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BİLİMSEL ARAŞTIRMALAR ETİK KURULU

28.06.2018

Sayın Patience Lyop Pam Dachomo

Bilimsel Arařtırmalar Etik Kurulu'na yapmıř olduĐunuz “**Nigeria-The Gambia Relations: A case study in Asymmetry Relations**” bařlıklı proje önerisi, sadece ikincil kaynak kullanıldıĐı için Etik Kuruluruna girmesine gerek yoktur. Bu yazı ile birlikte sadece ikincil kaynak kullanmak řartıyla arařtırmaya bařlayabilirsiniz.

DoĐent Doktor Direnç Kanol

Bilimsel Arařtırmalar Etik Kurulu Raportörü

Not: EĐer bir kuruma resmi bir kabul yazısı sunmak istiyorsanız, Yakın DoĐu Üniversitesi Bilimsel Arařtırmalar Etik Kurulu'na bu yazı ile bařvurup, kurulun bařkanının imzasını tařıyan resmi bir yazı temin edebilirsiniz.



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Dear Patience Lyop Pam Dachomo

Your project “**Nigeria-The Gambia Relations: A case study in Asymmetry Relations**” has been evaluated. Since only secondary data will be used the project it does not need to go through the ethics committee. You can start your research on the condition that you will use only secondary data.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Direnç Kanol

Rapporteur of the Scientific Research Ethics Committee

Note:If you need to provide an official letter to an institution with the signature of the Head of NEU Scientific Research Ethics Committee, please apply to the secretariat of the ethics committee by showing this document.

INTRODUCTION

International politics has to do with the relations among states and other actors in the world. Such relations cannot be understood in isolation due to the role and relevance of other international actors, social structures, geographical and historical influences (Goldstein 2009: 3). The primary actors in the global international system are the states who constantly are in inevitable interactions with other states through bilateral or multilateral relations. Bilateral relations is considered as the relations between two states having political, economic, or cultural ties. On the other hand, multilateral relations have to do with the relations among three or more states. The importance of the interactions or relations of states in the international system cannot be overemphasized, as no state can be self-sufficient. Thus, the need for mutual dependence.

Important thing to note in considering the mutual dependence of states either in a bilateral or multilateral relation is the fact that the degree of dependence is not necessarily equal or in other words symmetrical. In most cases, it is unequal in the sense that one is more dependent than the other is. Symmetric relations is where there is equal distribution of power capacities while an asymmetric relation tends to describe an unequal relation amongst states (Pfetsch 2000: 25). These terms can be seen in the relations between a strong and weak state or rather a developed state and a developing/underdeveloped state.

In the study of the relations among states, focus has been centered on economic factors and the analysis of the center-periphery or rather the North-South divide. Little attention is given to the unequal relationship between states (Asymmetric). This can be explained by the fact that international law is built on the law that all independent states are sovereign and have legal equality in their reputation and rights, thereby no state is above the other, all states are the same. Leaders of nation states are usually determined to highlight their independence and are very diplomatic to any interferences concerning realistic unfairness between states (Adejo 2016).

The so-called powerful states in international politics are unhappy with the idea of asymmetry in international relations, as it might entail prominent distribution of

responsibility for end-results. On the other hand, the weaker nations are troubled too, as emphasis on asymmetry highlights their inferior importance and presents little or no options. However, despite persistent rhetorical commitment to the opposed, asymmetry between participating states is exceptionally genuine and often has determining significance for bilateral with multilateral relations as well. (Kozak 2010 : 215).

Asymmetry is essential to the view or notion of international politics. It provides an individual view for paradigm of the reality of the international relationships among states. It brings attention to the relationship in material disparities and its consequences for knowledge and behaviour. How states are measured in terms of strength or weakness in international politics is through their economic relations, military strength. The economic strength is measured by the states Gross Domestic Products(GDP), their per capita income, their contribution to international organization, their skilled labour, material resources and infrastructure.

The military strength is measured through the military personnel, military expeditions, weapons and the will to use these weapons. Political and social are measured by the type of government operated and how efficient it is, social welfare of the people, income distribution, class relations. Psychological factor is the mental well-being of the people being governed, their ambition, will and zeal to be governed (Pfetsch 2000: 28). Bilateral relationship can be classified asymmetric when there is imbalance between the two states involved and the imbalance is not overpowering (Womack 2006: 30). Most international relations between states would fit into that category, some examples would be United States and Cuba, China and Vietnam, Nigeria and The Gambia, South Africa and Mozambique, Mexico and Guatemala, and so forth. However, the relationships among these states may be friendly, aggressive, or normal, it is never an equal relationship between them, even when the states involved are sovereign states.

Nigeria and The Gambia however have had friendly relations for several years. These relations would be described as asymmetrical. Nigeria has always played a much more important role for The Gambia than The Gambia has for Nigeria. In the first place, there are clear differences in the capabilities of both countries and these

inconsistencies have consequences for perception and foreign policy behaviour. For example, in economic terms, GDP of Nigeria is about US\$376.28 billion (World Economic database 2018) while that of The Gambia is about US\$3.58 billion. (International Monetary Fund 2018).

In addition, The Gambia has more to gain, and in fact has gained more from the relationship with Nigeria; this is because The Gambia economic progress depends on sustainable bilateral and multilateral assistance, responsible government economic management and on continuous technical aid from bilateral and multilateral assistance (Adejo 2016). The relationship between The Gambia and Nigeria is more important to The Gambia than to Nigeria. Nigeria has more paramount relations with other countries and so that makes it less at risk.

The Gambia is a state in West Africa with Banjul as its capital, speaks English ; but has other languages known as the *makinda, fula, wolof* . The country has been active in international affairs, West Africa, and Islamic country affairs even though it has a very limited representation abroad. The Gambia gained her independence in 1965 from the United Kingdom, it is a small country with a population of about 2.051, 363 million (The World Fact-book 2018). The Gambian economy is mainly on farming, fishing, tourism, clay, titanium and tin. The country's agriculture contributes more than 30% to its GDP and employs human labour up to 70%, farming is the major economic resources. Different countries have had relationship with The Gambia, example Libya, Cuba, Turkey, United States, and Nigeria (Hughes 2008). In further chapter of this work, the relationship between The Gambia and Nigeria would be discussed, but it is important to give brief relations it had with another country in order to understand it does not depend on Nigeria 100%. Turkey and The Gambia has had a relationship since 1965 and The Gambia happens to be the top sub-Saharan country that Turkey has good relations in the military aspect. The deployment of Turkish Gendarmerie Training Team (TGTT) in Banjul in 1991-2005, has helped to strengthen the friendship of the two countries. In addition, 22 bilateral agreement has already been signed and 13 have already come to force (Sutphen 2017). However, The Gambia has a very low trade interest from businesspersons, investors in Turkey. This has slowed down the economic relations between the two, poor infrastructures;

labor, and storage problems, corruption has also been a problem in the relations of the two. In addition, transportation is a major setback as there are no passengers and direct flight from Turkey to Banjul

Yahya Jammeh was the president of The Gambia from 1994-2017 after a bloodless coup overpowering the Dawda Jawara government and accused the government of corruption and had a discontent army, Yahya Jammeh overthrew Dawda who has been ruling from 1970-1994. Yahya Jammeh won the elections by 56% and became the president. The Gambia in December 2016 had a general election that saw Yahya Jammeh defeated by Barrow Adama, Jammeh did not accept the results and asked for a new election this caused problem in The Gambia and a 90 days state of emergency was declared by Jammeh. Barrow had to go on exile and took the oath of his new office in Senegal and on 20 January 2017, Yahya stepped down (Ruth 2017).

