

Cost-Benefit Analysis of Nigeria's Continued Role in ECOWAS

Chubado Babbi Tijjani*, Kemal Ozden*

* Nile University of Nigeria, Abuja, Nigeria



Received 03 March 2021
Revised 15 May 2021
Accepted 01 June 2021



Citation: Tijjani C. B., Ozden K. (2021). Cost-Benefit Analysis of Nigeria's Continued Role in ECOWAS, *Journal of Management, Economics, and Industrial Organization*, 5(2), 10-23.
<http://doi.org/10.31039/jomeino.2021.5.2.2>



Copyright: © 2021 by the authors.
This article is an Open Access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

corresponding author:
chubadotijjani@gmail.com

Abstract

This study attempts to discuss the cost-benefit analysis of Nigeria's continued membership in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The study identifies the issues belabouring the relationship between Nigeria and ECOWAS and it concludes that Nigeria can only remain in ECOWAS if the relationship promotes the national interest of the Nigerian populace. This article studied the structure, organisation, function, aims, and objectives of ECOWAS alongside Nigeria's achievement and contributions to ECOWAS. The paper discussed the cost and benefit of Nigeria's continued membership of ECOWAS and recommended a revision of the relationship that presently exists between Nigeria and ECOWAS. The paper posited that the principles of quid pro quo must be adopted in Nigeria's relationship with ECOWAS.

Keywords: ECOWAS, Economic Integration, West Africa, Regional Organisations, Nigeria.

1. Introduction

With the triumph of capitalism during the cold war, the discovery of internet technology in the early 2000s, the formation of international institutions, corporations and organisations, the world became set to herald a new wave of interdependence, interconnectedness, and integration. This, however, did not begin with what is now known as the globalised world. After Egypt, there are records of numerous political, economic, religious and social integration that occurred between empires and dynasties.

The idea of the China Silk Road and Rome's imperialist approach to domination and integration are vivid examples. The difference, however, can be understood with Ritva Kivikkokangas-Sandgre's distinction to the emergence of globalisation. He categorised globalisation into old and new; the former, he explained was a medium used by big empires to enlarge their authority as superpowers, and the latter he identified as been accelerated by the rise of internet technology (Kivikkokangas-Sandgren, 2005). With the 1648 treaty of Westphalia correspondingly, the idea of integration and cooperation as we know it was born. The treaty marked the end of integration by conquest. The failure however to follow the dictates of such treaties and other similar agreements such as the Treaty of Paris (1783), Congress of Vienna (1814), Treaty of Versailles (1920), Geneva Convention (1929) Paris Peace Treaty (1947) led to more carnage and destruction including the world wars.

As a result, the United Nations, which was established in 1945, strengthened the use of diplomacy in the international system. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Treaty of Rome of 1958 (now the European Union), the Bretton Woods Organizations: World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monitoring Fund (IMF), African Union (AU), and a slew of others were born as a result of this. Since then, other international organisations, both governmental and non-governmental, have emerged, all with the goal of preserving peace and stability, as well as economic growth and progress. This paper will focus on one of these organisations. We will look at the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which is a form of economic integration that takes place in the western section of Africa. We shall attempt an evaluation on the origins of ECOWAS, the internal structure, organs and organisation, its mission, vision and core values, its achievements all in an effort to carry out a cost benefit analysis of Nigeria's continuous membership in the organisation.

This paper will adopt the theory of intergovernmentalism which simply is the process where national governments acts as primary actors in regional or intergovernmental systems. Intergovernmentalism involves institutionalism and regional integration.

Institutionalisation has to do with the impact of domestic politics upon governmental preferences and regional integration has to do with a principle of a union of equals within a particular region for the betterment of all from the region (Moga, 2009).

2. History of Integration in Africa

Most African states gained independence around the 1960s. Before this time, both economic and political conclusions were duties of colonial masters as in the case of Nigeria and Great Britain or Cameroon and France. "The process of political integration in Africa is progressing slowly, even though it was a priority stated by the African leaders ever since the early days of independence in the mid-20th century. In the field of economic integration, which has a much

shorter history, the achievements, albeit insufficient compared to the stated objectives, are significantly more" (Marinov, 2014).

