

**Nigeria: Too Rich for Dignity and the Law?
Perspectives after the 2007 elections**

**International Conference, Evangelische Akademie Loccum
15 – 17 June, 2007**

In co-operation with Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), Church Development Service (EED), German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) Nigeria, Heinrich Boell Foundation, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, sponsored by Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), Berlin



Responsible Use of Resources

By Bunu Lawan, Principle Accountant ECOWAS Commission, Abuja

INTRODUCTION

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established on the 28th May 1975 with the signing of a treaty by 15 West African States, transcending political, geographical and linguistic barriers, with English, French and Portuguese as the official working languages. The Member States are as follows:

- | | | |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1) Benin | 6) Ghana | 11) Nigeria |
| 2) Burkina Faso | 7) Guinea | 12) Niger |
| 3) Cape Verde | 8) Guinea Bissau | 13) Senegal |
| 4) Cote d'Ivoire | 9) Liberia | 14) Sierra Leone |
| 5) Gambia | 10) Mali | 15) Togo |

The ECOWAS Institutions include the ECOWAS Commission (Secretariat), ECOWAS Parliament, Community Court of Justice, ECOWAS Bank for Investment and Development and other sectoral agencies.

The provisions of the Treaty are:

- The goal of Economic Integration (Economic & Monetary union)
- The principle of supra-nationality
- The designation of ECOWAS as the sole economic Community for regional integration in West Africa
- Mechanisms for regional peace, stability and security

Although ECOWAS was established to foster regional and economic integration, it has been primarily focused on conflict prevention and management due to rebel uprisings, political and ethnic clashes in some member states such as Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Some of these conflicts were as a result of poor governance, electoral malpractices, corruption and mismanagement of the abundant natural and financial resources.

On the issue of the Responsible Use of Resources, it is pertinent to say that the sub-region is blessed with variety of resources such as:

- Oil & Gas
- Agricultural Produce (cocoa, palm oil, Rubber, etc)
- Mineral resources (Gold, Diamond, Bauxite, Uranium, etc)
- Timber, etc.

ECOWAS, as the regional focal point for NEPAD, has been actively promoting good governance and responsible use of resources, and has enacted a Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (A/SP1/12/01), supplementary to the Protocol on Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security. The protocol is divided into sections namely:

1. Constitutional Convergence Principles
2. Elections
3. Election Monitoring
4. Role of Armed Forces, Police and Security Forces in a Democracy
5. Poverty Alleviation and Promotion of Social Dialogue
6. Education, Culture and Religion



7. Human Rights and Good Governance
8. Women, Child and Youth
9. Modalities for Implementation and Sanctions

Invariably, most problems associated with election malpractices and governance issues result from the absence of good democratic structures. It is in realisation of these that, ECOWAS had been mandated to implement NEPAD through Policy coordination and to strengthen Public Institutions thereby strengthening Public Resource Management. Furthermore, in realization of the need for collective management of resources, decisions were taken by the Authority of Heads of State and Governments to establish proper organs/structures to implement efficient utilization of resources within the sub-region by pooling resources together. This has resulted in a number of collective projects such as:

- West African Gas Pipeline
- West African Power Pool
- West African Monetary Zone
- Customs Union
- Air Transport Liberalization
- Regional Peacekeeping

West African Gas Pipeline (WAGP)

The West African Gas Pipeline is a sub regional Gas Transmission System that will transport clean, reliable and competitively priced natural gas from Nigeria to customers in Ghana, Togo and Benin. Both public and private sector companies from these four countries are collaborating in a Joint Venture company known as the West African Gas Pipeline Company (WAPCo) to construct and operate the pipeline.

The 678km, US\$635 million Pipeline will extend from the existing Escravos-Lagos pipeline at the Alagbado "Tee" in Nigeria and proceed to a beachhead in Lagos and from there offshore to Takoradi, in Ghana, with gas delivery laterals from the main line extending to Cotonou (Benin), Lome (Togo) and Tema (Ghana).

As a source of lower-cost sustainable fuel for power generation and direct use for industrial and commercial customers, the Pipeline fosters an enabling environment for economic development and job creation in the sub-region. In Benin, Togo and Ghana, the substitution of cleaner burning natural gas for traditionally less desirable fuels such as crude oil, charcoal, and diesel will reduce air pollution and provide health benefits, bringing improvements in the quality of life for the citizenry. In Nigeria, the provision of a market and financial returns for natural gas that may otherwise have been flared will have a positive impact on the economy as well as the environment.