Nigeria on the hand is a country in West Africa and has Abuja as its capital state, has English as its main language but has over 350 other languages spoken nationwide. Nigeria gained its independence in 1960 from the United Kingdom and later became a republic in 1963. The country has a population of about 185,989,640 million, which makes it the largest country in Africa (World population prospects-UN). Beans, sesame, cashew nuts, cassava, melon, rubber, soybeans, cocoa, palm oil, yams, groundnuts, tins are some of the agricultural products produced by Nigeria. The country is the 13th Largest oil producing country in the world (US energy information administration 2017), agriculture used to be the main export of the country but since the discovery of crude oil in 1973 agriculture became the second. All attention was given to oil; Nigeria has had different relations with different countries. However, the country is Afro-centric in the sense that its foreign relations deals with the relations of African countries first before the outside world. Nigeria helped create Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) with its main office in Abuja the capital of Nigeria; it is a member of the African Union(AU), Non-Aligned movement, United Nations and other numerous organizations.

In addition, after Nigeria got her independence in 1960, the state consciously adopted the doctrine of African centrepiece policy. By this, the country hoped to help

Africa more and still hopes to put African states interests in front of her foreign trade. With Nigeria being the strongest largest concentration of Africans in the world, Nigeria decides to take the responsibility of looking out for the well-being of Africans wherever the need arises (Saliu 2006: 102). In making Africa first in her relations, Nigeria has had to come up with some hard decisions sometimes injurious to her own existence as a nation. For example, the role Nigeria played in helping South Africa gain her independence also the troops it sent to Sudan for peacekeeping. In doing this, the country has been commended and condemned. However, Nigeria has remained faithful to the Afro-centric approach even with the different change of government.

The display of this Afro-centric approach is a clear proof that Nigeria has clear asymmetry relations with The Gambia without Nigeria seeking for much in return. Its economy is bigger and more stable than that of The Gambia. She has given The Gambia technical aids, different professional workers are sent to The Gambia to help fill the man power gap(Doctors, engineers, lawyers). Nigerian banks have even opened branches in The Gambia. Nigeria, on the other side,has not received any help from The Gambia; the country has given The Gambia chief justice, police officers, and army staffs. Apparently, it is always on the giving side. The debate that have emerged of this behaviour of Nigeria to its African sister state The Gambia. Is what this work is going to focus more on, in the coming chapters more details will be given and analyzed, the asymmetric relations of Nigeria and The Gambia, the advantages and disadvantages and the importance of such relationship.

This thesis selected Nigeria-The Gambia relations, because The Gambia has been one of the highest recipients of Nigeria's aid (Saliu 2006: 103). It is therefore important to understand the nature of their relationship and look into the various aspects of this relationship. There are people who think Nigeria is being unnecessarily generous, thus the need to know if there are benefits to this relationship that could benefit Nigeria's benevolence. The Gambia is especially important because of the high population of Nigerians that reside and work in the country. The present Chief Justice of The Gambia is a Nigerian; there is no country where that is obtainable.

On the use of Kozak's asymmetry model is because this asymmetry relations method explains better the relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia not Womack because the theory is not broader and includes aspects that is not exactly related to the study which will be explained in the later chapter.

Statement of Problem

One of the significance of the asymmetric relations of Nigeria and The Gambia is the burden it took upon itself in assisting poor and weaker states. Some Nigerian scholars Gabriel Olusanya, Oladapo Fafawora think that such kind gesture the stronger state (Nigeria) is rendering the weaker states is not so healthy for its state welfare. The stronger state has its own problems economically; she still depends solidly on the first world countries so in essence it does not have the capacities to cater for all African countries when she herself depend on the Western World.

These scholars feel Nigeria is doing much more for The Gambia and other African countries, they also feel these resources used to aid other countries should be allocated in improving the country first before others come in second. However, on the other hand Nigeria has one of the blooming economy in Africa, how can it turn its back on other African states. Let's use The Gambia for example if the stronger state here says it's no longer interested in the bilateral relations, The Gambia will have no choice than to accept that decision in to avoid problems that may rise. This right here raises questions; Should Nigeria continue the relation with The Gambia? Should Nigeria focus on herself first before others? Should it minimize its aid? What does it stand to gain? Is the country strong enough to assist others?

Objective of the Study

The main objective of this work is to study the asymmetric bilateral relations between Nigeria and the Gambia. The study argues that the relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia is primarily influenced by the Nigeria's Afro-centric foreign policy design. As a result, Nigeria has committed to the Gambian cause because Nigeria is stronger while The Gambia is a weaker state; hence, Nigeria sees it as her responsibility to

assist The Gambia, which is in line with the provisions of the asymmetrical argument. The asymmetrical model option of Kozak was adopted which argues that states in asymmetrical relationship has several options to adopt- the strong state can decide to open up, close, refuse or control the weak state; on the other hand, the weak state can decide to close or open up to the relationship with the bigger state thus, the objectives that are going to be discussed are;

- Analyse the ways asymmetric relations can influence the subject in bilateral relationships of The Gambia and Nigeria.
- Review Nigeria and The Gambia relations using the Kozaks theory on asymmetric to acquire the policy both countries have in their relationship with each other.
- Point out the benefits and challenges of this asymmetric relations and its reflections on Nigeria's Afro-centric policy.

Significance of the Study.

This study would be of a great importance and contribution to the expanding of individual knowledge; it is going to provide a length work that highlights the Nigeria-The Gambia relations. Nigeria is seen over the years not to benefit anything from The Gambia, but Nigeria has benefitted from its relations and these benefits would be discussed in later chapter. Relations between states with different power and capabilities is rarely talked about, this work is going to talk about the relations in bilateral in the international system. Despite the international law that says all states are equal and none is above the other. This work would give a better understanding in international politics. This study is going to teach that countries can engage in relations without having domination fear, example is the Nigeria The Gambia, this work would also serve as a material for future use in discussing Nigeria The Gambia relations

Justification for the Study

The topic Nigeria-The Gambia relations needs to be relevant to existing knowledge or ongoing academic debates. The motive for work concentrates around the need to

assess the effect of asymmetry on bilateral relations. The bilateral relations between Nigeria and The Gambia has generated disagreement with one of the parties in favour of the foreign policy. Why the writer decided to use Nigeria-The Gambia is because little or no work has been done on these countries relations asymmetrically, also with the differences between the two countries economically and population. The friendly relations between the countries has not been disrupted even with the controversies surrounding the relations between the two. There are lessons to be drawn from the asymmetric relations from the countries. These countries are the perfect example of the asymmetric relations (one is stronger and one is weaker), however, many materials are limited to the study of asymmetry relations

Scope of the Study

This work focuses on the relationship of Nigeria and The Gambia. The stronger state (Nigeria) gained her independence in 1960 and became a republic in 1963. The weaker state (The Gambia) gained hers in 1965. Therefore, it is appropriate to give a brief history of the two countries from their independence and their diplomatic relations. Also Nigerians foreign policy is going to be outlined, which is outlined as Afro-centric in essence (putting Africa first before the rest of the world).

This study is going to give a brief background view of Nigerian foreign policy from 1960 to have a better understanding of the policy, also the relations between the two countries. The research will focus more on the relations from 1999-2018, it has been a continuous one and the two have had agreements. The stronger and weaker states have great differences in their economic capacities, the effects asymmetry has on bilateral relations in international government. Using asymmetry theory to relate to these relations has limitations being the fact it's a new theory which is rarely used by other authors and researchers unlike popular theories like the democratic peace theory. Asymmetry theory by Kozak is going to be used here to talk about the relations of the two countries, because his theory gives more options in bilateral asymmetry relations.

Research Methodology

To achieve the task and expectations of this research, a number of methodological approaches employed. The researcher relied on secondary sources; published and unpublished materials, materials written by scholars on the subject matter. Original documents were gotten from Nigerian Institute of International Affairs which is federal government owned. This institute has records of relations between Nigeria and other countries that were written by scholars and this is a valuable document for this work. The researcher also relied upon useful materials like textbook, journals, conference papers, which were complementary in corroborating earlier sources utilized.

