



# Implications of ECOWAS Standby Force Interventions during Conflicts: An Evaluation

**Makanjuola Obembe**

*Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution  
Faculty of Social Sciences, National Open University of Nigeria, Jabi Abuja.  
E-mail: olaobembe@gmail.com*

---

## Abstract

The study conducted a comprehensive evaluation of the ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF)'s interventions from a multidimensional approach that considers effectiveness, political implications, and the interplay of regional and national interests. The research analysed the operational effectiveness of the Force's interventions in conflicts, assessed the impact of these interventions, explored the relationship between interventions and the concept of state sovereignty in West Africa, and examined the collaborative dynamics between ECOWAS, the African Union, and other international organizations in peacekeeping efforts. The social constructivism theory was adopted to analyze the research for an in-depth understanding. The research utilized the qualitative approach and collected secondary data by searching relevant articles, academic journals, and content analysis was used for the data. The research findings are: ESF interventions have had varying degrees of success in mitigating conflicts, the temporary stabilization of political environments, economic repercussions of interventions, mixed social outcomes, and notable difficulties of ESF in coordinating efforts with other international entities. However, the effectiveness of these interventions depends on the balance achieved between intervention and respect for national sovereignty, as well as the commitment of member states to uphold democratic principles outside the realm of ECOWAS oversight.

**Keywords:** *Conflict Resolution, ECOWAS, Standby Force, Interventions, Peacekeeping.*

---

## Introduction

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has emerged as a pivotal regional organization in addressing conflicts and promoting stability in West Africa. Established in 1975, ECOWAS has evolved from a primarily economic integration entity to a key player in conflict resolution and peacekeeping efforts within the region. Over the years, ECOWAS has developed to address various socio-political issues in addition to peace and security with some key mandates on economic integration, democratic governance, humanitarian assistance and disaster response as well as health, social and regional infrastructure development (Revised Treaty of ECOWAS 1993).

The ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF), officially launched in 2004, is a critical component of the organization's security architecture, aimed at

rapid deployment in crises. This intervention mechanism reflects a collective commitment to maintaining peace and security, which is essential considering the region's history of civil wars, political instability, and humanitarian crises. The implications of ESF interventions are multifaceted, influencing not only the immediate conflict contexts but also the broader socio-political landscape of West Africa.

The central research problem revolves around understanding the complexities and contradictions inherent in ESF interventions specifically, how these interventions balance the need for sovereignty and regional stability against the backdrop of political, social, and economic challenges within member states. The themes of regional integration versus national autonomy are pertinent, as interventions may sometimes be viewed as infringements on state sovereignty,



leading to political tensions. Scholars like Afolabi (2010) argue that while ECOWAS has a legal mandate for intervention under the Protocol on Non-Aggression and the Protocol on Mutual Assistance in Defense, the political motivations behind interventions often complicate perceptions (ECOWAS, 1981).

The thesis statement is that the interventions of the ECOWAS Standby Force during conflicts in West Africa are pivotal not only in promoting immediate peace and security but also in shaping long-term political stability, regional integration, and sovereignty concerns among member states, thus reflecting the complexities inherent in regional peacekeeping mechanisms. The significance of this evaluation lies in its potential to provide insights into the effectiveness of the ECOWAS Standby Force in addressing both immediate and systemic issues of conflict within West Africa. While the focus is primarily on military interventions, it also encompasses post-conflict reconstruction and long-term implications for peace and security within member states.

To overcome the research problem, the objectives of this evaluation are: to analyze the operational challenges and effectiveness of the ESF interventions in conflicts, assess the implications of these interventions on regional stability and the political landscape of member states, explore the relationship between ECOWAS interventions, and the concept of state sovereignty in West Africa and to examine the collaborative dynamics between ECOWAS, the African Union, and other international organizations in peacekeeping efforts. This introduction sets the stage for a comprehensive evaluation of the ECOWAS Standby Force's interventions, necessitating a multidimensional approach that considers effectiveness, political implications, and the interplay of regional and national interests.