With independence, African leaders assumed the mantle of leadership. One of such leaders, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, advocated the formation of an intergovernmental organisation to solve the issues of the continent and enhance economic integration. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was formed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia by 32 African states on May 25th, 1963. Its main objectives were to co-ordinate and intensify co-operation among African states to achieve liberation for the people of Africa, to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African states, and to eradicate all forms of colonialism and white minority rule (DIRCO, 2021). The OAU was successful in certain areas, especially with eradicating colonialism and white minority rule, which led to the defeat of Apartheid in South Africa but fell short in salvaging the civil wars in Angola and Nigeria. The Organization of African Unity, now African Union is important body in Africa because it brought a sense of identity to the continent that was once ravaged by the colonial powers. A speech delivered by Alieu Ebrima, a Gambian historian and pan Africanist best explains the state of affairs before the formation of the OAU. He noted:

"It is barely 75 years when the European Powers sat round the table in Germany each holding a dagger to carve up Africa for its own benefit.... Your success will inspire and speed up the freedom and total independence of the African continent and eradicate imperialism and colonialism from the continent and eventually neo-colonialism from the globe... Your failure, which no true African in Africa is praying for, will prolong our struggle with bitterness and disappointment. I therefore adjure that you ignore any suggestion outside Africa and holding that the present civilisation, which some of the big powered are boasting of, sprang up from Africa, and realising that the entire world has something earthly to learn from Africa, you would endeavour your utmost to come to agreement, save Africa from the clutches of neo-colonialism and resurrect African dignity, manhood and national stability (The Point, 2006).

Such motivation has brought about the establishment of the many intergovernmental organisation that exist in Africa today. Some of such organisations include but not limited to: ECOWAS was established in Lagos, Nigeria on the 28th of May 1975 to promote economic integration amongst West African states, South African Development Community (SADC) was created in Gaborone, Botswana 1992 to foster socio-economic cooperation and integration among southern African countries (See: Boshoff, 2010), East African Community (EAC) was created in 1999 to foster cooperation amongst east African countries (See: Kishor & Ssozi, 2009), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) was created in 1983 and aims to achieve collective autonomy for central African states (See: Human Rights Law in Africa, 2014) and the Arab Maghreb Union was created in 1989 to foster economic and future political unity among Arab countries of the Maghreb in North Africa (See: Finaish & Bell, 1994).

As a sub-regional economic option for development and growth (Davies, 1983), ECOWAS is the focus of this paper. We shall now address the meaning, structure, operations, achievements of ECOWAS.

According to Ibrahim and Ahmad, Nigeria is the arrowhead of ECOWAS (Ibrahim & Ahmad, 2020). On the other hand, it shouldn't be undermined that unity and integration in Africa is not an easy process. As Langhammer stated "Integration in Africa can only be a long-term attempt to solve economic problems, because of its high absorption of scarce and therefore expensive factors of production. In contrast to integration, cooperation seems to be a more useful approach to tackle the urgent employment and growth problems" (Langhammer, 1977). ECOWAS grew from a customs union to a supranational organisation with complex governance systems throughout time (Bado, 2019).

3. Structure, Organisation and Achievements of ECOWAS

3.1. Structure and Organization of ECOWAS

Primary purpose of ECOWAS is to promote economic integration among its members (Agbonkhese & Adekola, 2014). The Lagos Treaty founded ECOWAS in 1975, and it was updated on July 24, 1993 in Cotonou. The core objectives of ECOWAS are promotion of cooperation and development, harmonisation of agricultural, economic, monetary and industrial policies, abolition of trade restrictions and customs duties, establishment of common fund and implementation of infrastructural schemes (Ogwu, 2008). These goals support the vision of ECOWAS, which has led to the formation of an economic union in West Africa with the goal of raising people's living standards, maintaining and enhancing economic stability, fostering relations among member states, and contributing to the continent's progress and development. The structure of ECOWAS includes; the Authority of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, the Community Parliament, the Community Court of Justice.

3.2. Achievements of ECOWAS

3.2.1. Economic Integration

ECOWAS has made great strides in its efforts to carry out its basic and most important objective. ECOWAS regional integration is centred on the free movement of trade, people, capital and services. This freedom of movement was provided for in Chapter IV, Article 27 of the ECOWAS treaty and further reinforced by Protocol/A/P1/5/59 on the free movement of persons, the right of residence and establishment, signed in Dakar on 29 May 1979. ECOWAS established the FTA, free trade area that reduced tariff restrictions for the distribution of local good and services within the West African region. The creation of FTA involves a

compensation the loss of revenue incurred by Member States due to the removal of tariffs on intra-community trade (ECOWAS & UNECA, 2015). This was done by the community to reduce the burden of the loss of custom duties. This did not however affect external trade policy as the community has as Economic Partnership (EPA) with the European Union (EU) and constantly in communication with other trade areas as it concerns the influx of trade within the region. The community in an attempt to easy the art of doing business within the region has created infrastructure, this they called the programme for Infrastructure development in Africa.

