

## **NIGERIA'S ROLE IN AFRICAN SUB-REGIONAL INTEGRATION: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES.**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Nigeria is the arrowhead of the Economic Communities of West African States and plays an important role in instituting economic and political integration among West African states. The study examines Nigeria's recent roles in maintaining regional integration in crisis situations through ECOWAS. This study aims to fill and enrich the literature by recognizing and addressing the unique challenges of sub-regional integration in Africa. The majority of the data for this investigation came from secondary sources. This includes publications on the subject, such as books, newspapers, websites, and journal articles. This study used a content analysis to carefully examine the documents it had gathered for it. This study concludes that: Nigeria roles in sub regional integration has significantly declined in recent years due to the internal problems faced by the country such as insurgency, banditry and separatist agitation. This has affected the performance level of Nigeria in regional integration via socioeconomic reforms. Among other things the study recommends that Nigeria should share some of its bulk responsibilities with other stable West African nations in order to ensure efficient policy delivery in propagating regional integration while tending to the series of problems faced back home.

**Keywords:** Regional Integration, ECOWAS, West Africa

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION:**

The foreign policy of Nigeria towards ECOWAS after its establishment was to consolidate on its developed Afrocentric doctrine of foreign policy that Nigeria was familiar with in the international ground since before the formation of ECOWAS, as it's the essence that subscribes the idea of Nigeria to take the lead in the newly inceptive organization in order to preserve its resourceful leadership status in the sub-region. (Kamaluddeen and Ayoade 2020). African leaders have long debated the issue of regional integration, especially in the years immediately following independence.

The emerging governments were mostly motivated to promote African unity and

coordinate their cooperative efforts in order to improve living circumstances for the continent's population when they founded the organization of African unity (OAU), currently known as the African Union (AU), in 1963. The preservation of the continent's fought-for independence, the eradication of colonialism and apartheid, and the overcoming of the effects of external exploitation and dominance were all considered as dependent on regional integration. Fighting the effects of colonialism and creating a united Africa were the overarching strategic goals of the early African nation-building movement (Alemayehu and Haile 2008, and ACBF 2006).

Regional socio-economic cooperation and integration have a long history in Africa. The process of regional integration and collaboration

on the continent accelerated between the 1960s and the 1980s. Major regional integration plans were established during these times, ranging from the Preferential Trading Area (PTA) at the lower end to the Economic Union at the upper end. The Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the Southern African Development Community are some of Africa's major regional integration organizations that are currently in existence (SADC). These Regional Economic Communities (RECs) have made a significant contribution to Africa's socioeconomic integration (ACBF 2006; Jaime and Tsikata 2014).

Other sub-sets of the major RECs, in addition to the RECs, are participating in putting Africa's socio-economic integration goal into action. The East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of the Great Lake Countries (CEPGL), the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC), the Indian Ocean Commission (IOC), the Mano River Union (MRU), and the West African Economic and Monetary Union are some of these sub-regional organizations (UEMOA). The African Union Commission (AUC), the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), and the African Development Bank (AFDB) are further organizations that support regional integration in Africa (ACBF 2006). Regional integration is a method for fostering sustainable development and economic progress as well as raising the standard of living for Africans.

The Lagos Plan of Action was approved in 1980 at the OAU Summit of Heads of State and Government in support of the rapid socioeconomic growth of Africa. Collective self-reliance, regional collaboration, and integration were the primary components of the Plan's main development acceleration plan for Africa. The Abuja Treaty, whose goal was the same as the Lagos Plan of Action, gave Africa's drive toward integration a further boost. Regional integration can benefit African countries in a number of

ways, including tariff harmonization and reduction, legal and regulatory reforms, financial sector reform, investment incentives, and labor market reform, among others. Regional integration is still a crucial strategy for African governments to profit from economies of scale in trade and industry, hasten the transformation of their tiny and fragile economies, increase their markets, and enlarge the region's economic space (ACBF 2006, and Turok 2002).