Nigeria's contribution to the Power Pool far exceeds that of other participating States. She shall be contributing a capacity of 1,190MW to the Pool and expend over US\$1.3 billion in developing the Priority Thermal Power Projects.

West African Monetary Zone

The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone formed a second monetary zone in 2005 (The ECO), along side UEMOA's common monetary zone. It is envisaged that the two monetary zones will be merged. Indeed, ECOWAS is on its way to achieving this goal, given that twelve out of the fifteen member States have removed all monetary non-tariff barriers (road tax, airport tax, etc). All member States are also working towards new macro-economic convergence criteria in preparation for the single monetary zone

Customs Union

In March 2004, the Authority of Heads of State and Government resolved to form a Common Customs Union by 2007. This implies the following:

- Abolition of customs duties levied on imports and exports from Member States
- Abolition of non-tariff barriers among Member States
- Removal of obstacles to free movement of persons, goods, services and capital between member States
- Adoption of Common external tariff and Common trade Policy vis-à-vis third countries

Air Transport Liberalization

In November 1999, Ministers of Civil Aviation in West And Central Africa meeting in Yamoussoukro signed a Memorandum of Understanding to liberalize air transport within the two sub-regions. Subsequently, an Air Transport Economic Regulation Harmonization Committee to steer the process of developing common air transport economic regulations for the two regions of West and Central Africa and periodically monitor implementation by States was established. Furthermore, project units have been established within ECOWAS and CEMAC to ensure implementation of the decisions and give technical support to the Committee.

In addition, the Commission continues to work with the private sector on the project to establish a sub-regional airline.

Regional Peacekeeping

Over the last 15 years, conflicts in Sierra Leone and Liberia represented a major threat to regional security. Warfare between government forces and rebels resulted in some of the worst massacres known in West Africa and put a strain on neighboring countries given the exodus of refugees from the fighting.



The ECOWAS Treaty which provided for inter-state conflicts did not provide for intra-state conflicts as was the case in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Faced with these realities of civil conflicts, Nigeria, Ghana and Guinea realized the danger and acted on an adhoc basis to contain the fighting through ECOMOG. Despite economic, political and social problems, Nigeria played a central role in forming the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), a multinational military force which intervened in Liberia in 1990, Sierra Leone in 1997 and Guinea-Bissau in 1998. Nigeria's push for the formation of ECOMOG proved to the West its ability to act as a regional policeman. Estimates put Nigeria's peacekeeping costs at more than \$1 million per day.

Subsequently ECOWAS moved to correct these gaps by enacting the Protocol on the Mechanism for conflict prevention, management, resolution, peace keeping and security and the supplementary protocol on Democracy and Good Governance. These Protocols gives ECOWAS the legal instruments to intervene in each Member State to enforce peace in case of crisis. The supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good governance gives ECOWAS the mandate to enforce Good Governance and responsible management of resources. The Commissions' Early Warning System provides an avenue for providing decision makers with the facts, date and necessary information needed to make decisions and take necessary actions for implementation of the Protocol on Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, and its supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance.

Conclusion

In order to reposition ECOWAS to assume the expanding mandate and roles within the sub region; the erstwhile ECOWAS Secretariat was transformed into a Commission in January 2006. The Commission is comprised of a President, Vice President, nine sectoral Commissioners and a Financial Controller. In order also to address the issues of Peace and Security, the Protocol on Democracy and good governance and speed up on the Economic Integration process, the Commission has developed a Strategic Plan (2007-2010) which provides an overview for ECOWAS short, medium and long term plans and objectives, invariably providing the foundation for efficient and effective resource planning and management within the West African sub region.

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Subject

Nigeria, the demographically largest country with the most extensive oil resources in Africa has become an important power in the region despite its conflict-ridden history. Economic interests dominating the use of resources from outside, large-scale poverty stirring ethnic-religious rivalries about social and political participation, and also disparate structures of government, administration and the security sector have created complex tensions between controversial perspectives of the stakeholders involved.

The ways in which Nigeria will enable itself to deal with the causes of the conflicts make the country an important case of scholarly and political interest far beyond its borders.