### **Conceptual Analysis**

#### **Intervention**

The concept of intervention refers to the act of a state or a group of states intervening in the affairs of another country, typically to prevent humanitarian crises, restore peace, or protect

human rights. This can take the form of military action, economic sanctions, diplomatic pressure, or humanitarian assistance. Interventions can arise from concerns about internal conflicts, human rights violations, or the spread of instability that threatens regional or global peace. Various types of Intervention are Humanitarian Intervention which is focused on alleviating human suffering, often in response to crises such as genocide or war crimes, Preventive Intervention which is aimed at stopping conflicts before they escalate into violence and Peacekeeping Operations which involves deploying neutral forces to maintain peace and security in post-conflict areas (United Nations, 2020).

The 1999 Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security endowed ECOWAS with the authority to intervene in member states experiencing conflict (ECOWAS, 1999). Established in 1990, ECOMOG is a multinational military force that has been deployed in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau, among others. ECOMOG's interventions have varied in methods and scales, often facing both operational challenges and criticisms. In Liberia, ECOMOG was pivotal in intervening during a brutal civil war, aiming to stabilize the country and protect civilians, and in Sierra Leone, ECOWAS interventions initially faced backlash due to perceived failures but later stabilized the country and facilitated the return of peace (Dempsey, 2003). Recent developments in the terrain discovered that ECOWAS continues to engage in conflict zones such as Mali and Guinea, reflecting its ongoing commitment to regional stability and the establishment of the ESF aims to enhance its rapid response capabilities in crises (ECOWAS, 2016). The concept of intervention encompasses a range of actions that states and organizations can take to address crises in other nations. ECOWAS has developed a distinct identity within this context, transitioning from an economic community to a proactive player in peacekeeping and conflict resolution. Through its interventions, ECOWAS not only addresses immediate crises but also seeks to foster long-term stability in West



Africa, albeit facing significant challenges that must be navigated in future operations.

### **Research Methodology**

The research utilized the qualitative approach and collected secondary data by systematically searching and retrieving relevant articles, academic journals, Reports from NGOs, Government, and intergovernmental reports on the implications of the interventions. The research used content analysis for the data by identifying recurring patterns, common challenges, and emerging insights regarding the implications of the ESF intervention during conflict.

### **Theoretical Framework**

#### **Social Constructivism Theory**

Constructivism is a social theory that emphasizes the role of social constructs, identities, and shared understandings in shaping international relations. It posits that institutions, norms, and interactions among actors are not fixed but are continuously constructed and reconstructed through social processes. This theory highlights the social dimensions of international relations, emphasizing the role of identities, norms, and interactions among states (Kahler, 2009).

Constructivism argues that identities shape the behavior of states and international organizations. In the case of ECOWAS, its identity as a regional organization dedicated to peace and security influences its approach to interventions. The member states view themselves not just as individual nations but as part of a collective that is responsible for regional stability (Acharya, 2001). In the context of ECOWAS, the norms surrounding intervention, such as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and regional solidarity, guide the organization's actions. ECOWAS has established a normative framework that legitimizes its interventions, based on the belief that member states must assist each other in times of conflict (Bellamy, & Williams, 2010).

Constructivism emphasizes that social interactions among states shape their behavior. The collaborative nature of ECOWAS interventions reflects a social understanding that

regional peace and stability are collective tasks. The trust built through these interactions influences the effectiveness of interventions (Wendt, 1999). Constructivism also allows for an exploration of how ECOWAS interventions are perceived by local communities. The success of these interventions often depends on the legitimacy and acceptance by the population in conflict-affected areas. Constructivist analysis can shed light on how identity and norms shape local responses to external interventions (Touval, 2005).