Since their inception, African nations have struggled to achieve socioeconomic integration due to a number of issues. A reasonable overall evaluation of African regional integration agreements reveals that many fall short of their claimed goals. Lack of coordination and harmonization of economic policies, weak national and regional institutions, insufficient institutional and human capacity, multiple and conflicting regional integration schemes and mandates, insufficient funding for the regional integration process and related institutions, a lack of political will to uphold regional commitments and agreements, political corruption, a high incidence of conflicts, and insufficient funding for related institutions are just a few of the issues. Consequently, the process of integration has not had a particularly favorable effect on the socioeconomic development of the continent (ACBF 2006 and Alli 2012).

Despite Africa's patchy history of regional integration over the years, the case for collaboration and integration, which is being led by a few countries on the continent and Nigeria in particular, has gotten much stronger in recent years. Nigeria, along with a few other African nations, has recently taken a number of actions to address the developmental difficulties facing the continent, in addition to its early contributions to African development and integration initiatives. Nigeria made a significant contribution to the Organization of African Unity's (OAU) development into the African Union in 2001. Nigeria has made significant contributions to the establishment of the New Partnership for African Development, the principal AU institution charged with resolving

the development challenges facing the continent, in 2001. (ACBF 2006).

The objective of this study therefore, is to examine the recent contributions of Nigeria towards the socioeconomic development of west African states through ECOWAS.

## 2.0 CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

**2.1 Regional Integration:** Integration has a hazy term and notion. There isn't one definition of regional integration that is regarded as appropriate by everyone. This is not surprising considering that it belongs to the academic discipline of social sciences. There are many different definitions available, ranging from the shortest and most limited to the longest and most comprehensive. When used in its broadest sense, the term "integration" in economics refers to the coordination of economic activities within a nation with the aim of advancing that nation's development. In everyday language, integration means to bring parts of an object together to form a complete whole (Mutharika 1973).

The phrase is also given a broader definition by Mutharika (1973), who claims that it refers to the process of unifying multiple economies in a given area or region into a unified entity for the benefit of regional economic development. According to him, integration is "the accomplishment, within a territory, of a sense of community and of institutions and practices strong enough and pervasive to provide, for a long time, dependable expectations of peaceful change among its inhabitants" (Deutsch, 1958).

Haas (1958) defined integration as "the process by which political players in multiple different national settings are convinced to relocate their sympathies, aspirations, and political actions to a new center whose institution hold or seek authority over the pre-existing national state."

## 2.2 ECOWAS

A regional political and economic union of fifteen West African nations is known as the

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). These nations have a combined size of 5,114,162 km<sup>2</sup> (1,974,589 sq mi) and a population of over 349 million as of 2015.

The stated objective of ECOWAS, one of the main regional blocs that make up the whole African Economic Community (AEC), is to help its member states achieve "collective self-sufficiency" by forging a single, sizable trade bloc and fully integrating their economies and trading unions. The Treaty of Lagos, which founded the union, was signed on May 28, 1975, and its stated goal is to advance regional economic integration. On July 24, 1993, in Cotonou, a revised version of the treaty was agreed upon and signed. In times of political turmoil and instability, the ECOWAS acts as a force for regional peacekeeping, with member states periodically sending combined military forces to intervene in the bloc's member nations.

## 2.3 West Africa

Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo are the nations that make up the West Africa UN sub-region. Post-colonial civil wars in the area have a long history and have hampered economic growth. The signing of treaties has helped bring about peace on a large scale in recent years. The westernmost part of Africa is known as West Africa or Western Africa.