Short after the local and federal elections in Nigeria in April 2007, the conference aims at discussing the following issues: How to empower the various segments of the Nigerian population, politically and economically, enhance good governance, fight rampant corruption, conduct appropriate methods of conflict resolution and implement conflict-sensitive codes of conduct for international corporations? How much responsibility, in close cooperation with Nigerian players, for a policy focussed on human security, peace and justice may be assumed by external governmental and non-governmental initiatives?

Our hope is to provide a forum for Nigerian players such as politicians, scholars and analysts along with representatives of civil society to discuss their views with German and international organisations involved in development and conflict resolution. We encourage people with expertise in these fields to share their knowledge and to help identify future areas of cooperation.

Dr. Corinna **Hauswedell**, Director of Studies for International Politics

Program

Friday, June 15, 2007

Welcome and opening of the conference

Dr. Corinna **Hauswedell**, Loccum

Nigeria After the Elections

Introductions to the conference

Prof. Attahiru **Jega**, Präsident, Bayero Universität Kano

Heinrich **Bergstresser**, Journalist, Köln

World Order - Africa - Nigeria

Dr. Denis **Tull**, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin

Saturday, June 16, 2007

Representative of the Nigerian Embassy in Germany

Introductions to the Workshops

Federalism, Governance and Security

Prof. Dr. J. Isawa **Elaiwu**, Jos

Responsible Use of Resources

Bunu **Lawan**, Principal Accountant, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Abuja

Ethnic-religious Dimensions of Political Conflicts

Prof. Dr. Klaus **Hock**, University Rostock

Workshop I: Democracy and Security - Issues of Participatory Governance

Chair: Dr. Andreas **Heinemann-Grüder**, BICC, Bonn

Prof. Attahiru **Jega**, Vice Chancellor, Bayero University, Kano

Ibrahim **Biu**, Director Voter Education, Independent National Electoral Commission Headquarters (INEC), Abuja

Heinz **Jockers** / Ralph-Michael **Peters**, Core-Team, European Union Election Observation Mission (EUEOM), Hamburg

Dr. Etham **Mijah**, Nigerian Defense Academy, Kaduna (to be confirmed)

Olufunmi **Olayinka**, Deputy Governor candidate for Ekiti State, Lagos

Dr. Klaus **Pähler**, Representative to Nigeria, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Abuja

Workshop II: Too Much of Plenty - Too Little to Share?

Issues of Responsible Resource Use and Economic Development

Chair: Kristina **Steenbock**, German Watch, Berlin

Abbia **Udofia**, Chief Legal Officer, Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), Abuja

David **Ugolor**, African Network for Environmental and Economic Justice, Lagos

Dr. Rose **Ngomba**, University of Göttingen, Germany

Dr. Stefan **Cramer**, Director, Heinrich Boell Foundation, Lagos

Dr. Andreas **Dally**, Academy Loccum

Yahaya **Ahmed**, Development Association for Renewable Energies Kaduna, Bonn

Workshop III: Beyond North and South - Ethnic, Religious and Social Dimensions of Conflict

Chair: Dr. Lidwina **Meyer**, Academy Loccum

Ms Hauwa **Ibrahim**, Abuja

Rev. Habila **Istifanus**, General Secretary of ACLA; Justice, Peace and Reconciliation Movement, Jos

Rev. Ike **Okorie**, General Secretary, Christian Council of Churches in Nigeria, Lagos

Fr. Dr. George **Ehusani**, former General Secretary, Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria, Lagos

Dr. Nick **Idoko**, Centre for Peace in Africa, Lagos

Future Perspectives I:

How do the different players in Nigeria articulate, position themselves and co-operate on the issues at stake?

Round table feedback from the workshops

Facilitator: Dr. Corinna **Hauswedell**

Sunday, June 17, 2007

Future Perspectives II:

How to address a policy focussed on human security, peace and justice through external initiatives and in close cooperation with Nigerian players?

Panel discussion

Facilitator: Dr. Corinna **Hauswedell**

Dr. Viktor **Matz**, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Berlin

Gabriele **Groneberg**, MP/Social Democratic Party, Berlin

Hartwig **Fischer**, MP/Christian Democratic Union, Berlin

Bunu **Lawan**, ECOWAS

Dapo **Oyewole**, Centre for African Policy & Peace Strategy (CAPPS), London & Lagos