Table 1: ECOWAS' Achievements on Infrastructure

Project Title	Summary Description	Total Cost US Dollars	Location (countries)
Abidjan-Lagos Costal Corridor	Modernise heavily travelled ARTIN corridor in West Africa. Trade facilitation, OSBPs, capacity enhancement and implementation of PPP for five countries: Cote-d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Benin et Nigeria	290	Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Ghana, Cote-d'Ivoire
Dakar-Niamey Multimodal Corridor	Modernise heavily travelled ARTIN corridor in West Africa. Trade facilitation, OSBPs, capacity enhancement and implementation of PPP for four countries: Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger	590	Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger
Praia-Dakar Abidjan Multimodal Corridor	Improve marine transport and the connection between island and mainland countries by creating a new maritime service between regional ports and a modern information system to link the maritime service with the ports and roads in the Dakar-Abidjan corridor. Would also modernise one of the most heavily travelled ARTIN corridors in West Africa. Trade facilitation, OSBPs, capacity enhancement and implementation of PPP for eight countries: Cabo Verde, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Sierra-Leone cote-d'Ivoire, Liberia	150	Cabo Verde, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Sierra-Leone, Liberia, Cote-d'Ivoire
Abidjan- Ouagadougou- Bamako	Modernise and rehabilitate multi-modal corridor damaged by Civil war in cote-d'Ivoire	540	Cote-d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Mali
West Africa Hub Port and Rail Programme	Address future capacity problems in West African ports with two components: (a) a regional hub port and rail linkage master plan and (b) port expansion	2140	15 countries PMAWCA
West Africa Air Transport	Increase air transport service levels in West Africa, which are currently limited by the lack of a regional air hub	420	15 countries

Source: African Union, 2010; Akpan, 2014; Efobi, & Osabuohien, 2016.

3.2.2. Other Achievements

ECOWAS has also assisted in the sustenance of democratic institution in the sub-region by ensuring credible, transparent, free, and fair elections despite the volatile nature of Western Africa. This includes the Nigerian election (2015), Burkina Faso, Togo, Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire. To support this, ECOWAS engage in trainings through African institutions to teach their staff and other volunteers the methodologies to curb and fight electoral malpractices. One of such centres is located in Ghana: Kofi Anan Peace keeping institute. Also, ECOWAS attempts to keep the fight in the preservation of human Rights by setting up committees with international partners to address the issues surrounding the respect for human rights. This fight brought to the fore the proliferation, trafficking, and abuse of drugs in the region ECOWAS is working with the UN Drug Control regional office in Dakar to address this issue. ECOWAS is also key on the issue of migration in the sub-region and see it as a key factor to the economic development of member states in the region.

Economic Community of West African States Revised Treaty, 2002, Article 7 gives a summary of some of the achievements of ECOWAS, especially as it concerns all the sectors that, over the years, the community has been able to achieve (ECOWAS, 2002):

1. Establishment of the ECOWAS Monetary Institute (EMI);
2. Adoption of methodological guides for the harmonisation of Public Finance Statistics, Government Financial Operations Tables (TOFE), External Trade Statistics, Balance of Payment (BOP) and International Investment Position (IIP);
3. Conclusion of the review of the Sahel Strategy document and its action plan to boost regional security;
4. Formulation of an ECOWAS Common Trade Policy (CTP) and ECOWAS Trade Development Strategy;
5. Completion of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with the signing by 13 Member States;
6. Custom Union in the offing with the implementation of the common external tariff CET by Eight Member-States;
7. Free Movement of goods and persons is boosted with the adoption of the ECOWAS Biometric Identity Card to facilitate mobility and promote security in the region;
8. Drafting of a Regional Border Management Manual for use in immigration/security training institutions;
9. Launching of the Ecolink project, which aims to transform and improve key operations within the ECOWAS Community;