## 2.4 Theoretical Framework

Neo-functionalism was the theory used in this investigation. One of the main theories of regional integration is neo-functionalism (Haggi 2002 and Rosamond 2005). Ernst B. Haas is the leading proponent of neo-functionalism, which holds that economic integration is a contractual form of interdependent relations between states that share common experiences, values, interests, and aspirations and that are agreed to cooperate for the realization of jointly established goals (Aja 2001). The willingness and determination of states with a strong sense

of shared interests, values, orientations, and expectations to live and work together in both domestic and foreign policies in support of greater political and economic union, and by extension, the security community, is what he succinctly described as the theory of Neo-functionalism.

This theory's centrality and utility in explaining the necessity for sub-regional integration in West Africa and Nigeria's contributions to the socioeconomic development of the continent make its adoption absolutely necessary. The theory holds that regional integration is important for all economies worldwide, but its relevance is more for economies whose markets are small and fragile. As a result, it is quite relevant to the topic. Most African nations are now in this position, which highlights the urgent need for integration in order to expand their markets and benefit from economies of scale.

Its significance to the subject also stems from the fact that few countries with robust economies can use the tools of regional integration to help other less fortunate states, who make up the majority of countries in the region, given the weak health of most of their economies. Given some advantages she has over other countries in Africa and the West-Africa sub-region, this theory will be a valuable guide to understand Nigeria's dedication to the development stride of the continent.

### **3.0 METHODOLOGY**

The majority of secondary sources were used to get the data for this investigation. This comprises publications that are pertinent to the subject such as books, newspapers, websites, and journal articles. These documents' contents were read, examined, and analyzed, and the pertinent data required for this study was taken out. This study used a content analysis to carefully examine the documents it had gathered for it.

### **4.0 The Participation and Contribution of Nigeria to ECOWAS**

Nigeria remains the arrowhead of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which is significantly advancing the development of the organization, as a result of its pivotal role in its founding. Nigeria's participation and contribution to ECOWAS are highly expressive due to Nigeria's foreign policy's African-centric orientation and emphasis on the organization as a whole. Nigeria has more financially supported ECOWAS than any other member state (ECOWAS Report 2005). She makes three different types of financial contributions: statutory financial contributions, voluntary contributions, and voluntary aid to specific ECOWAS member-nations. Nigeria is required to pay statutory financial contributions in order to remain an ECOWAS member. ECOWAS was founded as a group of legally equal member states, which essentially indicates that all members have the same rights and likely the same obligations.

Although all member states have equal rights, including the opportunity to vote, they do not actually have exactly equal duties when it comes to their membership responsibilities, particularly when it comes to the division of the community's financial costs. The contribution of member states is evaluated on the basis of a coefficient that takes into account the gross domestic product and per capita income of all member states, according to Article 5 of the protocol relating to the fund for cooperation, compensation, and development that is annexed to the ECOWAS treaty.

As a result, rather than on the basis of equality, member nations are obligated to contribute to the budget in proportion to their national income. The following percentage payments from members are necessary based on the budgetary apportionment model.