Constructivism posits that states can learn and adapt their practices based on experiences. ECOWAS has a history of varying success in its interventions, which encourages reflection and adaptation of its strategies. The organization's evolving approach to conflict reflects an understanding of changing norms and expectations (Paris, 2002). Using constructivism to analyze the implications of ESF interventions reveals the importance of identity, norms, and social interactions in shaping the outcomes of these missions. The framework allows for an in-depth understanding of not only the organizational behavior of ECOWAS but also the intricate relationships and perceptions among member states and local communities affected by conflict and also helps illuminate how regional dynamics, perceptions, and relationships influence the effectiveness of interventions, offering a nuanced understanding of the complexities surrounding peacekeeping efforts in West Africa. By considering these factors, scholars and policymakers can better navigate the complexities of regional peacekeeping and conflict resolution.

### **The operational challenges and effectiveness of ESF interventions**

This research aims to analyze the operational challenges and effectiveness of ESF interventions in conflicts in this discussion. ESF interventions in West Africa are significant topics of analysis, particularly regarding specific conflicts such as the civil wars in Liberia (2003) and Sierra Leone (1997–2000). This analysis explores the complexity of military operations, political



dynamics, and the evolving landscape of regional security.

#### **Operational Challenges**

The ESF often faced challenges in logistics, including inadequate funding and military equipment. Limited resources hampered the deployment speed and effectiveness of peacekeeping operations (Aning & Egbe, 2015). Coordination among member states as another challenge was frequently problematic, with delays in troop contributions and differing national priorities affecting operational readiness. The clash between national policies and regional commitments led to inefficiencies in troop mobilization (Kamara, 2011). The research observed that there were significant apprehensions among member states regarding national sovereignty. Some countries were hesitant to fully commit to the ESF due to fears of interference in domestic affairs (Afolabi, 2010) and the acceptance and support of the host nation play a critical role in mission effectiveness. In some instances, the relationship between ECOWAS forces and local governments soured, creating friction and challenges in conducting operations (Aning & Egbe, 2015). Similarly, the changing nature of conflicts, including the emergence of non-state actors and asymmetrical warfare, presented a substantial challenge. ECOWAS forces had to adapt quickly to evolving threat landscapes, which often exceeded their operational mandates and capabilities (Aning & Egbe, 2015). Following initial interventions, sustaining security and supporting peacebuilding efforts in post-conflict settings remained problematic, as ECOWAS struggled to balance military response with developmental approaches (Pugh, 2011).

#### **Effectiveness of Interventions**

The intervention in Sierra Leone is often cited as a success for ECOWAS. The military intervention, spearheaded by the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), helped stabilize the country and restore democratic governance. The eventual partnership with the United Nations to ensure a comprehensive peace process demonstrated the potential for regional forces to deliver effective

outcomes (Rashid, 2005). Immediately after intervention, ECOWAS plays a crucial role in mediating conflicts and facilitating dialogue among conflicting parties. The interventions have often positioned the organization as a key player in West African politics, building frameworks for conflict resolution that extend beyond military engagement (Aning, 2020). The contributions of ESF to Regional Security are immersed after intervention for instance, both the Liberian and Sierra Leonean interventions contributed to broader regional stability by deterring further spillover effects of conflict, preventing the emergence of conflict in bordering states. This demonstrated ECOWAS's significance in regional security architecture (Chikwanje, 2014). Although the initial phase of deployment faced challenges, the ECOWAS intervention did contribute to reducing violence and stabilizing the country. The presence of peacekeepers helped to create environments conducive to humanitarian assistance and the return of displaced persons (Afolabi, 2010). The operational challenges faced by the ECOWAS Standby Force significantly influence the effectiveness of its interventions in West African conflicts. Addressing these challenges is crucial for enhancing the operational capacity and success of future interventions by the ECOWAS Standby Force.

#### **ECOWAS interventions and the concept of state sovereignty in West Africa**

The relationship between ECOWAS interventions and state sovereignty in West Africa is complex and multifaceted. It intertwines issues of regional stability, national authority, and collective security, often raising significant questions about the balance between respecting state sovereignty and addressing humanitarian crises or security challenges. The research explored the concept of sovereignty, ECOWAS interventions and sovereignty, regional stability vs. national sovereignty, and challenges to sovereignty in the discussion.

