bureau

Some West African citizens have been caught entering Ghana to benefit from the National Health Insurance especially in the new millennium which is but one of the many stories of how Free Movement for ECOWAS citizens, including the provision to stay ninety days in a country, can be misused. West African leaders, working through ECOWAS, have thus made significant strides on combating drug trafficking, crimes and all the attendant vices associated with the porous borders within the sub-region.

Member states like Guinea-Bissau have become soft spots for drug traffickers who have taken advantage of the often-corrupt systems of governance to use the country as a conduit for onward movement of their drugs. Ghana also being a victim therefore set the pace and proposed the establishment of a Criminal Investigative Intelligence Bureau (CIIB) way back in 2002.\textsuperscript{41}
3.1.11 Leadership in Good Governance

Ghana’s leadership in Democracy and good governance has been evident by Ghana’s successful implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the remarkable opportunities that this opened to the country. According to Asante, Ghana is sharing its lessons of experience not only with eight neighbouring ECOWAS member states, but also with a number of other African countries which have acceded to the APRM process. The ECOWAS/NEPAD agenda places a high premium on deepening democratic culture and achieving good governance in West Africa. Ghana in this direction adopted the Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance in December, 2001 as a supplementary protocol to the Mechanism on Conflict Prevention.

In the quest to enhance the Democracy and Good Governance expected within the region and Ghana as the pacesetter, a range of assistance has been given by Ghana to other member states towards their elections and maintenance of democracy. Ghana thus extended assistance to Togo in the conduct of its Presidential elections 2010 which come as good news to all well-meaning lovers of democratic governance. This was revealed in a communiqué that was signed by both governments of Ghana and Togo in Accra in 2009, after a two-day official visit to Ghana by Togolese President Mr. Faure Gnassingbe, Ghana therefore promised to offer electoral assistance to her neighbouring counterpart. This act therefore added to the democratic credentials of Ghana in vigorously pursuing the objective of Democracy and Good Governance. Ghana has also been assisting other member countries in terms of training which is held at the Kofi Annan Peace Keeping and Training Centre (KAIPTC) and also sending teams of observers to observe the election processes.
3.1.12 Participation in the ECOWAS Parliament

Ghana has been represented continuously in the Community’s Parliament since its inception in the new millennium (2000). Ghana has contributed in various ways in the institutional development of the ECOWAS, the integration process itself, as well as the promotion of harmonious relations within the sub-region. Ghana’s parliamentary representative took effect after the inaugural sessions of the Community Parliament in Bamako, Mali between the 16th and 19th of November, 2000 and in Abuja from 21st to 27th January, 2001.45

Ghana since the new millennium has contributed immensely to most of the works of the Community Parliament to which Ghanaian delegates drew attention to the following projects and programmes:

- The Permanent Framework for Coordination and Monitoring of Integrated Water Resource Management in West Africa;

- The adoption of a Regional Plan of Action for Integrated Water Resource Management;

- The issue of Energy in West Africa, particularly the establishment of a mechanism for financing of the West Africa Power Pool (WAPP)

- The issue of Food Security in West Africa, particularly a Mechanism for the implementation of the decision on adopting the Regional Program for Food Security (RPFS)

- Promotion of Private Airlines and Shipping companies, particularly the decision to grant certain advantages to the Private Airline Company- ECOAIR, and the Private Shipping Company, ECOMARINE

- The role of Parliament in the Monitoring and Observation of Elections and the Consolidation of Good Governance and Democracy in West Africa;
 Fight against Corruption and Human Trafficking
 Enhancement of the Powers of the Community Parliament in accordance with the decision of the Authority;
 The Status of the Community Parliament within the institutions of the Community and its relationship with these institutions;
 Strategies for the implementation of the decision of Heads of State and Government for negotiations of economic partnership agreement between West African ACP States and the European Union;
 Introduction of the debate on a common electoral law for West Africa;
 Interconnection of Telecommunication Network and Privatization of telecommunications in member states;
 Interconnection of Energy networks and distribution of fuel, gas and other petroleum products to non-petroleum producing countries;
 The issue of equivalences of University Degrees and Diplomas;
 Trans-human rules in ECOWAS Member States and the meat and milk trade in West Africa;
 The issue of Coordination and Dissemination of the results of Scientific and Technological Research in ECOWAS member states;
 The issue of Human and Child Trafficking and Child Soldiers in Member States;
 The Role of Private Banks in the integration process of West Africa;
 The issue of a single currency for West Africa.⁴⁶
Gebe states that Ghana’s representatives to the Community Parliament, continue to exhibit their commitment to the principles and objectives which underpinned its establishment and working towards the necessary transformations.

3.1.13 Role in Terms of Finance

Ghana as a member of the Community also contributes massively towards the financial needs in running the institutions and activities of the ECOWAS which is paid into the Community Levy. Ghana thus contributes its quota of 0.5% of all tariffs on goods from the 3rd party countries which are those outside the ECOWAS zone. Ghana hence, pays this into the Community Levy system. These contributions by member states have gone a long way to help in the financial constraints of the community. Ghana is also very committed to the financially to the ECOWAS projects e.g. the West African Gas Pipeline where Nigeria had to give $40 million towards Ghana’s contribution due to the good relations Ghana has had over the years with neighbouring Nigeria.47

3.1.14 Role in Transit Trade

As part of Ghana’s role in contributing towards a successful regional integration the access to use its ports namely Tema and Takoradi by landlocked countries within the sub-region, that is Burkina Faso, Niger, and Mali, have helped to boost trade especially in transit trade. Also, Ghana has established more efficient transport systems and facilitates the enforcement of harmonized regulations in the sub-region especially on the Abidjan-Accra-Lome-Cotonou-Lagos corridor. This is because statistics show that the 998km corridor is the most commercially viable within the sub-region accounting for about 65% of economic activities. Currently, there are ongoing
projects that include the construction of joint border posts at Noepe, the acquisition of 0.6 acre land for the construction of a rest stop at Enyaanu, and the execution of some civil works for road improvement including the rehabilitation of Agona Junction-Elubo road, and road safety study along the corridor to which Ghana has a lead of 22 road blocks out of 28 manned by Ghanaian police presence to enhance transit trade facilitation.\(^{48}\)

### 3.1.15 Regional Integration Month

Ghana’s continuous commitment towards regional integration and the lead role within the ECOWAS has come up with new initiative during the Retreat of Regional Integration Stakeholders at Dodowa, which was held in 2012, the Director for Africa and Regional Integration, Dr. Kodzo Alabo, in his presentation, made it known that the month of May has been dedicated to Regional Integration where by various activities will be held to sensitize the citizens on what is going on within the sub-region.\(^{49}\) He also stated other initiatives which include support for and the cooperation with Non-State Actors (NSA), regular meetings of national approvals committee on ETLS, the National Stakeholders Retreat to review Ghana’s performance and the way forward in regional integration are of priority now.