This chapter gave the background to study by explaining international politics and who the main actors, which are the states and other multilateral organization as co actors. States communicate with each other through bilateral or multilateral relations and these relations are very important to every sovereign state. Asymmetry relations exist between states whereby one is more dependent on the other, even though symmetric relations exist as well, but most countries practice asymmetry relation. A country's strength is measured through its resources, military strength, GDP, labour, per capita income, and infrastructures. Nigeria and The Gambia have had friendly relations since both countries got their independent being the fact Nigeria has an Afro-centric foreign policy in putting Africa first before the rest of the world. A brief background of the both countries was talked about, with the lesser country being one of the highest recipients of Nigeria aid. Even though The Gambia relates with other countries as well but depends solidly on Nigeria, while Nigeria doesn't depend on The Gambia. In addition, there are scholars who feel Nigeria should stop helping other countries and focus her attention on her own people; they believe Nigeria does not gain anything from being the big brother to other African countries, since Nigeria depends on the West as well. This chapter also talked about asymmetry relations if handled properly can bring a positive interest to both states. On the use of Kozak's theory on this research, only Kozak theory gave four-option model of asymmetry relations, which all states fall under.

1. CHAPTER

LITERATURE REVIEW

Foreign relations is important to any sovereign state and this relations cannot be underestimated, to have a clear understanding on these foreign relations and international politics, a review of works done by scholars in the field of international politics is presented in this chapter. The review of literature presents an understanding of asymmetry in the relationship and international politics between Nigeria and The Gambia as a case study. There are several relevant materials and literature on the Nigeria foreign policy, asymmetry relations, The Gambia Nigeria relations. Out of the lots however, some have been discovered to be more relevant than others as such deserve to be reviewed to put this work into its proper perspective.

Kegley and Blanton (2011) gives the necessary approach to understand world politics and future development it has on the world. Understanding world politics is important to any researcher, the development, which is likely to happen, and the long term these developments will have on individual and country, all countries relate same way Nigeria and The Gambia does. Although the book was able to give explanation on world politics and the main actors, this literature helped the author to have a better understanding of how each state acts in politics; the work also helped the research to have a clear picture of the circumstances surrounding international relations.

F.O Ottoh and S.O Akinboye (2005) is another relevant material because it entails about the issues surrounding international relations, the international world, and the relationship it has with the state and economy foreign policy, international law, multinational cooperation, conflict, and negotiation in international studies. International law states that all states are equal, and none is higher than the other is, but looking at the world today can we say that is true. The foreign policy here is connected to the Nigeria-The Gambia relations because no country can operate with another without a foreign policy and then Nigeria operates with an Afrocentric policy.

One of the most important studies in the literature of asymmetry relations is provided by Brantley Womack (2006) where the main focus is China and Vietnam; because it discussed asymmetry relations between two countries. The work relates to the research topic because Nigeria and The Gambia have asymmetry relations although the powerful state does not intend to dominate the lesser one. Womack was among the first group of scholars to discuss the China-Vietnam relations, his main argument states that asymmetric relations can be a usual relationship, rather than unusual relations that needs ratification. The international system places its focus more on the world power while giving a blind eye to conditions that dominate the foreign policy choices that the smaller nations have to make using the China-Vietnam as a case study.

Womack for instance in his book did not state if China-Vietnam asymmetry relationship is going to bridge the gap of economic relations. Changes in political factors and geographical conditions in the global world has influence in such relationship, these factors do not fully shape the relationship as well. The relationship between the two countries has been steady and they have maintained that bond, just like the Nigeria-The Gambia relations. The book gives competent important relationship even as the world is changing.

Another important study in this aspect is the PhD thesis written by Scott-Thomas Firsing(2010) .This study examines the bilateral relationship between the South Africa, a developing country, and United States a world power. Using the asymmetry theory of Womack to talk about the relationships of these countries,Firsing puts forward that there was a downward swing because of the two countries foreign policy, which had confliction. Asymmetry had implications and the two countries lacked the institution on which both countries could easily communicate and settle their disputes, which may have risen. This however is not the case of Nigeria-The Gambia relations, as the two have not had any issues relating, Nigeria has been a big brother to The Gambia in many ways.The dissertation also argues that bilateral relations changed from stabilization to normalcy all through the relationship between the two countries. In addition, he also said asymmetry theory proved itself in explaining the relationship. However, this research work will use Kozak asymmetry

theory to explain the Nigeria-The Gambia relations, unlike Firsing who used Brantly Womack theory to analyze US-South African relations.

Krystof Kozak (2010) in his work talked about asymmetric relations between the USA-Mexico and the tension between the two countries. The writer traced the cause of their issues and their foreign policy, when Mexico felt threatened by US that became an issue for the relations. Kozak believed asymmetry in international relations is natural and it will be difficult to abolish, However when the asymmetry is high especially economically it can bring in serious problems that may affect proximity. In cases like this instead of the two countries involved to reduce contact, they can both cooperate by decreasing the asymmetry, which is the cause of the problem. Kozak's model option here sees the US opening its door for Mexico, as Nigeria did to The Gambia. This research work will use the model Kozak developed in his work to analyse the US-Mexico relations to analyze the Nigeria- The Gambia relations.

Abdullahi Aishayji (2009), in his article on US-Kuwait relations, talks about an under developed and a major world power. This relationship shows many differences between a small and a weak country, with a strong and powerful one, in asymmetric relations which argued to be profitable to both sides. The United States is the largest supplier of goods and services to Kuwait. Both countries have had a total trade of close to 6 billion dollars in 2008, and Kuwait gained more in this relationship. This book relates to this research in the sense that Nigeria has been of the greatest supply of goods and services to The Gambia and the receiver gained more than the giver. Abdullahi talked about the elements that build the impact and govern the asymmetric relationship with the development that comes with this relationship, the alliance future and transformation. His work indicates the possibility of mutual advantage in asymmetric bilateral relationship on the US-Kuwait. Unlike this research work, which is going to focus on Nigeria-The Gambia relations, the work will shed more light on how both Nigeria and The Gambia can both benefit from these relations just like the US-Kuwait.

Michael Anda (2000), in his work contemporary Africa, is a major contribution to this research work. It focuses on a cross-sectional analysis of intra-West African

international relations, using the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) member states as a point of reference (which both Nigeria and The Gambia are members). Tracing the diplomatic history of West African countries from independence to the present, it assesses the various dimensions of cooperation among the smaller and less developed states of West Africa while revealing the precarious nature of the economy and security in the region. This work articulates how variations in the foreign policies of West African states and the perceptual differences of their leaders can aid in understanding any design for cooperation in the sub-region. In essence, leaders can be the ones to determine the progress of their country, just how there is mutual understanding between Nigeria and The Gambia. In West Africa, the high volume of interstate relations created by the relative affluence of the 1970s has been replaced by the passivity of the 1980s and 1990s, a period characterized by relative economic deprivation.

It points out events such as diplomatic representations, presidential visits, bilateral agreements, and mutual memberships of regional organizations that, provide greater promise for enhanced intra-West African cooperation. Finally, geographical contiguity between states, common colonial heritage, size-power distance, economic development, military and diplomatic capabilities are positively related to increased interactions among West African countries and that most of these interactions are either political or economic, rather than sociocultural. Anda's work discusses relations across West Africa but this research will be more specific as it focuses on two West African states. In addition, Anda highlights several factors that influence the relations among West African states but this work will focus on the influence of material disparities between Nigeria and The Gambia.