The interventions in places like Liberia (1990) and Sierra Leone (1997) mark pivotal moments when the organization asserted itself as a stabilizing force in the region. These interventions often occurred in response to





internal conflicts that threatened regional stability. The ECOWAS Protocol Relating to Mutual Assistance in Defense (1981) allowed for collective military responses to internal and external threats, signaling a departure from the strict adherence to state sovereignty in favor of regional stability (Akokpari, & Adebayo, 2002).

#### The Concept of Sovereignty

State sovereignty is defined as the principle that a state has authority over its territory and the right to govern itself without external interference. This principle is foundational in international relations and traditional diplomacy. However, in instances of humanitarian crises or severe human rights violations, this concept is challenged by the imperatives of international law and collective security (Zartman, 1995). In the context of West Africa, the principle of state sovereignty has been a cornerstone of international relations. However, the rising tide of intra-state conflicts, humanitarian crises, and terrorism have strained this principle. States like Liberia and Sierra Leone faced situations where the government could not maintain order, raising the question of whether external intervention is justified.

#### ECOWAS Interventions and Sovereignty

One of the justifications for ECOWAS's interventions is the protection of human rights and humanitarian considerations. The atrocities committed during Liberia's civil war, for example, illustrated a collapse of governance that mandated intervention for humanitarian relief. In such cases, ECOWAS invoked a "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) doctrine, which suggests that sovereignty entails a responsibility to protect citizens from grave harm. This principle challenges the traditional notion of sovereignty by asserting that external actors may intervene if a state is unable or unwilling to protect its population. Initially reluctant, ECOWAS deployed the ECOMOG to intervene. The intervention, although controversial, was justified on humanitarian grounds, leading to broader discussions about the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) (Adebajo, 2002).

#### Regional Stability vs. National Sovereignty

ECOWAS interventions are often framed as

necessary for regional stability. States within the organization recognize that instability in one nation can have spillover effects on its neighbors, potentially destabilizing the entire region. This regional perspective can lead to prioritizing collective security over strict adherence to state sovereignty. For instance, interventions in Burkina Faso, Guinea, and Mali have highlighted the precarious balance between respecting state boundaries and addressing the collective need for security (Bellamy, & Williams, 2010).

#### Challenges to Sovereignty

Post-intervention scenarios often reflect ongoing challenges to sovereignty. After the ECOWAS-led interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone, both countries faced difficulties in rebuilding political structures and managing external influences, which contributed to a perception of diminished sovereignty. International organizations' involvement in governance reform often raised concerns about neo-colonialism or external imposition (Miall, 2004). Also, the legal framework governing ECOWAS interventions includes both regional and international law. The ECOWAS Treaty, particularly through the Protocols on Non-Aggression and Mutual Assistance, supports collective security. The interplay between ECOWAS interventions and state sovereignty in West Africa reflects an evolving paradigm. While the need for intervention in the face of humanitarian crises or regional instability is increasingly acknowledged, the challenge is to navigate this necessity without undermining the core tenets of state sovereignty. The ECOWAS experience illustrates that the concept of sovereignty is not static; rather, it adapts to the realities of governance and security in a region marked by fragility and interdependence.

#### **The collaborative dynamics between ECOWAS, the African Union, and other international organizations in peacekeeping efforts.**

The collaborative dynamics among ECOWAS, the African Union (AU), and various international organizations in peacekeeping efforts demonstrate a multifaceted approach to conflict resolution and stability on the African continent.



This analysis explores how these entities interact, their roles in peacekeeping operations, and the challenges they face in their collaborative efforts. ECOWAS's peacekeeping operations, exemplified by the ECOMOG (ECOWAS Monitoring Group) missions during civil wars in Liberia (1990) and Sierra Leone (1997), illustrate its commitment to regional stability which involved direct military intervention to restore order (Eze, 2020).