### 3.1.16 Regional Integration of Non-State Actors (RINSA)

The Regional Integration Networks of Non-State Actors (RINSA) was established in November 2010 in Ghana to help facilitate the integration process in the sub-region. Some of the founding members include Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC), the Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (GNCCI), the Foundation for Sustainable Development Centre among others which is to help build the capacity of NSA’s towards achieving a Customs
Union and a common market in West Africa and also aid in media response to build local media capacity in the ECOWAS policies being implemented.

In an interview with one of the members, Mr. Ernest Ortsin, he mentioned some achievements of RINSA such as sensitization and education of citizens, engagement with state actors, and interaction with private sector players and effective collaboration with ECOWAS Commission. He again made mention of some challenges facing RINSA such as inadequate funding, disinterest of citizens, lack of co-operation of some state actors and in consistency in ECOWAS programming. He further, stated that, there should be more collaboration with the ECOWAS national unit, public institutions as well as private organizations to help place Ghana on a higher pedestal towards achieving the ideals of the community.

3.1.17 The ECOWAS Business Directory System (ECOBIZ)

The Ghana Chamber of Commerce is also helping to boost Ghana’s commitment to the integration by coming up with the ECOWAS Business Directory System (ECOBIZ), as one of the programmes, designed to contribute to the development of the external trade of ECOWAS member countries in order to strengthen the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS). The ECOBIZ system provides information on trade events, periodical publication of the ECOBIZ newsletter, business cards of companies within the country which are already registered on the system. However, only a small fraction of Ghanaian companies are using the ECOBIZ platform to their benefit. Furthermore, the Chamber is educating its members on the Certificate of origin of products being exported within the sub-region. This will help to determine the origin of a product which is complex and a contentious procedure.
3.1.18 Quarterly Newsletter-The ECOWAS Front

The ECOWAS Front is a newsletter published quarterly by the ECOWAS National Unit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration to enhance the regional integration within the sub-region. The objective of the bulletin is to serve as a mouthpiece for stakeholders in the regional integration process. It also serves as a medium to collate and disseminate information, educate and inform the general public on ECOWAS and the regional integration process.52

The first edition which was published in May 2011, two subsequent editions were published in September 2011 and February 2012 respectively. The ECOWAS Front has a seven–member Editorial Board which meets regularly to review previous editions and approve content for subsequent editions. Copies are sent to the diplomatic Missions in Ghana, to Ghana’s Missions abroad, to the Ministries, Departments and Agencies, Regional Integration Stakeholders and selected corporate institutions in Ghana.53 This initiative will provide an avenue for other member –states to also be abreast with what is going on in Ghana and its efforts in meeting the ideals of the community and further emulate the same in the near future to serve as one of the mediums to which the citizens can be sensitized. This will also, boost up the integration process to which information can spread wide.

3.1.19 Other Roles

In addition to the numerous roles Ghana performs and the contributions to the growth of the sub-regional integration, Ghana is noted to have attended all ECOWAS Summits and meetings together with all sorts of technical meetings without missing any since the New Millennium.54 In promoting sub-regional integration and making it popular among the citizen of Ghana, the
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration together with Green Line Music in regards to the ECOWAS integration process is using musical concerts, workshops, floats and seminars to help sensitize the citizens effectively. In 2012, “The Liberation Project” was the theme of eliminating obstacles to free movement in ECOWAS borders whilst fighting cross border crimes. This was expected to improve free movement of masses across borders, improve the economic and social activities among citizens of targeted countries, improve public access to education on basic ECOWAS Protocols, and promote the ideals of ECOWAS. Ghana’s participation in the ECOWAS since the new millennium has in reality helped in advancing the ECOWAS aims and objectives and noted to be at the frontline of affairs in the best possible way it can over these years.

3.2 Some Challenges Ghana has posed to the West African Integration since the New Millennium

Ghana is noted to have made tremendous efforts towards the West African integration process. The country has been able to contribute effectively to the achievement of the aims and objectives, especially in the areas of ratifying and implementing the necessary protocols to speed up the cooperation and integration dream of the ECOWAS. Highlighted below are some challenges Ghana has posed to the West African integration process since the New Millennium. According to Professor S.K.B. Asante, Ghana has historically been at the precursor of West African regionalism, which has been linked to the Pan-African movement and the concept of West African unity, but along the line Ghana has failed to express this in certain circumstances whereby she had to stand tall and forge ahead towards the spirit of cooperation and integration. Some of these instances include the following:
3.2.1 The “Dziwu fie asem” Statement

“Dziwu fie asem” was a statement made by the late President of Ghana; Professor John Evans Atta Millis during the Cote d’Ivoire crisis in 2011 and it literally means “mind your own business”. This was a statement which brought a lot of controversy towards Ghana’s foreign policy at the time. According to Ambassador Baah-Duodu, Ghana having a soft spot on the issue of peace and security and having played an active role in leading most of the sub-region’s conflict resolutions, she should have left matters without commenting or come up to say that Ghana was already committed with troops at the United Nations (UN) at that time instead of the “Dziwu fie asem” statement by the late president which did not auger well for Ghana, especially in cooperating with member-states towards an effective regional integration process despite the fact that Ghana had agreed at ECOWAS to send troops. He also made reference to the fact that Ghana left Guinea-Bissau and Mali in times when needed most, especially in the contribution of troops. He stated that ‘we may be small but we have a history to live by and hold on to as J.J Rawlings did fantastic in Sierra Leone and Liberia.’