Osita's (2010), work talks more on the mutual dependence of behaviour of countries in international relations and focuses more on Nigeria's foreign policy since she gained independence in 1960. The foreign policy orientation of every country is important in her foreign relations, just how Nigeria is Afro-centric all countries have theirs. Osita argued that only powerful and strong states could demand and expect reciprocity in their relations with other states. The present world politics shows that power rules, the level of power of nation has determines if the state it relates with will

feel grateful or will feel dominated. However, looking at The Gambia Nigeria relations, can one say The Gambia feels dominated? More states are more focused on seeing their rival state not doing better than they do; no one gives more attention to domination except the lesser state. The point here is the submission of the connection between the external behaviour and domestic environment of a country gives room for relations. A country is seen to be direct when it has the ability to shape the conditions of its outside behaviour and by doing this; it gains and wins more in the world relations politics. Therefore, policy makers cannot desire mutual dependence, unless they have used their power well and not to dominate. Relating to the research work, it can be said that most of the powerful states help the lesser ones to gain respect in the international politics. Nigeria will always have the support of The Gambia in the international politics that is how it works.

Bukarambe (2010), discusses the vital stages of Nigerian Foreign Policy after independence and argues it was during the first republic (1960-1966) that Nigeria embraces her Afrocentric policy. At the earlier stages of independence, Nigeria was perceived to be dependent on the West, but it was working to overcome this dependency and to speak with one voice, with the aim to have continuous relations with African countries as instrument to refocus foreign policy to avoid dependency and seeing Nigeria margin in the world power. This work will focus on Nigeria-The Gambia relations from 1999-2018 unlike Bukarambe who focused on Nigeria policy from 1960-2010. Bukar article talked about Nigeria being keen on her Afro-centric policy even with her limitations, this research will shed more light on how Nigeria-The Gambia relations within the framework of Nigeria's Afro-cenytric policy.

Iwuoha and Nwanolue(2012), focus on Nigeria's Afro-centric policy and argue how it has been a burden to the country and the country has not benefitted anything from its policy. For them this Afro-centric is against the interests of Nigeria. They believe that as the period of decolonization is over Nigeria should thereby focus on her trade relations with African countries, and such relations should benefit Nigeria. Nigeria should do trade with outside countries that is going to improve her economy, human development, and prosperity. In addition, Nigeria's attentiveness should be focused on improving her national interest that is economic growth, development so to

enhance the standard of living of its citizen. Nigeria should not only put her relations on Africa that is Africa is not the only reason Nigeria does foreign relations. Lastly, a foreign policy summit should be organized and issues like re-defining state interest, and adjusting Nigeria foreign policy in a way that will stop focusing on Africa as its main piece. Nevertheless, to adjust to other nationals, which increase gains and minimize loss as well, will improve the economic and development status of the country. Looking at this article from the Nigeria –The Gambia relations the stronger country cannot afford to shut its door when smaller countries need it. If Nigeria does not help its own African countries no one will. Being one of the richest economy in Africa when Nigeria coughs the rest of Africa catches cold because it leads Africa.

Jonathan Ajere(2012), emphasizes that the unselfish nature of Nigeria's contribution to other African states angers public campaigns. Critics believe Nigeria needs to abandon the interest of other countries and focus on Nigeria since it has nothing to gain helping lesser countries. What these people are angry about is the way poverty is growing in Nigeria, while Nigeria is playing hero in Africa. Meanwhile, Nigeria also depends on the West. These talks are not mere hatred to Africa but hatred towards Afrocentric policy, Nigeria is important in Africa and therefore substituting policy because of its personal economic challenges will have many implications on Africa development and security. Not all these criticisms are right because Nigeria has gained from its relations with other African countries, as this work will bring in more light on that aspect in a much later chapter.

Mamman Daura (2010), presents one of the main instruments of Nigerian foreign policy by examining the creation of Technical Aids Corps (TAC), the mode it operates, the advantages, the challenges, and what the future of TAC is. For the writer TAC has given a good boost to the Nigerian policy at both Africa and worldwide. Although the TAC has had successes in the past, but the problem the scheme has had is the incompetence of some of the beneficiary states to shoulder the burden of the TAC. The writer also gives recommendation strategies that could be adopted in solving the problems of the TAC. The writer discussed on the TAC generally but this work will focus on the TAC in The Gambia and what Nigeria gains from it.

Blessing Ugwuodu (2003), examines how Nigeria does bilateral trade with The Gambia as a way of sealing and improving their relationship. She also added that both countries have more to gain if they formalize their informal trade; which also contributes to the focus of this work, asymmetry relations can be positive to both parties if there is cooperation. Both can gain from the relations it does not have to be only one gaining, the gaining for the other party may be small but it's still a progress.

Francis (2005), gives indications how Nigeriacan help develop The Gambia politically, according to Ambassador Mariam (Nigeria former high commissioner to The Gambia)and economically, and what Nigeria stands to gain from The Gambia, the relationship between The Gambia and Nigeria is like the one of the senior-younger brother relationship, this is because Nigeria always helps and has to continue helping to reduce the influx of The Gambians into the country. She also said Nigeria could count on The Gambia support politically in the future in international politics.

Okungbowa (2009), in his article in the guardian newspaper gave details how the two countries were to sign agreement on the TAC, which has been existing between the two countries, and the two countries signing had impacts to strengthen the bilateral relationship.

Anthony Omoh(2009), on the other hand gave details how creation of Nigerian banks in The Gambia and the influx in the number of Nigerian airlines that fly to The Gambia has increased. He argues that this has boosted the mutual relations between the countries with tourist flying in and out, both countries benefit from this business

1.1 Theoretical Framework

Asymmetry theory is comparatively recently developed pattern that discusses the impact of imbalance in international relations. This simply means lack of symmetry, in essence irregularities or differences with respect to attributes. It is more of an unbiased term than imbalance, which mostly has negative importance. In addition, it is more detailed than differences, which entails categories, which are incomparable

when analyzing asymmetry in international politics, military power, resource abundance, population, geographical location and sometimes-internal politics are some of the factors, which are related to asymmetry. The different forms of asymmetry can create specific results inside the bilateral frame

Brantly Womack developed the asymmetry theory and he argued that asymmetry generates differences in risk realization or perception. The interactive behaviour and attention between states may, lead to coherent misperception. Womack talks about the unequal bilateral relations and argues that asymmetric problems are stalemated if little resistance by the smaller state meets the dedication of the stronger. Womack puts forward that power in the international system does not always prevail when met with disparities in international relations. The relationship between the larger and smaller state can be normal if the smaller state is not threatened by the larger state. However, the smaller state can decide to practice a dangerous policy to ensure its safety and the larger state can decide to bully. In multilateral relations, asymmetry molds different patterns of attention and uncertainty, in the global world how larger states or supreme power treat the smaller state under them is unobserved as most channel that attention to their challenger. The United States has been a primacy since 2008 but has not dominated any country.

This research work focuses on Kozak option model to describe the relations between The Gambia and Nigeria, not because asymmetry theory that is in existence does not have general application but Kozak's approach helps detail the Nigerian-The Gambia relations better and gives policy options that either of the countries can accept in their relations. Womack theory only focused on one dimension, which is dominance and that, is not the case in the Nigeria-The Gambia relations. Kozak gave four-option model for a bilateral relation and one of the options is the one Nigeria-The Gambia practice.

1.1.1 Kozák's Asymmetric Model Option

In asymmetric relations between a weaker and stronger state, both of the countries have different policy when having relation. The weaker nation has only two choices;

to close and ignore relations or to open and accept the stronger states. If the weaker state decides to close itself, it seeks to safeguard and protect its policies against dominating influence by the stronger state in achieving this closed situation the state is being keen on sovereignty and is working on protecting its national economy through active functional government in economy, which has restriction on external companies' activities and tariffs.

The weaker states have also the option of opening itself to the stronger states with the aim of achieving a boosting economic and social development as well. Opening means lowering its political and economic barriers. It also includes pursuing economic growth with stronger states, it then admits weakness. This opening may lead to increase in social and economic development; the powerful and stronger state has four important options in dealing with asymmetric with weaker state.