The AU, established in 2001 as a successor to the Organization of African Unity, aims to promote unity and cooperation among African states while addressing peace and security issues more comprehensively through frameworks such as the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The AU takes a more continental approach than ECOWAS and has a more significant mandate to address conflicts beyond regional confines. The AU has led peacekeeping missions in various African nations, including Sudan (Darfur) and Central African Republic, often working in conjunction with ECOWAS (AU, 2003). Its ability to deploy the African Standby Force (ASF) is a critical component that enhances its operational capacity (AU, 2016).

The partnership between ECOWAS and the AU is formalized through mechanisms such as the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Peace and Security, signed in 2006. This agreement facilitates cooperation in conflict resolution, sharing of intelligence, and logistical support (ECOWAS, AU, 2006). Both organizations collaborate on several missions. ECOWAS and the AU emphasize training and capacity-building initiatives. The CEDEAO (ECOWAS) Training for Peace Program and the AU's initiatives aim to enhance the capabilities of peacekeeping personnel (ECOWAS, 2019). Their collective programs strengthen the regional response to conflicts.

The collaborative dynamics between ECOWAS, the African Union, and international organizations in peacekeeping highlight both strengths and challenges. While their joint efforts enhance the peacekeeping architecture on the continent, addressing logistical, political, and

resource-related hurdles is crucial for future success. Continued investment in capacity-building, political alignment, and coordination will be vital to addressing Africa's unique peace and security challenges effectively.

### **The implications of ECOWAS Standby Force interventions**

The implications of ECOWAS Standby Force interventions are significant in addressing regional security challenges, particularly in West Africa, where political instability and conflict have been persistent. The force aims to provide rapid deployment capabilities for peacekeeping, conflict prevention, humanitarian assistance enhance regional security, and stabilize member states facing crises (ECOWAS, 2006). Its implications, both positive and negative, shape the political, social, and military landscape in West Africa. This research will examine the strategic, operational, and diplomatic implications of these interventions in this discussion.

The establishment of the ECOWAS Standby Force (ESF) has enhanced West Africa's capacity to respond to security threats. It serves as a framework for collective security, showcasing regional commitment to stability. By having a standby force, ECOWAS reinforces its role as a central actor in conflict resolution (Adebajo, 2002). The presence of a standby force can deter potential aggressors. Knowing that there is a prepared and collective military force can discourage coups and conflicts, as potential instigators may fear military intervention or sanctions from ECOWAS (Cilliers & du Plessis, 2000). Through interventions, ECOWAS contributes to the promotion of peace and stability in member states. The ESF has been employed in various missions, like in Liberia and Sierra Leone, where it played a critical role in restoring order and facilitating peace processes (International Crisis Group, 2003). Interventions by the ESF also contribute to the capacity-building of national militaries within member states. Collaborative exercises and training initiatives enhance the operational capacity of armed forces in the region. This is particularly evident in countries like Senegal and Mali, where



partnerships have strengthened military coordination (Adebajo, 2002).

The operational success of the ESF depends on the readiness and capability of its member states to deploy troops. However, issues such as underfunding, lack of training, and political will often hinder effective mobilization (Adebajo, 2002). This raises questions about the reliability of the ESF in crises. The deployment of the standby force requires effective coordination among member states and disparities in military standards and interoperability can complicate joint operations, impacting the overall effectiveness of the mission (Cilliers, 2013). However, ECOWAS interventions occasionally face criticism regarding their approach to civil-military relationships and governance. A heavy military presence may undermine democratic processes, particularly if civilian authorities are sidelined during the intervention (Epe, 2020). Additionally, the deployment of the ESF can have complex political implications. While it aims to stabilize governments, it can also be seen as external interference, leading to accusations of violating sovereignty. For example, the intervention in Côte d'Ivoire in 2003 elicited mixed reactions, with some citizens perceiving it as an infringement on national sovereignty (Adebayo, 2005).

Successful interventions boost the legitimacy and credibility of ECOWAS as a regional stabilizing force. Positive outcomes from missions enhance member states' confidence in the organization's capabilities and commitment to regional security (African Union, 2003). ECOWAS's proactive role can foster stronger relations with international partners, including the African Union and the United Nations. Collaborative efforts in peacekeeping missions may strengthen global support for ECOWAS's initiatives and increase funding and resource allocation to the standby force (Zougbede, 2014).