3.2.2 The Monetary Union

Ghana, like the other member-states, is still struggling to meet the West African Monetary Zone criteria. Ghana has for the first time in its history achieved all the four primary convergence criteria that qualify it to use the single currency ‘Eco’, along with other six West African states. As at the end of June 2011, the country had recorded single digit inflation for a year; gross international reserves of more than $4.0 billion, equivalent to 3.0 months of import cover; and a budget deficit of 2.0 percent. Even though some countries including Ghana have been able to attain the four primary convergence criteria set by WAMZ, some constitutional ratifications must
be completed before the West Africa Central Bank finally comes on stream to issue the new currency, Eco within the sub-region, this has therefore slowed the attainment of a single monetary zone objective.\textsuperscript{57}

In an interview with S.K.B. Asante, he stated that the ‘political will in Ghana in the area of Economic Management to achieve the convergence criteria is the only way that will enable the Second West African Monetary Zone to be formed, which is not far from achieving.’ Also in an interview with Mr. Ortsin, he mentioned that around 2002 when the WAMZ programme had just been implemented and was set to come into force in 2003 which was the initial date. Ghana, during this period was busily conducting a re-denomination exercise which set back the WAMZ programme. He further stated that Ghana was not committed enough at that time because of that singular act. He also mentioned that Nigeria is also a culprit in tampering with its currency. Indeed, he stated that this is a problem in Africa as most countries tamper with their currencies and this has caused delays in the aim of reaching a single monetary zone in the near future.
ENDNOTES

6 Ibid.
7 Kossiba .C. ‘Promoting Regional Integration in West Africa: The Private Sector, A Critical Partner’ (2009)
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid. p. 5
12 Interview with Professor S.K.B. Asante on Monday 11th June, 2013.
13 Interview with Ambassador D.K. Osei 17/07/13
14 Ibid
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Baah-Duodu .K. op.cit p7-8
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Baah-Duodu .K. op.cit p7-8
24 Frempong A.K.D. op.cit
25 Baah-Duodu .K. op.cit p 8
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid. p. 9
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
32 Ibid., p.10.
33 Ibid. p 11
34 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
39 Ibid., p. 10.
40 http://cepa.org.gh/researchpapers/Ghana74.pdf accessed 13/06/13
41 Annual 2010 Report on ECOWAS
43 ibid
45 Gebe B.Y. ‘Setting the Regional Integration Agenda In West Africa: The Role Of Ghana’s Elected Representatives’(2009)
46 ibid
47 Interview with Ambassador D.K. Osei 17/07/17
49 Document for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration: Draft Report On The Retreat Of Regional Integration Stakeholders held at Dodowa, 1st-3rd March, 2012 p 1
50 Interview with Mr. Ernest Ortsin 16/06/13
51 Document for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration: Draft Report On The Retreat Of Regional Integration Stakeholders held at Dodowa, 1st-3rd March, 2012 p 21
52 Document for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration: Draft Report On The Retreat Of Regional Integration Stakeholders held at Dodowa, 1st-3rd March, 2012
53 ibid.,pp.5-6
54 Interview with Mr. Ernest Ortsin, op. cit.
55 Document for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration: Draft Report On The Retreat Of Regional Integration Stakeholders held at Dodowa, 1st-3rd March, 2012
56 Lecture by Baah-Duodu K. op. cit.
CHAPTER FOUR
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the research findings within the study, a conclusion and finally suggests some recommendations to the work which sought to examine Ghana and the ECOWAS since the New Millennium. The study was thus based on the premise that Ghana’s active participation in ECOWAS has led to the growth of the sub-regional group in the new millennium.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The study revealed the following findings:

- The Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) since the new millennium has chalked up quite a number of achievements towards the attainment of its aims and ideals of the community. These include: the maintenance of peace and security within the sub-region especially with the existence of the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) with its role in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, Cote d’Ivoire and recently Mali. The establishment of the community levy system to help run the institutions and the activities of the community, facilitation of regional mobility with an introduction of an ECOWAS passport. Also, there has been the elimination of tariffs, the free movement of goods and services and more intra-ECOWAS trade which is boosting intra-trade among member states.
Secondly, the various institutions of the ECOWAS have made significant progress and been empowered especially the Court of Justice which is now closer to the public and has made it more possible for the community citizens to exercise their legal rights; There has also been the involvement of the private sector in the integration process with ECOBANK as one of the region’s largest bank. The Second West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) is also envisaged to be launched in 2015 after several postponements and is likely to hasten the fiscal integration within the community and pave the way for the ECOWAS single monetary zone.

In addition, the infrastructure development of the community is gradually boosting up especially with the $500m cross border West African Gas pipeline to supply power to the various states in the region. The West Africa Power Pool is also underway and is to provide the region’s energy requirements by 2015. A total of 9000 km of road and 1100 km of interconnecting road are also being constructed to open up land-locked countries.

Despite the achievements, the study also revealed some challenges the ECOWAS is faced with in terms of achieving the objectives of the community. These include the challenge with regard to sensitization of the citizens, lack of political commitment of the Leaders, the slow trade liberalization in the sub-region, as well as political instability.

Moreover, the study exposed Ghana’s role in the ECOWAS since the new millennium. Under the leadership of former President Kufuor, who served as ECOWAS Chairman for two-successive terms, Ghana played a major role in enhancing peace and security of the sub-region. For example, Ghana contributed to the resolution of the Liberian conflict by hosting the Accra Peace Talks; Ghana also played a leadership role in resolving the conflicts in Sierra-Leone and Cote d’Ivoire.
Furthermore, Ghana has played a major role to help maintain the Trade Liberalization Scheme which a lot of Ghanaian companies have benefitted from.

In regards to the EPA negotiations, Ghana is in the lead, together with Cote d’Ivoire, and has initialled an interim Economic Partnership Agreement (IEPA) which provides a framework for trade in goods between the two parties.

The study also revealed Ghana’s active participation and major role with the proposal for the establishment of a Criminal Intelligence Bureau (CIIB) to help curb crime in the sub-region.

Ghana has shown its continuous commitment towards regional integration with the initiative of a regional integration month to aid in the sensitization of the citizens, the Regional Integration Network of Non-State Actors (RINSA) has also been established to facilitate the integration process within the sub-region.