10. The Systems, Applications & Products (SAP) component of Ecolink aims at improving the financial management systems and ensuring real-time information for effective decision-making in the Community Institutions;
11. Promotion of strategic products for food security and sovereignty including combating cross-border livestock disease;
12. Renewed efforts to enhance the environmental governance, general environmental protection, capacity building as well as Sustainable resource management for development in the Member States;
13. Re-award of the contract for the construction of the Sèmè-Kraké Joint Border Post (Benin-Nigeria);
14. Evaluation of tenders completed for the works, contract for final engineering designs for the rehabilitation of sections of the Enugu-Bemenda road between Nigeria and Cameroon and the construction of a Joint Border Post (JBP) and a Border Bridge at Mfum border;
15. Feasibility study for the extension of the West African Gas Pipeline Network concluded;
16. Development of Regional Power Market with the setting up of regulatory and economic environment;
17. Promotion of renewable energy and energy efficiency technologies and services;
18. An ECOWAS Directive on Energy Efficiency Buildings (EEB) aimed at promoting energy efficiency in buildings in ECOWAS Member States has been developed;
19. Establishment of a Regional Centre for Disease Control;
20. Maintain and strengthen the actions undertaken to consolidate peace and security in the region;
21. Consolidating the implementation of the, Common Market, Trade Liberalization Scheme (TLS) and the Protocol on Free Movement of persons, goods and services;
22. Signing of the Supplementary Act on Dakar-Abidjan Corridor, and laying of the first stone for the regional electricity project. The project covers Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone;
23. The regional peace and security architecture provide for conflict prevention, management and resolution, as well as early warning System. The latter allows ECOWAS to analyse human security issues and anticipate political crises, food shortages, health problems and disasters;
24. ECOWAS is now poised in the coming years to intensify efforts aimed at sustaining peace and political stability already achieved, in order to create the best conditions for the development of the region.

Security is a significant issue in ECOWAS region and still seems to be there isn't any strong tool for the security. Most of the ECOWAS countries suffer from continuous fights and insecurity. One of the suggestions is that ECOWAS should revive her military authority (Omojolaibi, Oladipupo & Okudo, 2019). Moreover, for a stronger security in ECOWAS, she needs to improve the industrial capacity and create jobs for and teeming population, and) inter-regional transfer of military and other technologies should be attained (Okon, 2020).

Internal security of the countries also needs more attention. Because, internal security is quite an important aspect of national security/development, including the development of an even larger geopolitical region (Ojukwu, Chukwuma & Nwagbo, 2020).

4. Nigeria and ECOWAS

The pre-eminence of Nigeria in the West African region cannot be overemphasised. In his message to the president of Nigeria on the 26th of May 2016, the ECOWAS President noted, we refer rightly to Nigeria as the locomotive engine of West Africa and problems cannot be solved without the locomotive being involved. So, there is a leadership role Nigeria has to play" (ECOWAS, 2002).

Table 2: Financial Contributions of Member States of ECOWAS

S NO	Member Country	Financial Contributions for ECOWAS Sustenance
1	Benin	3.9%
2	Burkina Faso	2.6%
3	Cape 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%

Source: ECOWAS Secretariat, Lagos (Library document on member's contributions), 2013.

The estimated population of the West African sub-region is slated at 320 million people and Nigeria has a population of 200 million, it is only reasonable that Nigeria takes a central role. Right from the inception of the community in 1975, Nigeria's commitment to the ECOWAS ideals has never been unwavering and as a result shouldered most of the responsibilities of the ECOWAS commission through economic and military support. Despite Nigeria's leading role in the creation of ECOWAS, there exists many Nigerians who consider Nigeria membership in the community as an unnecessary liability to the country. Such schools argue that the evidence of Nigeria's sustained financial contributions is almost absent or non-existent. Table 2 shows the level of contribution by states in ECOWAS.

4.1. The Achievements of Nigeria in ECOWAS

The hegemonic stability theory argues for the sustainability of a hegemon in any commutation of states because governing sovereign nations especially in intergovernmental organisation rests in the powers and capabilities of the defining state. NATO for example: the strength of the United States or the USSR during the Warsaw pact. This is exact case for Nigeria in ECOWAS. The impact of the Nigerian project within the ECOWAS community has been considerable. Nigeria has been one of the driving forces behind ECOWAS, accounting for more than half of the region's population and an equivalent share of its GDP (Dinka & Kennes, 2007).