Interventions often lead to enhanced diplomatic engagement, where ECOWAS not only sends military forces but also mediates peace talks. This dual approach can contribute to more sustainable peace solutions (Mwanaketinge, 2011). Finally,

The ESF's interventions influence geopolitical dynamics within the region. By collaborating closely with the African Union and the United Nations, the force seeks legitimacy on the international stage. However, this can lead to tension with non-regional powers who may have competing interests, as seen in the responses to the crises in Mali (International Crisis Group, 2020).

Some interventions face accusations of lacking legitimacy if they bypass local consent or democratic processes. This can lead to perceptions of ECOWAS as an external imposition rather than a supportive partner in Peacebuilding (Epe, 2020). Also, the use of force raises legal and ethical questions. Interventions must balance the responsibility to protect civilians with respect for national sovereignty and non-intervention principles. The ESF has faced critiques concerning its adherence to international norms, particularly regarding the use of military force in civilian contexts (Mills, 2010). While military interventions can provide immediate relief, they may fail to address the root causes of conflicts, such as poverty, inequality, and governance issues. This underscores the importance of comprehensive strategies that integrate humanitarian aid, development, and governance reforms into military efforts (Cilliers, 2013).

The ECOWAS Standby Force interventions carry considerable implications for the region, encompassing strategic, operational, and diplomatic dimensions. While they enhance regional security and stability, challenges such as operational readiness, legitimacy, and resource constraints must be addressed to maximize their effectiveness. Ultimately, a comprehensive approach that addresses the root causes of conflict, alongside military solutions is crucial for sustainable peace and development in West Africa.

### **Challenges**

Here the research outlines some of the major challenges facing the force.

- a. One of the primary challenges for ECOWAS interventions is the lack of



adequate financial and logistical resources.

- b. Conflicts often have regional implications, and the complex relationships among ECOWAS member states can complicate intervention efforts.
- c. ECOWAS peacekeeping missions often face operational challenges, including troop training, coordination among diverse military units, and integration of civilian components.
- d. Before and during interventions, the security environment in host nations can be volatile and unpredictable.
- e. Negative perceptions of foreign intervention can lead to resistance or hostility against peacekeepers, making successful operations more difficult.

### Findings

The following are the findings of the evaluation:

- a. The ECOWAS Standby Force has had varying degrees of success in mitigating conflicts. However, the operation in Guinea-Bissau experienced challenges that hampered its effectiveness.
- b. Interventions have sometimes led to a temporary stabilization of political environments but have often resulted in the re-emergence of political rivalries and instability once the force has withdrawn.
- c. Economic repercussions of interventions often include increased costs due to military spending and potential erosion of economic stability during and immediately after deployment.
- d. Interventions have had mixed social outcomes; while some local communities have regained a sense of security, others have experienced increased displacement and humanitarian crises.
- e. There have been notable difficulties in coordinating efforts with other international entities, such as the United Nations and the African Union.

### Conclusion

The ESF has played a critical role in addressing conflicts within West Africa, demonstrating both successes and challenges in its interventions.

Political dynamics, economic impacts, and social repercussions illustrate the complexity of post-conflict scenarios in which ECOWAS operates. The research discussed the analysis of the operational challenges and effectiveness of ECOWAS Standby Force interventions in specific conflicts, explored the relationship between ECOWAS interventions and the concept of state sovereignty in West Africa, and examined the collaborative dynamics between ECOWAS, the African Union, and other international organizations in peacekeeping efforts. The research discovered that ESF interventions have had varying degrees of success in mitigating conflicts, the temporary stabilization of political environments, economic repercussions of interventions, mixed social outcomes, and notable difficulties of ESF in coordinating efforts with other international entities as its findings. The Social Constructivism theory was used in explaining the research. For future interventions, ECOWAS must develop a multifaceted approach that integrates military, political, and socio-economic strategies. Ultimately, the success of the Standby Force will depend on its ability to adapt to the evolving landscape of conflicts and prioritize holistic development alongside immediate conflict resolution efforts. Such a comprehensive strategy could lay a solid foundation for lasting stability in West Africa, fostering an environment where peace can thrive, and future conflicts can be mitigated before they escalate.