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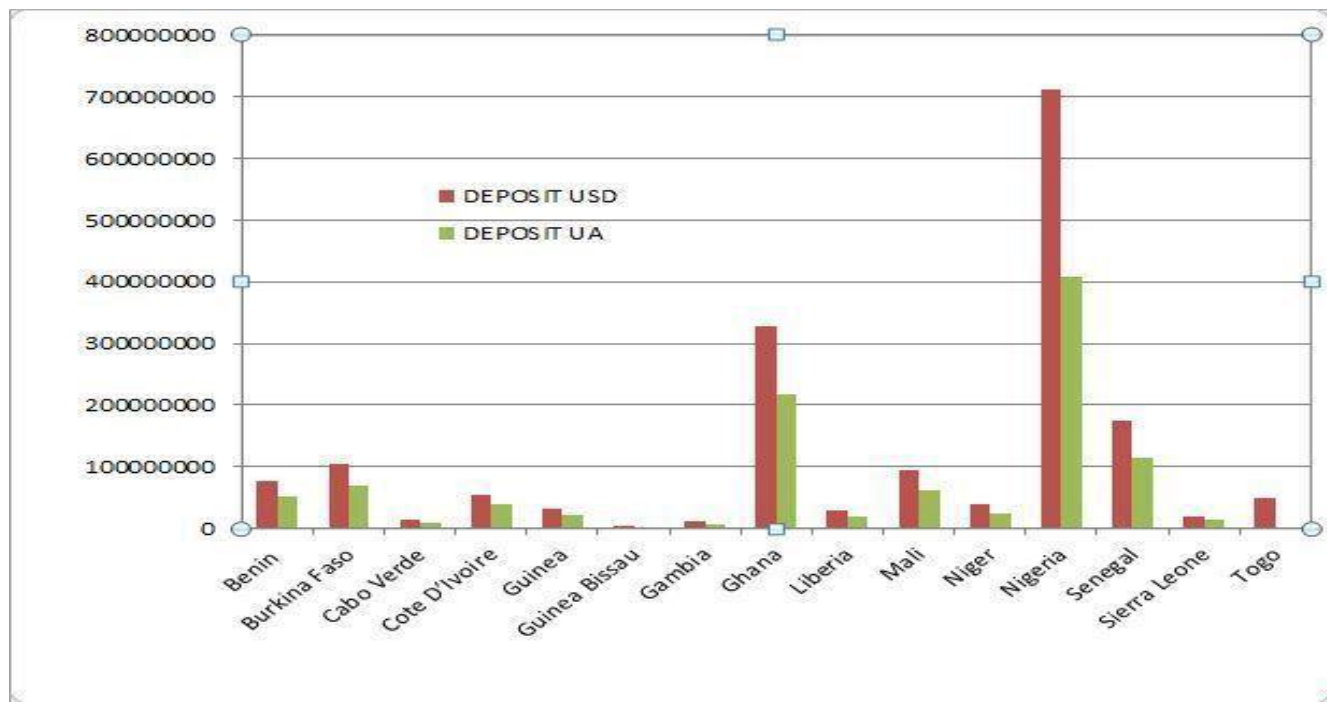


Figure 1: Contributions of Member-States of ECOWAS in 2018. Source: Chukwudiebere (2018) in Ibrahim and Ahmad (2020)

Table 1. Member-States Contribution to ECOWAS. Source: (Osondu, 2016)

S/NO	MEMBER COUNTRY	FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS FOR ECOWAS SUSTENANCE
1	Benin	3.9%
2	Burkina Faso	2.6%
3	Áape Verde	1.5%
4	Cote D'Ivoire	13%
5	The Gambia	6%
6	Ghana	12.9%
7	Guinea Bissau	1.5%
8	Liberia	6.7%
9	Mali	1.9%
10	Mauritania	2.6%
11	Niger	2.1%
12	Nigeria	32.8%
13	Senegal	5.4%
14	Sierra Leone	4.4%
15	Togo	3.6%

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Table 2: The Participation of Nigeria in Peace Missions (West Africa),

Country	Code Name	Operation	Start Date	End Date
Congo	ONUC	United Nations Operation in the Congo	July 1960	June 1964
Guinea	UNSF	United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea	October 1962	April 1963
Chad		OAU Peacekeeping Force, Chad	1979	1982
Angola	UNAVEMI	United Nations Angola Verification Mission I	January 1989	June 1991
Liberia	UNOMIL	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia	Sep. 1991	Sep. 1997
Mozambique	ONUMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique	Dec. 1992	Dec. 1994
Rwanda	UNAMIR	United Nations AOUZOU Strip Observer Group	May 1994	June 1994
Ouzo strip	UNASOG	United Nations AOUZOU Strip	May 1994	June 1994
Angola	UNAVEM III	United Nations Angola Verification Mission III	FEB. 1995	JUNE 1997
Sierra Leone		ECOMOG Task Force in Sierra Leone	1997	1999
Sierra Leone	UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone	Oct. 1999	Dec. 2005
Congo	MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in Liberia	Nov. 1999	June 2010
Liberia	UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia	Sept. 2003	On-going
Sudan	AMIS	African Mission in Darfur	2004	2008
Sudan	UNAMID	African Union United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur	July 2007	On-going
Chad	MINURCAT	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad	Sept. 2007	Dec. 2010
South Sudan	UNAMISS	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan	July 2011	On-going