“Nigeria in the 1970s carried out the construction of roads to link member states in order to facilitate trade and boost contact among states. For example, the Lagos-Cotonou highway was constructed at a highly subsidised rate by the Nigerian government (ECOWAS, 2015.)”. “On March 6, 2006, the Nigeria-Niger joint commission met in Abuja. At the meeting, the ministers of transport for Nigeria and Niger discussed the building of a rail link from Kaura Namoda through Sokoto to Birnin-n’Konni in Niger Republic (ECOWAS, 2015)” Another example can be seen in the substantial contributions made by Nigeria “to the generation of hydro-electric power to Niger and also supplied gas to Benin, Togo, Ghana” as inter ECOWAS pipeline gas project. (ECOWAS, 2015.)

Perhaps, the most laudable interventions and obvious contributions of Nigeria to ECOWAS is the project of ECOMOG which represents ECOWAS attempt to maintain and restore peace within the West African sub-region. It is worthy to note that maintaining peace and stability was not the goal of ECOWAS as at inception. The call to act began in the 1980s when wars and dictatorships became a constant in the region. ECOWAS saw that a successful economic integration cannot occur in a jungle of wars. Nigeria played a very important role in the curbing of war and the maintaining of peace and stability within the West African region. Both military and civilian leaders never back down from what is now referred to as Nigeria's big brother role in Africa. The leadership of Ibrahim Babangida regime for example helped ECOWAS interest

in the discord that occurred between Ghana and Togo about the border division of the Ewes in 1989. The Liberian crisis, the Sierra Leone war are very good examples where the Nigerian government took particular interest to solving the problems of these areas. To this end, there was a revision of the ECOWAS objectives. In the history of ECOMOG, Nigeria has enlisted “eight field commanders and contributed about 70% of the troops in the peacekeeping operations in Liberia. According to President Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigeria spent eight billion Dollars and lost about five hundred men in the Liberia and Sierra Leone crisis” (ECOWAS, 2015). In the end, the formation of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) has in concrete terms upheld to be a pivotal and successful arm of the ECOWAS project and Nigeria's interventions and contributions can never be over emphasised.

4.2. The Benefits of ECOWAS to Nigeria

No doubt, Nigeria remains a crucial part of ECOWAS. (ECOWAS population: 320 million, Nigeria's Population 200 million). As outlined in the above table, its contribution to ECOWAS is at least double the closest competitor and its GDP is larger than the combined GDP of other member states put together. The above raises the question of the continuous membership of Nigeria in ECOWAS. It is part of the focus of this paper to outline some benefits of ECOWAS to the Nigerian Populace. We shall explore this in the following:

4.2.1. Free movement

ECOWAS sees free movement of goods and services amongst member states as an important tool to promote trade in the sub-region. For example, many nationals from ECOWAS member states are highly represented in the construction industry where they are used for odd jobs (Opanike, Aduloju & Adenipekun, 2016). Some come in as industrialists businesspeople and other professional activities.

4.2.2. Trade

The ECOWAS plan for the Common External Tariff (CET) and Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) will reduce costs in Nigeria. After decade-long negotiations, the ECOWAS CET and EPA with the EU recently reached decisive milestones. (Aribisala, 2013). Also, the share of manufacturing in Nigeria's total exports to the ECOWAS region climbed from 1 percent in 2001 to 5.4 percent in 2010. ECOWAS promotes greater efficiency in Nigerian industries through the creation of an enlarged market. “Within this ECOWAS framework, Nigeria has profited from investments in economic ventures in neighbouring states. Some of these include iron-ore mining in Benin, uranium in Niger, petro-chemicals in Senegal and cement and sugar projects in Benin. There are also a number of joint economic commissions set up between Nigeria and several ECOWAS member-states” (Aribisala, 2013).

Nigeria also stands to gain from the harmonisation of agriculture among members of ECOWAS (for example: cattle rearing), telecommunication and even finances. However, many of aforementioned benefits are yet to be realised. A better commitment from member states can help the community achieve these plans.