- 1) The first choice is to shut itself that means the weaker state will have less or no contact with the strong state. The stronger state here is trying to protect itself from problems that may arise from asymmetry; the problems the stronger state may try to avoid include high immigration, border crimes, and economic instability. If the weaker state is sufficiently isolated, the stronger state does not have to get involved with it
- 2) The second choice the stronger state has is to follow open policies and heavily employ the weaker state. This simply means giving assistance to the weaker states with the most serious problems it has and try to solve the controversial bilateral problems in acceptable means. In achieving this, the stronger state has to take responsibility for the weaker state problems and is ready to get rid of the main problems of the economic, willing to help by committing sufficient resources to tackle such issues. Even though the resources used to support the weaker states may seem wasted in the short but in the end this manner of approach by the stronger state may be beneficial to the powerful or stronger state too. By rendering a helping hand to the weaker states, the stronger state expands its environment, border security and thereby reduces the potency of negative feedbacks that may arise from asymmetry.

- 3) The third option it has is to not pay attention to the weaker state and put its attention somewhere else. It can be relations with strong states or a military movement against a weak state. Results of this approach can be different widely, but on the other hand when the weaker states are not helped or encouraged, it can be a problem to the weaker state. This option of ignoring or not helping the poor state can only be done by a very strong state in asymmetric relations.
- 4) The last option the powerful state or stronger state has is to use its power and position to dominate and take over the weaker state. This move can be achieved by advancing their interest and using military power when necessary, but this is an expensive and dangerous move. This move simply angers the government of the weak state; this can lead to spread of the bitterness of the weaker state to the strong state. The domination can be of an advantage to the weaker state in the end but it can create problems in bilateral relations.

Asymmetry relations depends on how the stronger/weaker state decides to approach it, if the weaker nation decides to isolate itself from the stronger state its relation with the stronger state will be likely edgy. If the stronger state on its own decides, to isolate or close as well there will not be official contacts and each state's relationship will be stable as each state would mainly mind their business. Nonetheless, severe bilateral issues may be difficult to resolve. If the stronger state decides to open itself for the isolated weaker, state and encourage resolution to the bilateral problems. Tension of the weaker state will naturally rise. Good gesture of the stronger state may be seen a dominating move, if the stronger nation is forcefully recommending policies that the weaker state government is blocking. Unofficial connection may rise, reinforce, and strengthen opponents among the weaker regime.

In another case when the stronger state decides to ignore the closed state, it gives the weaker state options to choose from its available option, the ones who are not threatening to close its relations. Nevertheless, important bilateral issues for the weaker state would be hard to settle as the stronger state is not going to provide adequate co-operation in the last option of the stronger state dominating the weaker

closed one and may lead to conflict. This may also lead to government removal of the weaker state; that is if the stronger state is willing to invest resources in the weaker state. This means the stronger state has to take the government over.

If a weaker state agrees in asymmetry position and opts to open up with the aim of reaching the level of the stronger nation, if a stronger state decides to help the weaker state and not engaging them actively, any transformation it plans to achieve will take time and may lead to uncertain outcome. Support of the weaker state is important, in as much as the stronger state is providing resources, political backing, expertise its needs co-operation of the weaker state. The chances of having successful relations is higher when there is cooperation from both nations. The other option of the stronger state turning its back to the weaker state, they may create a danger that only special selective interest may come from the power state will take advantage of the circumstances.

Lastly, if the stronger nation tries to control the weaker state, it can use the resources it has to promote economic group and support political elites which then its intentions may not be questioned. This strategy may be effective but may suffer a backlash if the asymmetry between the two countries is not diminishing. This model comprises stable results and does not capture forceful process in the asymmetry relations. In the case of states are close geographically and have no option that to have a repeated interaction this aspect is important.

At the beginning chapter, it talked about the importance of foreign relations to international politics, Nigeria foreign policy and materials about these policies and on issues relating to this work. Materials on international politics was discussed, to understand relations between states you need to understand how the world politics operates. In addition, asymmetry using China-Vietnam relations was a study guide in understanding Nigeria-The Gambia relations, asymmetry can be usual relations and both sides can benefit from it. How countries foreign policy affects their relations with other countries, asymmetry is natural and it is impossible to do away with. Some countries are stronger than other example the US-Kuwait relations. United States has been a major supply of goods and service to Kuwait just how Nigeria has been to The Gambia. Nigeria's foreign policy is Afrocentric, thereby raising questions from critics

who believe Nigeria should stop paying attention to outside countries and channel on its own people.

The theoretical framework that is going to be used to discuss Nigeria-The Gambia relations in this study is based on Kozak's asymmetric model. Although Womack developed the asymmetry approach, but his model gives no room for different options states have to choose when they want to relate or not. Kozak, on the other hand, gave four different models countries have when facing asymmetric relations; they can decide to shut themselves and focus elsewhere, they can decide to open themselves and help, they can decide to open themselves and dominate the lesser country or shut themselves and have no contact with the weaker state. While the weaker state has only two options to open itself for aid or shut itself with no aid from the outside world.

In the third chapter of this research the relations between Nigeria and The Gambia will be talked about to have a larger understanding in bilateral relations that was emphasized in the previous chapter.

2. CHAPTER

CONTEXT OF NIGERIA AND THE GAMBIA RELATIONS

2.1 Background to Nigeria Foreign Policy

At independence in 1960, Nigeria presented an Afro-centric foreign policy posture, which made Africa the focal of Nigeria's external relations. This is because Nigeria considered the African continent the home for Nigeria and other Africans and given her power indices perceived itself as having a manifest destiny and historic mission for African development. The foreign policy direction of Nigeria was focused on restoration of the respect of the black man over the world. With a special focus on decolonization in Africa and eradication of racial discrimination in Africa. The establishment of socio-economic and political atmosphere that would ensure the maintenance of sovereignty and territorial integrity and security in Africa as well as economic independence among African states.

African experience with colonialism, apartheid regime, human degradation and physical and emotional torture of African in the hands of the colonial master led Nigeria's first Prime Minister Sir Tafawa Balewa to take up the fight against colonialism and racism all over the world especially between black race and Africa. To him, Nigeria's independence was meaningless if all Africans were still under colonial rule. In his view, Nigeria independence was meaningless unless it used it to trigger the freedom of other African countries from colonial masters (Abubakar 1964). According to Bukarambe (2010), Nigeria sought and promoted the common understanding among African countries finding solution to their individual national problems in the spirit of Pan-Africanism. This was evidenced in Nigeria's significant impact in the establishment of African regional organization the OAU three years after independence in 1963, which is now transformed to the African Union (AU). In line with Nigeria's vision for a secured Africa, and the African Union aims to have the relevant structure and institutions to manage conflict in the region. The African Union has provided the ground for inter-state relations in Africa as well as a voice for Africa in global politics (Akindele 1986: 30).

From independence in 1960 to the collapse of the First Republic in 1966, Nigeria was conservative in the pursuit of anti-racial and liberation movement. She promoted the idea of respect of territorial integrity of sovereign states by not interfering in their internal affairs and sought as her national interest the protection of its sovereignty and territorial integrity (Akinyeye 2003: 121). In the economic front, Nigeria main partners were countries of the western bloc, in which Nigeria was not in a position to give aid or receive from other African countries.