Finally, the study revealed that Ghana has not performed well in the area of achieving a monetary union for the sub-region. Also, Ghana’s “Dziwu fie asem” policy during the Ivorian crisis undermined the collective effort of ECOWAS to intervene and resolve the conflict in that country.

4.2 Conclusions

It is gathered from the study, the state of ECOWAS in the New Millennium till present is very promising and encouraging. The solid foundation put in place give much hope that the ideals and aims of the Community will be achieved to make the sub-region what it is expected to be.
The study also concludes that Ghana has played key roles in the ECOWAS since the New Millennium and is still at the forefront, especially when it comes to peace and security which has led to the growth of regional integration in West Africa. The study, therefore, confirms that Ghana’s active participation in ECOWAS has led to the growth of the sub-regional group in the new millennium.

4.3 Recommendations

In view of the numerous contributions and roles Ghana plays in its active participation in ECOWAS, the following recommendations are suggested for consideration and appropriate action:

First and foremost, the ECOWAS Unit at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration should make sure the initiative of the Regional Integration Month is made more public by advertising the various programmes and events held in the country through the appropriate medium. This will go a long way to sensitize the citizenry and let them know the activities set out by ECOWAS like the 2012 musical concert which most people did not know about. The various schools and tertiary institutions should also be involved in the activities to educate them more on regional integration within the sub-region by organizing workshops and seminars to improve the public awareness.

Furthermore, the newsletter, the ECOWAS Front published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration should be made available to schools and tertiary institutions to help disseminate information more rapidly this could be done by mounting bill boards about the newsletter and also the distribution of flyers and hand bills on when the newsletter is about to be
published. Through this, students and the entire citizenry would know more about ECOWAS than they do and the projects and programmes being undertaken and the benefits to be derived as a nation.

Moreover, the political will and commitment of future leaders should be boosted in the best way by explaining to them the benefits in the regional integration through brochures on the plans and development strategies to help make the ratification of protocols and conventions much easier and national conscious. This will then help in the area of economic management, especially in achieving the convergence criteria set to achieving the Second West Africa Monetary Zone (WAMZ). Commitment is noted as the reason for success of every endeavour. Leaders at all levels in the country must be committed to the objectives, policies, projects and programmes of ECOWAS. It is only through commitments that all challenges can be overcome in the integration process.

Also, considering the weak nature of the West African state, it is important that internal institutions are strengthened enough by creating a well organized recruitment system into the institutions to be able to absorb any revolt that erupts. This, if done, will go a long way to reduce the violence and wars that have characterized the sub-region for years. Closely related to this, is the strengthening and consolidation of democratic values such as the rule of law, fundamental human rights and strong and impartial judicial system in ECOWAS member-states.

Again, training and capacity building should be of crucial importance to both the member states individually and the ECOWAS as a Community. This can be done through frequent workshops
and seminars to bring on board experts in the field of integration share their views and experiences with possible solutions to the challenges within the sub-region considering the surge of globalization, science and technological advancement, which is a fact that no society can really develop and make progress in integration in all its forms, be it market, production or monetary, without holding on strongly to capacity building and development of science and technology.

Finally, private sector participation must be strongly encouraged in the integration process by bringing more of the private sector groups on board to help raise monies towards infrastructure development and future projects of the community as the Regional Integration Networks of Non-State Actors (RINSA) has been established within the country to help achieve the integration process. With the weak capacity of the states, involving the people and the private sector will be a strong complement to the efforts of the member-states.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Books

Adebajo, A., Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000).


**B. Journal Articles**


**C. Reports/Documents/Papers**

2010 Annual Report of ECOWAS.


Gebe, B.Y.D. ‘Setting the Regional Integration Agenda in West Africa: The Role of Ghana’s Elected Representatives (2009)

Kossiba, C. ‘Promoting Regional Integration in West Africa: The Private Sector, A Critical Partner’ (2009)

Ladzekpo D. ‘ECOWAS Objectives, Achievements, Challenges and Lessons Learnt; lecture given at the KAIPTC.

Ndomo, A. ‘Regional Economic Communities in Africa’ A progress Overview, A Study Commissioned by GTZ (2009)


Ortisan K.A. ‘ECOWAS Q&A’ published by UNISPHERE (Ghana) under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (2012).


Sako, S. ‘Challenges Facing Africa’s Regional Economic Communities In Capacity Building’ (ACBF Occasional Paper No. 5 2006).


D. Newspapers


This Day Newspaper, Tuesday, 23rd April, 2013

E. Interview

Interview with Professor S.K.B. Asante, Lecturer, LECIAD, Consultant/Expert in Regional Integration. 11th June, 2013.

Interview with Mr. Ernest Ortsin 16th June, 2013

Interview with Amb. D. K. Osei, Ambassador In-Residence, LECIAD and Aide to Ex-President J. A. Kufuor on 17th July, 2013

F. Internet Sources

http://cepa.org.gh/researchpapers/Ghana74.pdf accessed 13/06/13

http://globaledge.msu.edu/trade-blocs/ecowas/history accessed 01/07/13

http://globaledge.msu.edu/trade-blocs/ecowas/history accessed 01/07/13


http://voices.yahoo.com/ecowas-success-story-10715861.html accessed 04/06/13

http://www.africa-business.com accessed 01/02/13
http://www.africaresearchonline.wordpress.com/2013/05/15/major-new-road-to-be-built-in-west-africa accessed on 02/07/13


http://www.ecowapp.org/?pageid=6 accessed 02/07/13


http://www.fes.de/cotonou/DocumentsEN/ThematicFocus/Regional%20Integration/Statusofintegrationin_Africa.pdf 04/06/13

http://www.ghanalaw.org/index.php/component/content/article/96-top-headlines/13153-ecowas-integration-bearing-fruits accessed 14/06/13