Source: United Nations Peacekeeping Operations from 1942 – 2012  
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/operationslist.pdf>

Table 1 shows that Nigeria, the most economically developed member, provides around one third of the cost of running the community because the scale of assessment evidently takes into account the inequality of the national incomes of the member nations. It is not immediately clear how much Nigeria has actually spent on ECOWAS. Nigeria alone

Provided \$14,137,000 to the ECOWAS fund and \$2,346,000 to the ECOWAS budget in 1977. Out of the community's total of \$50, 203,000, that amounted to a total of \$16,483,000 (Onwuka, 1982).

Onwuka (1982) claims that Nigeria paid \$16,399,542, or 32.8% of the ECOWAS funds called-up capital. Only around 60% of the

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ECOWAS member nations' planned contributions to the fund and the operating budget had been collected as of 1990. Nigeria, along with Cote d'Ivoire and Togo, is one of the three states that has paid regular contributions and has no history of accumulating arrears. Additionally, from 1977 to 2013, she hosted the ECOWAS summit ten (10) times and occasionally gave sizable donations to the community (ECOWAS Report, 2013). Nigeria provided voluntary assistance to certain ECOWAS member-states in order to establish and support her leadership position and demonstrate that, despite her own economic challenges, she can be her brother's keeper.

According to Adamu (1992), Nigeria provided two buses to the Benin Republic between 1977 and 1987 so that it could host the ECOWAS Games. It also funded road projects in Benin and Niger, trained Benin military personnel, sent Nigerian judges to the Gambia to provide legal assistance, and provided scholarships and technical assistance to the Gambia, Guinea, and Liberia. Nigeria supplied Ghana, Guinea, Cape Verde, and other nations with food worth millions of dollars.

Nigeria's contribution to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) reached an all-time high of \$710 million, according to Chukwudiebere (2018) in Ibrahim and Ahmad (2020), which is more than 13 other Members states combined in the previous 12 years. He said that Nigeria made a payment of \$710 497 352, which is equal to 480 355 205 West Africa Units of Account (UA). The official nominal monetary unit or currency used to represent the real value is the West Africa UA. So, as indicated below, Nigeria was at the top, followed by Ghana and Senegal.

Figure 1 shows that Nigeria is the highest contributor among other members of ECOWAS.

#### **4.1 Nigeria's Participation in Peace Missions in West Africa**

It is well known that there are many different types of violent wars on the continent of Africa. Unfortunately, majority of the nations on the

continent are at the lowest points of their economy. As a result, Nigeria, a regional powerhouse, had to intervene to help end the wars (Nwaokeafor 2011).

Olumuyiwa and Ufo (2015), who contend that Nigeria represents a key regional force in Africa not only due to its size but also due to its political and economic importance on the continent, strongly support the aforementioned viewpoint. In addition to having the biggest economy on the continent, it is one of the biggest producers of crude oil globally. Similar to how its authorities have handled crises in Africa, its armed forces have taken the lead in efforts to bring stability and peace to unstable areas all over the world. The fact that Nigeria is among the top five troop donors to UN peacekeeping missions worldwide may be a better indication of the country's dedication to the effectiveness of its peacekeeping efforts.

Nigeria may not actually be the literal "Giant of Africa," according to Egwemi and Ochim's (2016) observation. Nigeria's enormous and unrivaled dedication to the cause of Africa from the North to the South and from the East to the West of the continent has earned her the title. Nigeria has achieved this by devoting her human and material resources to her quest for good neighborliness and brotherhood in peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and peace enforcement in Africa, direct handouts, problem-solving, and her involvement in the liberation of South Africa from the white minority apartheid regime in 1990, to name a few.