According to Idang, (1973: 42), "Britain alone constituted more than 30% of sources of market for Nigeria's export market while Britain and her western allies accounted for 70% of Nigeria's export". Nigeria's trade and economic relations with African countries in this era was minimal or little. Nevertheless, Nigeria made significant contributions on Africa during her early years in international relation as a sovereign state. Apart from her assertive role in the establishment of the regional organization in 1963 (OAU), the country was instrumental in ensuring that South Africa was expelled from the Commonwealth of Nations as a result of its racial rule. The country equally restricted employment to South Africans in Nigeria as well as placing a ban on South African goods to Nigeria (Akinyeye 2003: 122). Despite these laudable efforts in African affairs, Ogunsanwo (1979: 38) argued that Africa was secondary in Nigeria's diplomatic priority between 1960 and 1967.

The civil war in Nigeria (1967-1970) brought a transformation in Nigeria's African relations for the better, in the sense that most countries getting involved in the war were doing it for their own selfish interest. Being the fact that if Biafra gained independence it becomes a country and with oil wealth, many countries would have loved to associate with, so it was a show of self-interest for countries like Tanzania, Zambia and Gabon which all supported Biafra. The war opened Nigeria to the indifference of her fake friends while others had soft feelings (Soviet Union, Britain, AU) for the secessionist move by the Biafra group. It took Nigeria serious and consistent hard work to gain the support of a majority of OAU members' states as the war was ongoing (Ogunsanwo 1979: 40). When the war ended in 1970, Nigeria redefined her Afro based foreign policy and the principle of Afrocentrism was pronounced in practical terms. This redefinition came when Nigeria experienced

economic boom following the oil price increases. This gave Nigeria the economic capacity, to project and pursue African affairs as a leading force reminiscent to her size and population. (Akinyeye 2003: 123).

Nigeria became a voice for Africa at the global stage from early 1970s onwards, she was vocal on issues that concerned Africa, she spoke loudly concerning apartheid when the issue was not properly understood at the global stage, and the world in general have not felt the evils of apartheid and colonial rule. Nigeria played a major role in the struggle against apartheid even though she was not from Southern Africa region. Following the (United Nations declaration of apartheid as a crime against humanity in 1973). Nigeria exposed consistently the evils of apartheid and the demeaning nature of racial policies in South Africa (Saliu 2006: 104).

In line with her concern with African struggle, Nigeria donated immensely towards the liberation movement in South Africa. Through the instrumentality of the OAU, Nigeria made her contributions towards the anti-apartheid struggle, aside her direct contribution to the independence in various African countries. Nigeria invited those leading the liberation movements for training and advice and moved on to recognize those liberation movements as legitimate organizations; these included The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Southwest African People Organization (SWAPO), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), PanAfricanist Congress (PAC) (Aluko 1986: 93). Aluko(1986) further argues that contributions were raised immensely through the South African Relief Agency for Freedom Fighters in South Africa (SARAFFSA).“The use of propaganda by these liberation movements were encouraged by Nigeria and the SWAPO; African National Congress (ANC) and the PAC were given offices in Lagos which were paid by the Nigerian government”. Although, the headquarters of the OAU Liberation Committee was in Tanzania, Nigeria was seen as the practical head of the movement through her consistent support and contributions towards the movement leading to her recognition globally as a friend of the Liberation Movement. This earned her the frontline status in 1976, in addition, (Fafowora 1995: 95). Again, Nigeria was involved in the struggle for independence of Guinea Bissau against the Portuguese authority, which ensured her independence in 1973 (Saliu 2006: 103).

Those who were victimized because of the struggle against colonialism or apartheid were accommodated in Lagos, Nigeria and watched over by government, the youth among them were offered scholarship to advance their education. Nigeria used all avenues and symposiums to advance the cause of anti-colonialism and anti-apartheid struggle. The UN and the Commonwealth of Nations felt the effects of the struggles; Nigeria boycotted the Commonwealth games, following the racial rule in South Africa and nationalized the British assets in British Petroleum and Barclays bank, Nigeria used her leadership of the UN anti-apartheid committee, to evolve propaganda aimed at bringing the West to support the liberation movements (Saliu 2006: 207).

Along the Nigerian anti-colonial and apartheid, policy was her commitment to peacekeeping missions before her political independence; she was involved in the UN peacekeeping mission in Congo (UNOC) in 1960 to 1964. UNOC was a peacekeeping mission established by UN after the peace resolution of the UN in July 1960, it was established to help restore peace in Congo to end the conflict that emerged after independence in 1960. Since after then Nigeria has been an active member in UN peacekeeping team, they deploy military personnel, military observers, advisors and civilian experts to more than 25 mission field. The country has been known to be one of the major contributors in UN peacekeeping, it has also played an important role in other mission's field in Africa as well, as the major power in West Africa it has been the provider of resources and military to ECOWAS (Saliu 2006: 201). Nigeria has since been involved in all OAU/AU peacekeeping operations. Nigeria was involved in peacekeeping operations in Chad and Namibia in the 1970s and 1980s respectively, Somalia and Rwanda in the 1990s and in Liberia, Sierra-Leone, Guinea Bissau, Sudan, the Congo and Cote d'Ivoire and Mali from the 1990s up to 2012. This constant participation in peacekeeping missions at both bilateral (Namibia) and multilateral level gave Nigeria international influence as a peacekeeping nation.

Nigeria was also involved in joint economic venture in some African countries without seeking any return. She has invested in iron ore in Guinea and Liberia and cement in Benin Republic (Saliu 2006: 206).Furthermore, Nigeria assisted those African

countries in need of oil by making use of rich oil deposit. The country slashed the price of oil to African countries undermining the economic consequences of that policy. Besides, cash donations were given to African countries in need from oil proceed. According to Saliu (2006: 206). "Cash donations of various amounts was given to Benin, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mali, Niger, Chad, Angola, The Gambia, Sao Tome, Liberia and South Africa (ANC) among others, to solve one problem or another".

The establishment of a trust fund in the African Development Bank in 1964 was spearheaded by Nigeria to facilitate African development (Olaniyan 1988: 100). In addition, regional bodies such as the AU, ECOWAS (1975) and NEPAD (2001) have all benefited from Nigeria's Afro-centric efforts. Nigeria has remained committed to these organizations in terms of monetary contribution, organizing conferences, contribution of human capital. The movement of ECOWAS secretariat to Abuja (Nigeria's capital) and the remuneration of its staff are made possible and frequent through Nigeria generosity (Olaniyan 1988: 104). Arguably, Nigeria's efforts have helped in making these organizations active and reputed in their functions.

Following the global economic recession in the 1980s, Nigeria' foreign policy took a negative turn. There was a decline in Nigeria assertive role in the comity of nations following a reduction in oil revenue (Aluko-Olokun 1982: 584). This economic recession undermined the ability of Nigeria to support assertive active foreign policy leading to the adoption of economic diplomacy as a foreign policy thrust where emphasis is place on economic interest in Nigeria's relationship with the outside world (Asobie 2005: 25).

Olukoshi and Ogwu (2006: 5) argue that:

Throughout most of the 1980s, Nigeria hardly followed this policy enunciation and she aided liberation fighters generously in Southern Africa. The country also provided relief assistance to several African countries free of constraints. Chad got funds and materials worth \$1.5 million for rehabilitation after the civil war. Ethiopia, Somalia, Mozambique and Mali got various sums of money as relief because of drought between 1979 and 1983. Nigeria also continued her conflict resolution initiatives on

the African continent. She took the lead in attempting to resolve the Liberian crisis at a very huge cost without any demonstrable economic interest to protect.

In 1987, Nigeria launched the Technical Aid Corps (TAC), which was an instrument through which Nigeria related with other African nations with her support for human capitals. Through this scheme, Nigeria has been sending professionals to African countries in need of expertise in different fields such as medical Doctors, teachers, engineers to mention but a few at the expense of Nigeria. The idea behind the TAC was to provide African countries with expertise they would otherwise receive from other part of the world. In line with this, Nigeria has been providing Justice, defense experts and other security personnel to many African countries. This is done in the spirit of pan Africanism (Saliu 2006: 207). During General Babangida regime, when economic diplomacy was adopted as foreign policy thrust along with the TAC, Nigeria was indebted to the tune of \$36 Billion (Nwoke 2001).