5. Evaluating Nigeria's Continued Membership of ECOWAS: A Cost Benefit Analysis

In this section, we will attempt to justify Nigeria's continued membership of ECOWAS by carrying out a cost benefit analysis which involves identifying the benefits and determining the cost so as to ascertain the viability of such membership. It is important to note that this paper believes that the cost of Nigeria's membership in ECOWAS greatly outshines the benefits. Some schools within the African community however attributes this not as a construct of ECOWAS policies, but the failure of Nigerian leaders. It is no news that Nigeria and her leaders have in them the idea that the sustainability of the African continent is a God given duty and as such economic or political gains may not be accrued. On the 22nd of June 1966, for example, "Major General Aguiyi in his maiden broadcast to the nation said: because of our population and potentials, the majority of opinion in the civilised world looks up to us to provide responsible leadership in Africa... we are convinced that whether in the political, economic or cultural sphere, our destiny lies our role in the continent of Africa" (Bamidele, 1993). This statement simply sees Nigeria as saviour of the African race. The issue however with this big brother display is that it comes with little or no benefits. Take for example the Marshal Plan that was given to the United Kingdom and by the United States after the second world war, has the united states not benefited from the proceeding interactions? Or is the problem from our foreign policy which is Afrocentric? Decision making in the international system is a pivotal role and any state must consider its national interests while interacting with other states. We can say up to this point that Nigeria's role in ECOWAS has added little or nothing to the economic life of the Nigerian people.

Moreover, in the military perspective, there are remarkable contributions of Nigeria to ECOWAS (Iwilade & Agbo, 2012). As already stated, the ECOMOG monitoring group of the ECOWAS formed by the Standing Mediation Committee was not part of the treaty of Lagos in 1975. It was established in August 1990 to intervene in the civil war in Liberia that lasted from 1989-1996. It is worthy to note that several francophone ECOWAS members strongly opposed the idea of an ECOMOG takeover of the Liberian war. the agreement for ECOMOG was reached by the anglophone ECOWAS members. The first Liberian war is one of Africans longest civil wars that claimed about 250000 people. Nigeria played a very important role in the war and lost a considerable number of soldiers in the process. It is recorded that over 2000 of Nigerian troops have been lost in ECOMOG and about 12 billion naira has been spent on

both ECOMOG and ECOMIL since 1990. The field and force commander, for example, after the General Arbold Quainoo from Ghana were all Nigerians.

Moreover, ECOMOG sponsored by Nigeria has curbed the war in Sierra Leone in 1997 and the civil war in the Guinea Bissau region. It is recorded that over 1700 men were deployed to the bothers of Guinea and Liberia. The point that must be noted here consequently is the fruitlessness of the above onslaughts. In as much as Nigeria's role in the continent through ECOMOG must be applauded, nothing as it concerns economic benefits has been occurred to Nigeria. During Babagindas regime, for example, Nigeria's GDP was on a low. Poverty existed, and life generally was not pleasant for the Nigerian people. Yet, the Babaginda regime disbursed monies to assist ECOWAS. Besides the absence fruitlessness of Nigeria's mission in these countries, the level of disregard that exists for the Nigerian peoples is alarming. This mad evident in the appointments and selection of positions in ECOWAS and the killings in South Africa and other parts of Africa.

At the very core of any economic integration is the potential for financial gain. Economic integration is the fundamental objective of the ECOWAS community and such, promotes this the most. However, ECOWAS financial capacity is largely crested on the inputs from Nigeria. From the hosting of meetings to emergency bail-out schemes, Nigeria has remained the benefactors of the ECOWAS organisation.

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

Regarding its relations with ECOWAS, Nigeria should choose one of two options: Leave the ECOWAS commission or redefine its place in the community. Nigeria must learn to benefit from the consequences of its actions and must stop the philanthropic purposeless big brother roles. She must strive towards integration as a bit to further promote the interest of the nation and its people. Nigeria should adopt the Quid pro quo method of relationship and ensure that nothing goes for nothing.

Nigeria must take advantage of the gigantic and over-reliant role of ECOWAS. While promoting integration and peace within the sub-region, she must take advantage of the economic possibilities therein.

Nigeria must support policies within the community that would and promote its economic capabilities. For example, the issue around the single currency ECO. Nigeria must carry a cost-benefit analysis to see the viability and how beneficial such a move would affect the economic potentials of Nigeria. Moreover, if by chance the policy is not favourable, she should not out of share solidarity adopt the policy. The growth and sustainability of her economy must be paramount.