The following are some situations when Nigeria has had a significant impact on maintaining, fostering, and creating peace. Nigeria, a country that had only just gained independence from Britain, sent troops to the Congo crisis in 1960 (Dokubo, 2005). Dokubo (2005) goes on to state that "Dag Hammarskjold, the UN secretary general, would have found it very difficult to carry on after the withdrawal of the troops of the Casablanca Bloc States as a result of Mr. Patrice Lumumba's death in 1961 without the support of Nigeria, the most populous state in black Africa." Apart from the UN-sponsored missions

in Africa and beyond, Nigeria has obstinately participated in bilateral and continental peacekeeping efforts.

Recall that after a rebellion in the Tanganikan Army, Nigerian soldiers traveled to Tanzania to assist in keeping the peace (Dokubo 2005). Additionally, Nigeria organized a conference in Kano in 1979 to bring the main parties involved in the Chadian situation together. Recall that Felix Malloum, the former president of Chad, requested Nigeria's aid in that regard in 1978 (Dokubo 2005). The Nigerian government sent a peacekeeping force to ensure the protection of the citizens of N'djamena, the nation's capital, as well as the oversight of the ceasefire accord (Dokubo 2005).

The ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was established in 1990 under the leadership of former military President General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida and was mostly funded by Nigeria (Egwemi and Ochim 2016). According to official statements, ECOMOG lost approximately 500 soldiers in Liberia alone, and Nigeria accounted for 80% of those losses. Kriss Imodibe of *The Guardian* and Tayo Awotosin of the *Daily Champion* vanished, with rebel sources implying that they had been killed as spies. The Nigerian Press was not spared. Nigeria assumed a new responsibility in response to the refugee crisis after it was reported that it had "hosted about 141,000 of the over 600,000 Liberian migrants." In addition to the aforementioned, Nigerians in Liberia suffered humiliation, physical harm, and even murder. Nigeria's dedication to Africa is therefore unmatched and cannot be compared (Egwemi and Ochim 2016).

Additionally, President Olusegun Obasanjo worked to establish peace in Sao Tome and Principe during his civilian presidency. In keeping with Nigeria's foreign policy goals and in his capacity as the African Union's chairman, he was successful in convincing the dissident soldiers to submit to legitimate authority. Nigeria was also crucial in South Africa's struggle to overthrow its apartheid system. Nelson Mandela became the first Black

President as a result in 1994 (Dokubo 2005). The crisis in Darfur, Western Sudan, was resolved through peace talks mediated by President Obasanjo in Abuja.

Furthermore, Nigeria provided 150 peacekeepers to guard refugees and UN personnel. Nigeria sent 150 peacekeepers to Rwanda. This amount was supposed to gradually rise in accordance with the need and local conditions (Dokubo, 2005). Nigeria had a significant impact on how the Organization of African Unity (OAU) became the Africa Union (AU) (Dokubo, 2005). Nigeria has made significant efforts to establishing and maintaining peace in Africa. The table below lists a few of the peacekeeping missions that Nigeria has participated in since its independence in 1960.

As can be seen in Table 2, Nigeria has actively taken part in a variety of peacekeeping missions in Africa that have been sponsored by the ECOWAS, AU, and UN. Nigeria, according to Olumuyiwa and Ufo (2015), is a significant regional force in Africa due to its size as well as its political and economic clout on the continent. In addition to having the biggest economy on the continent, it is one of the biggest producers of crude oil globally. Similar to how its authorities have handled crises in Africa, its armed forces have taken the lead in efforts to bring stability and peace to unstable areas all over the world.

The authorities of Nigeria frequently view their approach to sub-regional security and conflict resolution in Africa as being intrinsically linked to their idea of their country's international position. This vision of the country's role has come to serve as the guiding paradigm for its engagement in foreign policy; it has given it the status of a "natural leader" with a "manifest destiny" and the duty to advance and defend Africa's interests.