# APPENDIX

## ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES

### RATIFICATION OF THE PROTOCOLS AND CONVENTIONS

#### AS AT 15 AUGUST 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protocols and Conventions</th>
<th>Benin</th>
<th>Burkina Faso</th>
<th>Cape Verde</th>
<th>Côte d'Ivoire</th>
<th>Gambia</th>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Guinea</th>
<th>Guinea Bissau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. General Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the ECOWAS signed in Lagos on 22nd April, 1978.</td>
<td>Ratified 27/04/79</td>
<td>Ratified 20/04/82</td>
<td>Ratified 11/06/83</td>
<td>Ratified 30/07/84</td>
<td>Ratified 30/03/79</td>
<td>Ratified 16/03/82</td>
<td>Ratified 27/04/79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Protocol on Non-Aggression signed in Lagos on 22nd April, 1978.</td>
<td>Ratified 26/02/79</td>
<td>Ratified 04/08/82</td>
<td>Ratified 28/05/84</td>
<td>Ratified 11/08/83</td>
<td>Ratified 30/07/84</td>
<td>Ratified 30/02/79</td>
<td>Ratified 16/03/82</td>
<td>Ratified 13/11/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Protocol A/PI/5/79 relating to free movement of persons, residence and establishment signed in Dakar on 29th May, 1979.</td>
<td>Ratified 04/01/81</td>
<td>Ratified 06/04/82</td>
<td>Ratified 11/06/84</td>
<td>Ratified 19/01/81</td>
<td>Ratified 30/10/80</td>
<td>Ratified 08/04/80</td>
<td>Ratified 17/10/79</td>
<td>Ratified 20/08/79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Supplementary Protocol A/SP1/5/79 amending the French text of the Protocol relating to the Definition of the concept of Products originating from Member States (Article 1) signed in Dakar on 29th May, 1979.</td>
<td>Ratified 04/09/79</td>
<td>Ratified 06/04/82</td>
<td>Ratified 29/06/85</td>
<td>Ratified 19/07/81</td>
<td>Ratified 30/07/84</td>
<td>Ratified 02/04/85</td>
<td>Ratified 17/10/79</td>
<td>Ratified 30/08/79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Supplementary Protocol A/SP2/5/79 amending the definition of the concept of Products originating from Member States (Article 2) signed in Dakar on 29th May, 1979.</td>
<td>Ratified 05/01/93</td>
<td>Ratified 06/04/82</td>
<td>Ratified 10/07/81</td>
<td>Ratified 30/02/84</td>
<td>Ratified 02/04/85</td>
<td>Ratified 17/10/79</td>
<td>Ratified 08/01/80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Supplementary Protocol A/SP3/5/80 amending Article 8 of the French text of the Protocol relating to the Definition of Concept of originating Products from Member States (Treatment of Mixtures) signed in Freetown on 29th May, 1980.</td>
<td>Ratified 05/01/93</td>
<td>Ratified 04/08/82</td>
<td>Ratified 29/06/85</td>
<td>Ratified 19/07/81</td>
<td>Ratified 30/02/84</td>
<td>Ratified 02/04/85</td>
<td>Ratified 13/10/89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Supplementary Protocol A/SP1/5/81 amending Article 2 of the Protocol relating to the Concept of Originating products (Handicraft Products) signed in Freetown on 25th May, 1981.</td>
<td>Ratified 24/05/91</td>
<td>Ratified 04/08/82</td>
<td>Ratified 18/06/86</td>
<td>Ratified 07/11/80</td>
<td>Ratified 10/07/89</td>
<td>Ratified 02/04/85</td>
<td>Ratified 16/03/82</td>
<td>Ratified 13/11/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Supplementary Protocol A/SP2/5/81 amending Article 4 of the ECOWAS Treaty relating to Community Institutions signed in Freetown 29th May, 1981.</td>
<td>Ratified 24/05/91</td>
<td>Ratified 04/08/82</td>
<td>Ratified 24/06/83</td>
<td>Ratified 11/08/83</td>
<td>Ratified 10/07/89</td>
<td>Ratified 02/04/85</td>
<td>Ratified 13/10/89</td>
<td>Ratified 13/11/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Protocols and Conventions</td>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>Cape Verde</td>
<td>Cote d’Ivoire</td>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Protocol A/SPI/5/81 relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence signed in Freetown on 29th May, 1981.</td>
<td>Ratified 08/08/85</td>
<td>Ratified 04/06/82</td>
<td>Ratified 11/08/83</td>
<td>Ratified 26/09/97</td>
<td>Ratified 12/05/89</td>
<td>Ratified 15/01/91</td>
<td>Ratified 10/02/83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P1/5/82 on the establishment of an ECOWAS Brown Card relating to Motor Vehicle Third Party Liability Insurance, signed in Cotonou on 29th May, 1982.</td>
<td>Ratified 30/10/91</td>
<td>Ratified 26/01/89</td>
<td>Ratified 15/03/88</td>
<td>Ratified 05/03/84</td>
<td>Ratified 02/04/85</td>
<td>Ratified 17/02/83</td>
<td>Ratified 10/02/83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Convention A/P2/5/82 regulating Inter-State Road Transportation between ECOWAS Member States, signed in Cotonou on 29th May, 1992.</td>
<td>Ratified 24/05/91</td>
<td>Ratified 28/06/89</td>
<td>Ratified 06/03/88</td>
<td>Ratified 05/03/84</td>
<td>Ratified 02/04/85</td>
<td>Ratified 17/02/83</td>
<td>Ratified 10/02/83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P3/5/82 relating to the Definition of Community Citizen, signed in Cotonou on 22nd May, 1982.</td>
<td>Ratified 24/05/91</td>
<td>Ratified 28/06/89</td>
<td>Ratified 07/11/90</td>
<td>Ratified 05/03/84</td>
<td>Ratified 02/03/85</td>
<td>Ratified 17/02/83</td>
<td>Ratified 10/02/83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Convention A/P4/5/82 relating to Inter-State Road Transit of Goods, signed in Cotonou on 29th May, 1982.</td>
<td>Ratified 08/08/85</td>
<td>Ratified 28/06/89</td>
<td>Ratified 06/05/88</td>
<td>Ratified 05/03/84</td>
<td>Ratified 02/03/85</td>
<td>Ratified 17/02/83</td>
<td>Ratified 10/02/83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Convention A/P5/5/82 on Mutual Administrative Assistance in Customs Matters, signed in Cotonou on 29th May, 1992.</td>
<td>Ratified 05/01/93</td>
<td>Ratified 28/06/89</td>
<td>Ratified 18/06/86</td>
<td>Ratified 05/03/84</td>
<td>Ratified 02/04/85</td>
<td>Ratified 17/02/83</td>
<td>Ratified 27/05/91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SPI/11/84 amending Article 9, paragraph 1(c) of the Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States signed in Lomé, 23rd November, 1984.</td>
<td>Ratified 24/05/91</td>
<td>Ratified 25/04/90</td>
<td>Ratified 13/03/90</td>
<td>Ratified 10/07/91</td>
<td>Ratified 10/07/89</td>
<td>Ratified 12/05/89</td>
<td>Ratified 18/07/92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Convention A/P1/7/85 relating to the temporary importation of passenger vehicles into Member States signed in Lomé, 23rd November, 1984.</td>
<td>Ratified 05/09/98</td>
<td>Ratified 24/04/90</td>
<td>Ratified 13/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 19/07/91</td>
<td>Ratified 22/05/89</td>
<td>Ratified 12/05/89</td>