References

- Agbonkhese, A. O., & Adekola, A. G. (2014). Regional economic integration in developing countries: A case study of Nigeria; A member of ECOWAS. *European Scientific Journal*, 10(19), 359-374.
- African Union. (2010). Programme for infrastructure development in Africa. *Interconnecting, Intergrating & transforming a continent, 2040*.
- Akpan, U. (2014). Impact of regional road infrastructure improvement on intra-regional trade in ECOWAS. *African Development Review*, 26(S1), 64-76.
- Aribisala, F. (2013). The ECOWAS imperative for Nigeria. *Financial Nigeria*. Retrieved January 10, 2021, from <http://www.financialnigeria.com/the-ecowas-imperative-for-nigeria-blog-202.html>
- Bado, K. (2019). Good governance as a precondition for subsidiarity: human rights litigation in Nigeria and ECOWAS, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 57(1), 1-18. DOI:10.1080/14662043.2019.1574015
- Bamidele, A. Ojo. (1993). *Problems and prospects of sustaining democracy in Nigeria*. Nova Publications.
- Boshoff, N. (2010). South–South research collaboration of countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC). *Scientometrics*, 84(2), 481-503.
- Davies, A. (1983). Cost-benefit Analysis within ECOWAS. *The World Today*, 39(5), 170-176.
- Dinka, T., & Kennes, W. (2007). Africa's regional integration arrangements: history and challenges. *Centre européen de gestion des politiques de développement. Document de réflexion*, (74).
- DIRCO. (2021). Department of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa. *Organization of African Unity (OAU) / African Union (AU)*, Retrieved January 15, 2021, from <http://www.dirco.gov.za/docs/speeches/2021/mdla0526.pdf>
- ECOWAS Commission. (2002). *Economic Community of West African States Revised Treaty*.
- ECOWAS (2015). *Nigeria and the achievements of ECOWAS*. Retrieved December 16, 2020, from <https://www.ukessays.com/essays/politics/nigeria-and-the-achievements-of-ecowas-politics-essay.php>
- ECOWAS and United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). (2015). *ECOWAS at 40: An Assessment of Progress Towards Regional Integration in West Africa*. ECOWAS and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA).
- ECOWAS Secretariat. (2013). Lagos (Library document on member's contributions).
- Efobi, U. R., & Osabuohien, E. S. (2016). Manufacturing Export, Infrastructure and Institutions: Reflections from ECOWAS. In *Accelerated Economic Growth in West Africa* (pp. 157-179). Springer, Cham.
- Finaish, M., & Bell, E. (1994). The Arab Maghreb Union, IMF Working Paper No. 94/55.
- Human Rights Law in Africa. (2014). Economic community of central african states (eccas) profile of the economic community of central african states. *Human Rights Law in Africa Online*, 1(1), 640-643. <https://doi.org/10.1163/221160604X00413>

- Ibrahim, Y.K., Ahmad, A.A. (2020). The role of Nigeria in the ECOWAS and its support towards the common proposed currency ECO. *Asian People Journal*, 3(2), 86-95.
- Iwilade, A., & Agbo, J. U. (2012). ECOWAS and the regulation of regional peace and security in West Africa. *Democracy and Security*, 8(4), 358-373.
- Kivikkokangas-Sandgren, R. (2005). *What is globalization?*. Lecture Notes on Globalisation from global and local perspectives, 1-10.
- Langhammer, R.J. (1977). Regional integration and cooperation in Africa: A history of disappointments?, *Intereconomics*, 12, 257-262. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02928809>
- Marinov, E. (2014). The history of African integration – A gradual shift from political to economic goals. *Journal of Global Economics*, 6(4), 74-86.
- Moga, T. L. (2009). The contribution of the neofunctionalist and intergovernmentalist theories to the evolution of the European integration process. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 1(3), 796-807.
- Ogwu, U. J. (2008). ECOWAS and regional security challenges. In *Globalization and Environmental Challenges* (pp. 791-800). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.
- Ojukwu E.C., Chukwuma, N.A., & Nwagbo S.N.C. (2020). ECOWAS Treaty on migration, and challenges of internal security in Nigeria. *Journal of Conflict Transformation and Nation Building*, 2(1), 32-50.
- Okon, E.N. (2020). Power and regional security: comparative discourse on ECOWAS and SADC. *African Social Science and Humanities Journal (ASSHJ)*. 1(1), 36-51.
- Omojolaibi J.A, Oladipupo A.O, & Okudo A.G. (2019). Fragility and macroeconomic outcomes in ECOWAS. *Journal of Economic Library*. 7(1), 11-34.
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1453/jel.v6i1.1845>
- Opanike, A., Aduloju, A. A., & Adenipekun, L. O. (2016). ECOWAS protocol on free movement and trans-border security in West Africa. *Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs*, 3(2), 41-47.
- The Point Newspaper. (2006). *Message to the founding fathers of the OAU at their first conference at Addis Ababa May 1, 1963*. Addis Ababa.