### Recommendations

The research recommends the following:

1. ECOWAS should prioritize political dialogue and engagement with member states before, during, and after interventions to foster greater political stability and build local governance capacities.
2. ECOWAS should create mechanisms that foster community engagement and dialogue between peacekeeping forces and local populations to build trust, improve cooperation, and ensure that interventions are seen as legitimate and supportive rather than oppressive in order





- to prevent re-emergence of political rivalries and instability.
3. ECOWAS should pair military interventions with economic support programs and development initiatives to help rebuild economies and reduce dependency on conflict-driven resources.
  4. The community should develop robust frameworks for better coordination and communication with other international bodies involved in peacekeeping and conflict resolution in the region, ensuring clear roles and responsibilities.

## References

- Acharya, A. (2001). *Constructing a Security Community in South-east Asia*, Routledge, 2001
- Adebajo, A. (2002). "Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau." *International Peacekeeping*, 9(2), 1-22.
- Adebajo, A. (2002). *Building Peace in West Africa: The Role of ECOWAS*. *The International Peacekeeping Journal*, 9(3), 1-16.
- Adebajo, A. (2018). *The United Nations and Regional Security in West Africa*. Routledge.
- Adebajo, A. (2010). *Building Peace in West Africa: A New Approach to ECOWAS*. *The Global Policy Journal*.
- Adeyemo, A. (2008). "ECOWAS and Conflict Resolution in West Africa." *African Security Studies*, 17(2), 50-68.
- Afolabi, M. (2010). "Regional Stability and Sovereignty in West Africa: The Role of ECOWAS." *Journal of International Affairs*.
- African Union. (2003). *Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union*. Addis Ababa. African Union. (2016). *African Standby Force: Concept and Roadmap*.
- African Union Peace Support Operations Division. (2019). *Annual Report: Peace Support Operations*.
- Akunyili, O. (2019). "The Economic Impact of Conflict and Stability in West Africa". *Journal of African Economies*, 28(4), 445-467.
- Akokpari, J., & Adebayo, A. (2002). *ECOWAS and the Dynamics of Conflict Resolution in West Africa*. *African Security Studies*. 2002
- Aning, K., & Kofi, A. A. (2013). "ECOWAS and the Responsibility to Protect". *The*
- Aning, K., & Egbe, C. (2015). "Peacekeeping and Its Roles in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: A research of ECOWAS in West Africa." *\*African Security Review*
- Bamikole, O. (2020). "Democracy, Governance, and Intervention in West Africa: The ECOWAS Factor". *West African Journal of Peace and Security*, 5(1), 30-45.
- Bellamy, A. J., & Williams, P. D. (2010). *The New Politics of Protection? Côte d'Ivoire, Libya and the Responsibility to Protect*
- Bellamy, A. J., & Williams, P. D. (2010). *Introduction to the Special Issue: The Responsibility to Protect and the Future of Peacekeeping*.
- Chikwanje, M. (2014). "The Evolution of the ECOWAS Standby Force: From ECOMOG to the Standby Force." *African Security Studies*.
- Cilliers, J., & du Plessis, A. (2000). *The Role of the African Standby Force in African Security*. *African Security Review*, 9(3), 2-14.