The launching of the TAC and the peacekeeping efforts in Liberia did not showcase Nigeria economic situation at domestic front. This period witnessed the efforts towards unification of Europe through the European Union, reduction of global tension occasioned by the Cold War politics and disintegration of Soviet Republic. The world focus shifted from Africa during this period, as the emphasis of the EU was towards trade relationship among European countries; US focus was on developing those disintegrated former Soviet states, and to guide them against the resurgence of ideological struggles. There was a need to develop a homegrown solution for the problem of the region and Nigeria lead this agenda through these schemes, even when it contrasted with her national interest at that time (Akinyeye 2003: 129).

The return to democratic governance in 1999 witnessed Nigeria's active involvement in African affairs. Nigeria was instrumental in the transformation of OAU to African Union (AU), Nigeria played active role in the formation of NEPAD (New Partnership for African Development) as well as the APRM (African Peer Review Mechanism). Through the NEPAD, Nigeria developed Joint African/G8 Plan designed to develop African capacity for conflict resolution and peace building process. NEPAD is an economic development within the framework of the AU, which was signed by the African leaders in 37th AU summit in July 2001 in Lusaka, Zambia. The main

objectives of this scheme were; Women empowerment, poverty eradication, promote growth and development to prevent, marginalization of Africa. APRM was founded in 2003 by member states of the AU with the aim of economic cooperation among African countries to achieve, good governance. Nigeria played a vital role in the organization of conferences and symposia with an aim to provide support for better health and conditions for Africans, the Rollback malaria held in Abuja in August in 2000 the HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and infectious disease summit also held in Abuja the following year (Hassan 2015).

Furthermore, the role of Nigeria in the peace and security of Africa has been significant, it hosted various peace and mediation talks such as mediation between the governments of Sudanese and Darfurian insurgents, which culminated to the referendum of 2012 leading to the creation of Southern Sudan. Nigeria was also involved in the mediation during the Liberian crisis and accommodated Charles Taylor to end hostility permanently. Before Charles Taylor, Nigeria has granted safe haven to Somalia's Siad Barre and Yormie Johnson of Liberia. According to Hassan (2015), "After the Military coup of 2003 in Sao Tome and Principe, the deposed president Mr. Frederique Menezes cried to Nigeria for help and Nigeria restored him back to power after dislodging the military junta. Nigeria ensured a peaceful transition in Togo after the death of President Gnassingbe Eyadema in February 2005".

It is important to understand Nigeria's Afro-centric foreign policy, because this will help in understanding Nigeria's relationship with The Gambia, which is the focus of this study. Although in the recent years there has been a change in the Nigerian foreign policy, the country focuses more on peace and security in Africa. The principle of non-interference was changed to non-indifference on the internal affairs. Nigeria has been a chief architect of peace keeping in Africa it has been deeply involved in peace keeping and counter terrorisms. It's foreign policy has always been Afro-centric, non-alignment, peaceful settlement of disputes, economic development and this foreign policy has been guided by the same objectives since 1960 (Akindele 2006).

The Gambia on the other hand after gaining independence in 1965 has a foreign policy which has three main objectives; to increase security, to maintain territorial sovereignty and also to attract external economic resources and this was under Jawara in 1965-1994 (Saine 2000 : 2). The Gambi's foreign policy since after the 1994 coup has been attracting a lot of foreign investors and also financial assistance. The foreign policy under governor Jawara attracted a lot of political support, being the fact The Gambia is a tourist country, a lot of investors build hotels and other business. It is important to know why it opened its door for Nigeria to invest in it because its foreign policy allows external economic resources to help develop the country.

2.2 Nigeria the Gambia Relations.

Diplomatic relations between Nigeria and The Gambia was established in 1965 following the independence of The Gambia. Nigeria established a relation with her because of her Afro-centric policy that puts Africa first, relationships became more institutionalized with the establishment of the Nigeria-The Gambia Joint Commission proposed by Nigeria in 1979 to consolidate the relationship and economies of both countries, which was later launched in 1983 in Banjul. In addition, there was a Lagos Treaty of 15 June 1983 where agreement was signed on "Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation" between Nigeria and The Gambia (The Nigerian High Commission 2010).

At the inaugural session of the Joint Commission, fishing experts from both countries discussed on Fishery Agreement leading to an Agreement on Fishing Rights on 19th February 1985. Again, in 1979 there was agreement on the Purchase of Ndama Cattle at the inaugural session among the livestock experts from both countries, which includes selling of 5,000 Ndama cattle in The Gambia to Nigeria at one thousand herds per annul for five years which The Gambia complete the supply in three years. Having completed the supply, The Gambia livestock board proposed 7,500 herds annually, which were not accepted immediately by Nigeria. There were other efforts by food companies in Nigeria and the livestock departments located in Kaduna Nigeria, which did not come to fruition because of price increment of cattle in The Gambia following Economic Recovery Plan (ERP) of the country. The hike in

prices of livestock and then Nigeria concentrated its effort on crude oil more than agriculture; crude oil was more efficient and added massively to the GDP of the country.

This joint committee became ineffective after 1985; during that period agriculture agreement with The Gambia was ignored. However, it was revived in 2002 after a bilateral talk between former Presidents Olusegun Obasanjo and Yahya Jammeh, where efforts were made to revisit the Commission in a bid to strengthen the relationship between the two countries and to also provide employment to citizens and enrich farmers. This resolve led to a meeting in Abuja in 2003 where several agreements were concluded by Nigeria and The Gambia on: Trade and Economic cooperation Agreement, Bilateral Air Services, Economic cooperation Through Joint Ventures, Technical Assistance Programme, Fisheries Agreement. There was another meeting in Banjul where it was emphasized that important areas of Bilateral Fishing, Air Services, Trade and Technical Assistance should be considered most (The Nigerian High Commission 2010). This was amplified in a Joint communiqué signed by former Presidents. President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and Yahya Jammeh on revisiting the Joint Committee between the countries with a focus on deepening cooperation to accommodate all spheres of government. The emphasized the need to maintain constant relationship to ensure the full implementation of the agreement reached during the Joint Commission session (Senghore-Njie 2015). These agreements were however implemented by Nigeria and The Gambia but not through the Joint Commission, there is no record as to why both parties did not implement the agreements under the Joint Commission.

2.3 Technical Aid Corps Scheme

As part of her Afro-centric foreign policy thrust, Nigeria adopted the Technical Aid Corps scheme in 1987. This scheme reflects the idea of South–South mutual assistance. It is a voluntary service where Nigerian professionals who volunteer are deployed to developing countries for two years, its objective is to share Nigerian enormous human capital with developing countries of Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP), aimed at triggering cordial relations between Nigeria and the beneficiary

country and to bring together Nigerian youth and the recipient country (Adebanwi2011: 8).

This scheme was created in 1987, but the law establishing only came to force in 1993. The Technical Aid Corps Act created a parastatal under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs saddled with the responsibility to regulate and manage the activities of the TAC scheme this is department is known as Directorate of Technical Aid Corps. This department recruit, train, orient and deploy TAC volunteers and receive them on their return after the exercise.

According to Technical Aid Corps Directorate (2004) the Directorate of TAC has the following responsibilities;

- (i) Giving assistance on the basis of assessed and perceived needs of recipient countries;
- (ii) Promoting cooperation and understanding between Nigeria and the recipient countries; and
- (iii) Facilitating meaningful contacts between the youth of Nigeria and of the recipient countries.

In addition, the scheme is also aimed at,

- (i) Complementing other forms of assistance to ACP countries;
- (ii) Ensuring a streamlined programme of assistance to other developing countries;
- (iii) Acting as a channel for enhancing South-South cooperation; and
- (iv) Establishing a presence in countries with which, for economic reasons, Nigeria has no resident diplomatic mission (Adejo 2016).