<td>Ratified 13/10/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SPI/7/85 relating to the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons the Right of Residence and establishment signed in Lomé, 6th July, 1985.</td>
<td>Ratified 24/05/91</td>
<td>Ratified 28/06/89</td>
<td>Ratified 13/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 19/07/91</td>
<td>Ratified 04/06/90</td>
<td>Ratified 12/05/89</td>
<td>Ratified 13/10/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SPI/7/85 on the Second Phase on Free Movement of Persons (Right of Residence) signed in Abuja, 1st July, 1986.</td>
<td>Ratified 28/06/89</td>
<td>Ratified 19/07/91</td>
<td>Ratified 04/06/90</td>
<td>Ratified 12/05/89</td>
<td>Ratified 13/10/89</td>
<td>Ratified 13/11/90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Agreement/Protocol</td>
<td>Ratification Dates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>AF/17/7 Cultural Framework Agreement for the ECOWAS</td>
<td>Ratified 24/05/91 Ratified 25/04/90 Ratified 09/07/93 Ratified 19/07/91 Ratified 25/03/90 Ratified 12/03/91 Ratified 13/10/89 Ratified 13/11/90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>ASI/21/6/88 Supplementary Protocol amending Articles 4 and 9 of the ECOWAS Treaty relating to the Institutions of the Community and its technical and specialized Commissions respectively signed in Lomé, 25th June, 1988.</td>
<td>Ratified 05/01/93 Ratified 19/05/92 Ratified 13/03/90 Ratified 19/07/91 Ratified 04/05/90 Ratified 12/05/89 Ratified 13/10/89 Ratified 13/11/90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>ASP/25/6/88 Supplementary Protocol amending Article 53 of the ECOWAS Treaty on the Budget of the Community signed in Lomé, 25th June, 1988.</td>
<td>Ratified 05/01/93 Ratified 19/05/92 Ratified 13/03/90 Ratified 19/07/91 Ratified 09/04/91 Ratified 12/05/89 Ratified 13/10/89 Ratified 13/11/90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Supplementary Convention ASI/21/5/90 amending and complementing the Provisions of Article 7 of the Protocol on Free Movement, Right of Residence and Establishment signed in Ouagadougou on 30th June, 1989.</td>
<td>Ratified 08/08/96 Ratified 19/05/92 Ratified 13/04/92 Ratified 19/07/91 Ratified 09/04/91 Ratified 12/05/89 Ratified 13/10/89 Ratified 13/11/90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Supplementary Convention ASI/21/5/90 establishing a Community Guarantee Mechanism for Inter-State Road Transit of Goods. Signed in Banjul, 29th May, 1990.</td>
<td>Ratified 08/08/96 Ratified 19/05/92 Ratified 13/04/92 Ratified 19/07/91 Ratified 09/04/91 Ratified 12/05/89 Ratified 13/10/89 Ratified 13/11/90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P1/7/91 on the Community Court of Justice signed in Abuja on 6th July, 1991.</td>
<td>Ratified 14/3/95 Ratified 16/01/95 Ratified 13/04/92 Ratified 16/04/94 Ratified 18/07/92 Ratified 18/02/95 Ratified 18/02/95 Ratified 18/02/95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P1/7/93 relating to the West African Monetary Agency signed in Cotonou, on 24th July, 1993.</td>
<td>Ratified 14/12/95 Ratified 06/10/94 Ratified 05/11/96 Ratified 03/09/96 Ratified 29/06/95 Ratified 18/07/94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/P1/7/93 amending Article 1 of the Protocol relating to the Contributions by Member States to the Budgets of the Economic Community of West African States, signed in Cotonou on 24 July, 1993.</td>
<td>Ratified 14/12/95 Ratified 06/10/94 Ratified 05/11/96 Ratified 03/09/96 Ratified 29/06/95 Ratified 18/07/94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P1/7/95 on Conditions governing the application of the Community Levy.</td>
<td>Ratified 01/02/02 Ratified 23/07/97 Ratified 10/11/98 Ratified 28/01/98 Ratified 24/05/98 Ratified 06/08/97</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| No. | Protocol A/P2/17/96 establishing Value Added Tax in ECOWAS Member States. | Ratified 01/02/02 | Ratified 23/07/97 | | Ratified 28/10/98 | Ratified 05/08/97 | \hline
| 35. | Protocol A/P1/12/99 relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security | Ratified 14/12/01 | Did not sign the Protocol | | Ratified 24/01/05 | Ratified 20/06/03 | Ratified 12/02/12 | \hline
| 36. | Protocol A/P1/12/00 Amending Articles 12 and 13 of the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security | Ratified 30/09/03 | Ratified 27/12/05 | Ratified 07/01/03 | Ratified 21/5/08 | Ratified 18/10/02 | Ratified 13/02/12 | \hline
| 37. | Protocol A/P1/12/01 amending Articles 1, 3, 6 and 21 of the ECOWAS Revised Treaty. | Ratified 24/06/03 | Ratified 30/10/03 | Ratified 27/12/05 | Ratified 07/01/03 | Ratified 23/9/03 | Ratified 18/10/02 | Ratified 20/6/03 | \hline
| 38. | Protocol A/P3/12/01 relating to the ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID). | Ratified 24/06/03 | Ratified 30/10/03 | Ratified 27/12/05 | Ratified 07/01/03 | Ratified 23/9/03 | Ratified 18/10/02 | Ratified 20/6/03 | \hline
| 39. | Protocol A/P3/12/01 on the Fight Against Corruption. | Ratified 01/12/05 | Ratified 09/09/04 | \hline
| 40. | Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security. | Ratified 04/02/03 | Ratified 09/09/04 | \hline
| 41. | Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/12/01 amending the Protocol on the establishment of an ECOWAS Brown Card relating to motor vehicle third party liability insurance. | Ratified 04/02/03 | Ratified 09/09/04 | \hline
| 42. | General Convention A/C.1/01/03 on the Recognition and Equivalence of Degrees, Diplomas, Certificates and Other Qualifications in ECOWAS Member States. | Ratified 21/5/08 | \hline
| 43. | Protocol A/P.1/01/03 relating to the Definition of the Concept of Products Originating From Member States of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). | Ratified 21/5/08 | \hline
| 44. | Protocol A/P.2/01/03 Relating to the Application of Compensation Procedures for Loss of Revenue Incurred by ECOWAS Member States As A Result of the Trade Liberalisation Scheme. | Ratified 21/5/08 | \hline
| 45. | Agreement on Cooperation in Criminal Matters Between the Police of Member States of ECOWAS of 19th December 2003 | Ratified 21/5/08 | \hline
| 46. | Protocol A/P.3/01/03 on Education and Training. | Ratified 02/12/05 | Ratified 21/5/08 | \hline