The aforementioned finding by Olumuyiwa and Ufo (2015) is consistent with the study's main claim that Nigeria has made a significant contribution to the socioeconomic integration of Africans. Nweke (2010), who held that Nigeria is known as a nation whose foreign policy is



fundamentally tailored to reflect her commitment to the well-being of all African countries, particularly in the areas of peaceful coexistence, prevention of violent conflicts - at intra-international levels - restoration of peace where necessary; and maintenance of peace throughout the world, partially shared this opinion.

Nna-Emeka (2012) also notes that Nigeria's decision to make Africa the center of its foreign policy focus is due to a number of additional factors, including geopolitical considerations that Nigeria is strategically located within the West African sub-region, demographic justifications that credit the country as the most populous black nation in the world, with an estimated population of over 170 million people, and economic justifications that Nigeria has played a significant role in fostering African unity for development. The nation has invested a significant amount of resources to fostering African economic development. Billion-dollar direct financial donations to impoverished African countries have served as this aid.

Nigeria provided assistance in some circumstances by selling oil at levels below market prices, known as concessional oil resources. In other cases, such as the Technical Aid Corps (TAC) program, which was established in 1986 by decree, foreign policy instruments were used to create goodwill and social and economic growth in alliance countries. TAC is set up to offer support with human capital in all areas of social and economic development. Nigeria has served as a leader and role model for other developing nations that are comparatively wealthy. Therefore, it may be said—and it can be concluded correctly—that Nigeria has significantly aided in the integration of West Africa as a sub region.

## **4.2 Challenges Of Nigeria In Enforcing Regional Integration Through Military Intervention**

The involvement of Nigeria in peacekeeping operations and regional integration through ECOMOG, has faced some lapses and challenges in recent times which include:

### **4.2.1 Manpower:**

Nigeria contributed to regional integration immensely through peacekeeping operations in other African Sub-regions, even while her relationship with other countries in the international community was stretched thin leading to the institution of the ECOWAS monitoring group (ECOMOG). (Eziho, 2022) however, the problem of manpower especially in the has become noticeable in recent times. This is worsened by the current security challenges (terrorism) facing Nigeria resulting in most troops being deployed on Internal Security operations within the Country. Troops have to be drawn from different units across the country to form up a complete battalion with the required strength that meets the UN standards for deployment to the mission area.

In recent times, in extreme cases, some personnel have been posted to deploying units as late as the time of their departure to the mission area. These individuals were deployed without pre-induction training. Obviously, personnel of such ad hoc units that are filled at the last minute for a Peace Support Operations arrive in the mission area without adequate knowledge of each other's capabilities and deficiencies. This also creates problem of command and control. Standardization of NA units in terms of manpower would be a positive step towards equipping the NA for effective participation in PSOs. This could be achieved if all postings and marrying up of units for PSO are concluded 6 months prior to deployment.

This would also ensure cohesion among the units' personnel thus promoting esprit de corps. The lack of manpower is deepening and spreading conflicts several West African nations

(Eziho, 2022). However, the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapon (SALW) was attributed to the increase in conflict West African Sub region (Ogele, Egobueze, and Owabie, 2021).

#### 4.2.2 Training and Doctrine:

Another major problem identified is that of training and doctrine associated with Peace Support Operations. Different countries have different training doctrines for the training of its personnel. The Nigerian government is faced with the problem of training doctrine for Peace Support Operations. This problem had manifested itself in various operations. (Ogele, Egobueze, and Owabie, 2021). In the case of ECOMOG, Anglophone oriented troops were operating alongside Francophone troops which further compounded this problem.