- Cilliers, J. (2013). The African Standby Force: A Force for Peace in Africa. *African Security Review*, 22(1), 20-30.
- Crisis Group. (2015). "Managing the Conflict in West Africa: A Strategic Approach to the Peacekeeping Challenges." West Africa Report.
- Dempsey, J. (2003). "ECOWAS's Role in the Sierra Leone Crisis." Institute for Security Studies Paper, 76.
- Donnelly, R. (2019). The Challenges of Peacekeeping Coordination in Africa. *African Security Review*.
- ECOWAS. (1999). "Protocol Relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping, and Security."
- ECOWAS. (1981). Protocol on Mutual Defense Assistance
- ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (2006)- ECOWAS.
- ECOWAS. (2006). Memorandum of Understanding on Peace and Security between ECOWAS and the African Union.
- ECOWAS. (2016). "ECOWAS Standby Force: An Overview."
- ECOWAS Revised Treaty (1993).
- ECOWAS. (2019). Training for Peace Program.
- Epe, A. (2020). The Role of ECOWAS in Conflict Management and Peacekeeping in West Africa. *The Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, 46(2), 85-99.
- Eze, J. (2020). ECOWAS Peacekeeping Operations in West Africa: An Overview. *Peace Review*.
- Ezeani, E. J. (2015). ECOWAS and the Challenges of Peacekeeping in West Africa: The Case of Guinea-Bissau. *African Journal of Political Science*.
- International Crisis Group. (2003). West Africa's Troubled Guinea: The Need for a New Approach. Report No. 120.
- International Crisis Group. (2018). Negotiating Peace in Africa: The Role of Regional Organizations.
- International Crisis Group. (2019). "Guinea-Bissau: Options for a New Approach." *Africa Briefing*.
- International Crisis Group. (2022). Guinea-Bissau's Political Impasse: Reason for Concern. *Crisis Group Africa*.
- Kahler, M. (2009). *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance*
- Kuforiji, M. (2018). "ECOWAS and the Challenges of Military Intervention in West Africa". *Journal of African Military History*, 1(2), 105-121.
- Kujur, S. (2011). "ECOWAS and the Challenges of Regional Security." *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 18(1), 22-35.
- Kamara, A. (2011). "Operational Challenges of the ECOWAS Standby Force: A Critical Analysis." *Conflict, Security & Development*
- Miall, H. (2004). *Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Approach*.
- Mills, C. (2010). *The Challenges of International Intervention: A Practical Guide for Peacekeepers*. London: International Peacekeeping Press.
- Moyn, S. (2010). "Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention." *American Historical Review*, 115(1), 197-208.



- Mwanaketinge, S. (2011). The ECOWAS Policy for Peace and Security. African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD).
- Nwankwo, I. (2020). "Sovereignty versus Intervention: The Case of ECOWAS in West African Politics". *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, 46(1), 58
- Omotola, J. A. (2009). "ECOWAS and the Challenges of Peacekeeping in West Africa: An Assessment of ECOMOG". *African Security Studies*, 18(2), 171-
- Paris, R. (2002). *Peacekeeping and the UN: Lessons from the 1990s*
- Pugh, M. (2011). "ECOWAS and the Challenge of Peacekeeping in West Africa." *Nigeria: State Fragility and Regional Security*.
- Rashid, I. (2005). "The Role of ECOWAS in Sierra Leone: A Success Story?" *West African Review*.
- Revised Treaty of ECOWAS (1993)
- Touval, S. (2005). *The Role of Non-State Actors in Conflict Resolution*.
- United Nations. (2020). "Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines."
- United Nations Security Council. (2020). *Supporting ECOWAS: The Role of the UN in West Africa*.
- Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*
- Wynne, A. (2019). "Understanding Security Challenges in West Africa: The Impact of ECOWAS." *Journal of Peacekeeping*.
- Yada, A. (2014). *Guinea-Bissau: A Focus on the Future*. *The Journal of Conflict Studies*.
- Zanker, F. (2015). "The Political Dynamics of Military Intervention in Africa: A research of ECOWAS Interventions". *African Journal of Political Science*,
- Zartman, I. W. (1995). *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and Techniques*.
- Zewde, S. (2021). *Complexities in African Conflicts: Lessons Learned from ECOWAS and AU Peacekeeping Missions*. *African Affairs*.
- Zougbede, S. (2014). *Regional Responses to Conflict in West Africa: Lessons from ECOWAS Peace Missions*. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 14(4), 367-