<p>| 47. | Protocol A/P.4/01/03 on Energy. | Ratified 14/09/05 | Ratified 24/01/05 | Ratified 05/07/12 | Ratified 13/02/12 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/01/05 amending the Preamble and Articles 1, 2, 9, 22 and 30 of Protocol A/P.1/7/91 relating to the Community Court of Justice and Article 4 Paragraph 1 of the English version of the said Protocol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Protocol A/P.1/01/06 Establishing an ECOWAS Criminal Intelligence And Investigation Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/01/06 amending Articles VI-C, VII-L, IX-B, XI-2 and XII of Protocol A/P2/7/87 on the Establishment of the West African Health Organization (WAHO).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/06/06 amending the Revised ECOWAS Treaty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/08/06 amending Article 3 Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4, Article 4 Paragraphs 1, 3 and 7 and Article 7 Paragraph 3 of the Protocol on the Community Court of Justice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.3/06/06 amending Protocol A/P2/8/94 relating to the Community Parliament.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>ECOWAS Convention on small arms and light weapons, their ammunition and other related materials.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ratified</th>
<th>Ratified</th>
<th>Ratified</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5/08/09</td>
<td>19/10/07</td>
<td>24/02/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROTOCOLS AND CONVENTIONS</td>
<td>LIBERIA</td>
<td>MALI</td>
<td>NIGER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the ECOWAS signed in Lagos on 22nd April, 1978.</td>
<td>Ratified 05/05/83</td>
<td>Ratified 05/05/83</td>
<td>Ratified 19/12/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol on Non-Aggression signed in Lagos on 22nd April, 1978.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 19/12/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol A/SP1/5/79 relating to free movement of persons, residence and establishment signed in Dakar on 29th May, 1979.</td>
<td>Ratified 01/04/80</td>
<td>Ratified 05/05/80</td>
<td>Ratified 11/01/80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP1/5/79 amending the French text of the Protocol relating to the Definition of the concept of Products originating from Member States (Article 1) signed in Dakar on 29th May, 1979.</td>
<td>Ratified 14/02/80</td>
<td>Ratified 11/09/87</td>
<td>Ratified 11/01/80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP2/5/79 amending the definition of the concept of Products originating from Member States (Article 2) signed in Dakar on 29th May, 1979.</td>
<td>Ratified 14/02/80</td>
<td>Ratified 11/09/87</td>
<td>Ratified 11/01/80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP3/5/80 amending Article 8 of the French text of the Protocol relating to the Definition of Concept of originating Products from Member States (Treaty of 1979) signed in London on 28th May, 1980.</td>
<td>Ratified 05/05/83</td>
<td>Ratified 05/05/83</td>
<td>Ratified 15/05/80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP1/5/81 amending Article 2 of the Protocol relating to the Concept of Originating products (Handcraft Products) signed in Freetown on 29th May, 1981.</td>
<td>Ratified 04/03/83</td>
<td>Ratified 04/03/83</td>
<td>Ratified 24/11/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP2/5/81 amending Article 4 of the Ecowas Treaty relating to Community Institutions signed in Freetown 29th May, 1981.</td>
<td>Ratified 07/03/83</td>
<td>Ratified by virtue of A/SP4/11/84</td>
<td>Ratified 23/10/87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol A/SP3/5/81 relating to Mutual Assistance on Defence signed in Freetown on 29th May, 1981.</td>
<td>Ratified 04/03/83</td>
<td>Ratified by virtue of A/SP4/11/84</td>
<td>Ratified 23/10/87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol A/SP3/5/81 relating to the establishment of an ECOWAS Brown Card relating to Motor Vehicle Third Party Liability Insurance signed in Cotonou on 29th May, 1982.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 29/05/83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention A/P2/5/82 regulating Inter-State Road Transportation between ECOWAS Member States signed in Cotonou on 29th May, 1992.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 11/09/87</td>
<td>Ratified 23/10/87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol and Conventions</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>Niger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Protocol AP/3/5/82 relating to the definition of Community Citizen signed in Cotonou on 29th May, 1982.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 08/08/83</td>
<td>Ratified 23/10/87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Convention AP/4/5/82 relating to Inter-State Road Transit of Goods, signed in Cotonou on 29th May, 1982.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 11/05/83</td>
<td>Ratified 23/10/87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Protocol AP/1/11/84 relating to the Community Enterprises signed in Lomé, 23rd November, 1984.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 30/06/89</td>
<td>Ratified 16/05/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Supplementary Protocol A/SP/1/11/84 amending Article 9, paragraph 1(c) of the Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States signed in Lomé, 23rd November, 1984.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 16/05/89</td>
<td>Ratified 04/05/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Convention AP/1/7/85 relating to the temporary importation of passenger vehicles into Membar States signed in Lomé, 6th July, 1985.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 08/11/88</td>
<td>Ratified 04/05/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Supplementary Protocol A/SP/1/7/85 relating to the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and establishment signed in Lomé, 5th July, 1985.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 04/05/89</td>
<td>Ratified 18/04/88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Supplementary Protocol A/SP/1/7/86 on the Second Phase on Free Movement of Persons (Right of Residence) signed in Abidjan, 1st July, 1986.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 02/12/86</td>
<td>Ratified 04/05/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. AP/1/7/87 Cultural Framework Agreement for the ECOVAS signed in Abidjan, 9th July, 1987.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 30/06/89</td>
<td>Ratified 04/05/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. A/SP/1/6/88 Supplementary Protocol amending Articles 4 and 9 of the ECOVAS Treaty relating to the Institutions of the Community and its technical and specialised Commissions respectively, signed in Lomé, 25th June, 1988.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 19/02/91</td>
<td>Ratified 22/05/92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Protocol Details</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>Mali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>A/SP2/6/88 Supplementary Protocol amending Article 53 of the ECOWAS Treaty on the Budget of the Community signed in Lomé, 25th June, 1988.</td>