Nigeria's involvement in foreign policy objective of collective security and protectionism of the black race have no socioeconomic and political undertone but was borne out of magnanimity and humanitarianism to ensure peace, stability and prosperity of countries involved. The establishment of ECOMOG during the regime of President Babangida was a clear demonstration of the unflinching leadership to regional peace and security. The Armed Forces of Nigeria should come up with a suitable doctrine for Peace Support Operations (Ogele, 2022). However, Nigeria is currently faced with the challenges of training its military to combat the series of insurgencies and training the ECOMOG on the enforcement of peaceful integration.

#### 4.2.3 Logistics

In the face of non-availability of centralized logistical support for ECOWAS sub regional peacekeeping, participating countries suffered shortfalls in lift and other logistical capabilities. As a result, most of them relied on Nigeria which was itself logistically hard pressed. Kwaja, (2017) There is the need to have adequate logistical support before embarking on peacekeeping operations. The nature of the logistical challenges faced by Nigerian troops deployed on Peace Support Operations has

included: lack of sufficient quantity of vehicles, lack of adequate medical facilities, insufficient communication equipment and individual soldier "kitting." The successful accomplishment of the tasks of Nigerian contingents depends to a large extent on the availability of reliable and efficient communication support. Communication is the vital tool required to exercise command and control of the forces deployed in the mission area. Problems of communication have included such relatively low cost and mundane items as inadequate supply of batteries and lack of battery chargers.

This adversely affects command and control of units. This problem was also common with the Nigerian contingent deployed with UNMIL. It is necessary to increase the scale of equipment of the signal element supporting a Nigerian battalion in peacekeeping to meet the UNs requirements for battalion level communications as outlined in the standard UN Memorandum of Understanding that the UN executes with the troop contributing country. Mandate: Mandates are resolutions authorizing and defining a peacekeeping operation.

Peace Support Operations should endeavor to have a clear and unambiguous mandate including rules of engagement for the forces. The problem of vague, unclear, unrealistic and frequently changing mandates was encountered during the Nigerian maiden peacekeeping venture in the Congo in the 1960s. The same problem of an unclear mandate arose in Chad where the OAU (now AU) peacekeepers watched helplessly while rebel groups chased away the incumbent government of President Goukouni Waddeye from office. The ECOMOG operations in Liberia and Sierra Leone 1990-1999 did see a needed change in mandate that enabled appropriate force application

In recent times however, Nigeria is losing its capacity to effectively exercise regional political and security leadership, and there is no replacement for it in sight (as France is increasingly cutting back its security engagement too), owing to increasing instability

at home, the effects of which are often exported to other ECOWAS countries (Eziho, 2022). Nigeria's government is increasingly able to assert its dominance over only "core" Nigerian regions and cities of imperative economic or political importance. Meanwhile, the peripheral regions of the country, such as the bandit-stricken north-western state of Zamfara, or the north-east, where conflict rages with Islamist groups, will become increasingly lawless over the course of 2022. At the same time, the country 'entrenched economic problems show little sign of generating the kind of prosperity that would help Nigeria to bounce back and continue its regional socioeconomic in West Africa through ECOWAS.

## 5.0 CONCLUSION

Nigeria roles in sub regional integration have significantly declined in recent years due to the internal problems faced by the country such as insurgency, banditry and separatist agitation. This has affected the performance level of Nigeria in regional integration via socioeconomic reforms. The principles of regional integration, socioeconomic development, and integration were all explained using a content approach to demonstrate the efforts and lapses of Nigerian in building socioeconomic integration among states in West Africa. Multiple and overlapping memberships, widespread conflict and political instability, Manpower, logistics, and trainings, have identified as some of the factors affecting clear policy decisions into practice and remains the main obstacles to regional integration in Africa.

## 5.1 Recommendations

The study made the following recommendations:

1. Nigeria should address a significant chunk of its own issues as a matter of priority before expressing them to other countries on the continent.
2. Nigeria should share some of its bulk responsibilities with other stable West African, nations in order to ensure efficient policy delivery in propagating regional integration

while tending to the series of problems faced back home.

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