<td>Has ratified the Revised Treaty on 29/12/93</td>
<td>Ratified 19/02/91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP1/6/89 amending and complementing the Provisions of Article 7 of the Protocol on Free Movement, Right of Residence and Establishment signed in Ouagadougou on 30th June, 1989.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 19/02/91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Supplementary Convention A/SP1/5/90 establishing a Community Guarantee Mechanism for Inter-State Road Transit of Goods. Signed in Banjul, 20th May, 1990.</td>
<td>Ratified 25/07/94</td>
<td>Ratified 27/08/90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP2/5/90 on the Implementation of the Third Phase (Right of Establishment) of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment signed in Banjul, 29th May, 1990.</td>
<td>Ratified 09/04/92</td>
<td>Ratified 07/02/95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Protocol A/PL/77/91 on the Community Court of Justice signed in Abidjan on 6th July, 1991.</td>
<td>Ratified 23/05/92</td>
<td>Ratified 12/01/04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Protocol A/PL/77/93 relating to the West African Monetary Agency signed in Cotonou, on 24 July, 1993.</td>
<td>Ratified 01/08/95</td>
<td>Ratified 25/10/01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/PL/77/93 amending Article 1 of the Protocol relating to the Contributions by Member States to the Budget of the Economic Community of West African States, signed in Cotonou on 24 July, 1993.</td>
<td>Ratified 24/08/95</td>
<td>Ratified 20/10/01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Convention A/PL/8/94 on Extradition.</td>
<td>Ratified 24/08/95</td>
<td>Ratified 08/12/05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Protocol A/PL/8/94 relating to the Community Parliament.</td>
<td>Ratified 04/04/95</td>
<td>Ratified 27/07/00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Protocol A/PL/7/96 on Conditions governing the application of the Community Levy.</td>
<td>Ratified 3/06/98</td>
<td>Ratified 27/10/98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol Number</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>Mali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P2/7/96 establishing Value Added Tax in ECOWAS Member States.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ratified 6/06/99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P1/12/99 relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security.</td>
<td>Ratified 23/05/00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P1/12/00 amending Articles 12 and 13 of the Protocol relating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security</td>
<td>Ratified 15/02/02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P1/12/01 amending Articles 1, 3, 6 and 21 of the ECOWAS Revised Treaty.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ratified 8/05/02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P2/12/01 relating to the ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development (EBID).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ratified 8/05/02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P3/12/01 on the Fight against Corruption.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ratified 16/09/03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict</td>
<td>Ratified 30/04/03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security.</td>
<td>Ratified 14/02/05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/12/01 amending the Protocol on the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>establishment of an ECOWAS Brown Card relating to motor vehicle third party liability insurance</td>
<td>Ratified 30/04/03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>General Convention A/C.1/01/03 on the Recognition and Equivalence of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Degrees, Diplomas, Certificates and Other Qualifications in ECOWAS Member States.</td>
<td>Ratified 23/08/02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P.1/01/03 relating to the Definition of the Concept of Products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Originating from Member States of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).</td>
<td>Ratified 15/02/06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Protocol A/P.2/01/03 Relating to the Application of Compensation Procedures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for Loss of Revenue Incurred by ECOWAS Member States As A Result of the</td>
<td>Ratified 10/08/04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trade Liberalisation Scheme.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol and Conventions</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>Niger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement on Cooperation in Criminal Matters Between the Police of Member States of ECOWAS of 19th December 2003</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol A/P.3/01/03 on Education and Training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratified 15/02/06</td>
<td>Ratified 06/10/04</td>
<td>Ratified 20/02/08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol A/P.4/01/03 on Energy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratified 03/04/06</td>
<td>Ratified 22/10/04</td>
<td>Ratified 20/09/06</td>
<td>Ratified 20/02/08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/01/05 amending the Preamble and Articles I, 2, 9, 22 and 30 of Protocol A/P.1/7/91 relating to the Community Court of Justice and Article 4, Paragraph 1 of the English version of the said Protocol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratified 22/06/07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protocol A/P.1/01/06 Establishing an ECOWAS Criminal Intelligence and Investigation Bureau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/01/06 amending Articles VI-C, XI-4, IX-B, XI-2 and XII of Protocol A/P/7/87 on the Establishment of the West African Health Organization (WAHO)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/05/06 amending the Revised ECOWAS Treaty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/05/06 amending Article 3 Paragraphs 1, 2 and 4, Article 4 Paragraphs 1, 3 and 7 and Article 7, Paragraph 3 of the Protocol on the Community Court of Justice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary Protocol A/SP.3/06/06 amending Protocol A/P2/8/04 relating to the Community Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratified 10/12/07</td>
<td>Ratified 9/2/07</td>
<td>Ratified 27/10/08</td>
<td>Ratified 22/06/07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>