The volunteers recruited by the TAC directorate are majorly those from the media, like journalists, medical workers such as doctors, nurses, in the judiciary, lawyers. They also recruit teachers, engineers, educational administrators. Those volunteers are remunerated by Nigeria to the sum of \$700 on monthly basis and a stipend of ten

thousand Naira (N10,000) into their home account for the two years exercise(Adebanwi 2011: 9).

Between 1987 and 2017 Nigeria have had thousands of her young professionals sent to the ACP countries through the TAC scheme, while the country have spend billions of dollars to finance the programme. The scheme started with 12 beneficiary countries at the first years and increased to 33 as at 2004 and 38 by 2016. The following countries are beneficiary of the scheme; The Gambia, Sierra Leone, Equatorial Guinea, Rwanda, Namibia, Belize, Ethiopia, Kenya (Shelter Afrique), Congo Brazzaville, Liberia, Sao Tome and Principe, Guyana, Commonwealth Dominica, Uganda, Burundi, Angola, Seychelles, Zambia, Mozambique, Jamaica, Fiji, Djibouti, Eritria, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Benin Republic, Niger, Tanzania, Ghana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Comoros, Central African Republic, St. Kitts-Nevis, Burkina Faso, Senegal, African Insurance Institute (Uganda) (Baraya 2016)

Nigerian government takes care of the remuneration of the volunteers while the host country exempts them from domestic tax. The receiving country provides the volunteer with accommodation and some logistics that will aid their activity. How this is done differs from country to country depending on the agreement with the host country at the beginning of the program which states the nature and character of the service that will be rendered. Nigeria's assistance to The Gambia using the TAC scheme began in 1988 when Nigerian contingent were sent to The Gambia though this was based on the agreement signed that year. This was however made official in 2009 following the signing of the treaty for technical assistance (Okungbowa 2009). In every two years, the highest number of TAC volunteers is deployed to The Gambia since the inception of the scheme. From its inception in 1987 to 2004 about 363 volunteers were sent from Nigeria to The Gambia two times the number of volunteers deployed to Zambia within the same period. Among those deployed to The Gambia within the first 18 years of TAC are 160 health professionals among which are 73 medical doctors and 87 nurses (Adebanwi 2011). Again, from 2004 to 2006 The Gambia benefited from the services of 81 volunteers and 83 between 2006 and 2008, 2010- 2012 witnessed the deployment of 74 volunteers comprising 33 medical practitioners, 36 academic workers.

Nigerian volunteers through the TAC scheme have been involved at various level of government in The Gambia in driver areas such as medicine, education, agriculture, legal to mention but a few. Some Nigerians who have served in The Gambia through the TAC scheme include, late Akinola Aguda-a onetime Chief Justice of The Gambia, also, Kashimawo Laloko once coached The Gambia national football team as well as the Justice Emmanuel Fagbenle who was immediate past Chief Justice of The Gambia.

The TAC scheme is great benefit to The Gambia because of her shortage in human capital. Instances are the roles of TAC volunteers in the health sector of The Gambia, where doctors and nurses have been deployed to help develop their health sector, the same applies to the education sector where Nigerian academicians are deployed to the schools in The Gambia especially the medical schools. The role of these contingents in building these institutions in The Gambia have been of immense benefits to the country, though The Gambia takes care of the basic needs of the health personnel, but they are being remunerated by Nigeria.

The followings are extracted from the interview conducted by Wale Adebani in 2006 one of the TAC volunteers a microbiologist stated the following:

Here in The Gambia, there is serious need of medical personnel in general, and medical laboratory science in particular. I am heading the medical laboratory unit of the teaching hospital. Without my presence, a lot of things would not have been possible. I am also participating in training of The Gambian medical laboratory assistants and technicians. If we do not train them, they will not have professionals who can take over when we finally return home. In Nigeria, we can have another government in power that will scrap the TAC; therefore, if we do not train them, there will be no manpower if the scheme folds up.

It can be argued that the TAC scheme have been instrumental in development of The Gambia political system, building institutions and infrastructure that drive development of the country.

2.4 Economic Relations

The expansion of expertise were also the areas of focus by the Nigeria-The Gambia Joint Commission. However, there were limited effort by the parties involved to formally establish economic and trade relationship. Trade relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia can only be seen from the informal relationship, this is amid limited formal trade relationship. The formal trade relations are seen from the employment and wages in the public sector. While the small scale enterprises characterized the informal sector trade relationship; this is usually known for tax evasion and other negative features. This led scholars like (Njenga and Ng'ambi 2015) to describe the informal sector as the place that gives undervalued receipts and all manners of bound items. Realistically, the informal sector should be seen as those activities of those who do not depend on the government to make ends meet rather they work through their own initiatives and finding a creative way of making profits. These informal sectors are not always sponsored by the government neither are they regulated by the government policies. Yet they contribute immensely to creating employment and reduce poverty, they help to reduce unemployment and poverty in Africa (Senghore- Njie 2015).

Though majority of the informal sectors are struggling involving small scale enterprise, there are those larger ones with international clout, hence, there is need to link the formal and the informal (both large and small).

The volume of unrecorded transactions by Nigerians and The Gambian is an indication of the influence of informal relationship between the countries. According to Hoffman and Melly (2015) activities not recorded by both countries amount to 3/4 of Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Available data from shows a larger percentage of the labour force in The Gambia are engaged by the informal. It is instructive to note that most Nigerians trading in The Gambia are involved in semi-informal businesses and are seriously taxed by the government of The Gambia. They are required to register with Revenue Authority and annually renew their business licenses Kanifing Municipal Council (KMC); as well as their resident permit.

The banking industry constitutes another dimension cross-boundary trade between Nigeria and The Gambia; six Nigerian banks are currently doing business in The Gambia. They constitute 40 percent of The Gambian banking industry. Keystone bank had their assets nationalized by The Gambia government in 2014 for failure to meet up the required capitalization requirements which are in the threshold of 200 million Gambian Dalasi (Central Bank of The Gambia 2016). Indeed, these Nigerian based banks have greatly shaped the business in The Gambia by improving access to financial services.

The Gambia and Nigeria are signatories to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) treaty. This treaty was signed in May 1979 with member states(Ghana, Sierra Leone, Togo, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Gambia, Benin Republic, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal) had their first protocol which permits free movement of Persons, residence and companies or establishment. Member of any ECOWAS state has right to enter, reside and establish a business in any ECOWAS state, with a visa free entry. The first phase of free visa entry has been fully implemented, residency as well but the right to own business is still under implementation. To be able to achieve the right of movement, member states have a passport that has the ECOWAS logo on it which was introduced in December 2000 (ECOWAS|979). Therefore, The Gambia and Nigeria respects those agreements such as the Economic Trade Liberalization Scheme (ETLS), the Common External Tariff (CET) and Establishment of Free Trade Areas as well as Free Migration of Citizens. These agreements ensure easy transportation of goods and service across the sub region.

Controversy arose in 2003 when former president of The Gambia Yahya Jammeh requested for that The Gambia should be allowed to lift petroleum products from Nigeria to help its energy sector; this was agreed, and supply commenced in 2002. The Gambia was allowed to lift crude oil from Nigeria and fuel to help keep the energy aspect of the economy of the country. The Gambia requested for 20,000 barrels of crude oil daily and 10,000 metric tons of diesel, 3,000 tons of petrol, and 5,000 tons of fuel oil. There was agreement between the two and thereby the oil lifting started in 2002, contrary to the 18,000 metric tons of petroleum agreed upon

180,000 was lifted. However, the transaction was immersed in corruption as the officials involved from both countries began to divert the product to other countries where it was sold and the money shared among them (Osamgbi 2013). What had started a good motive became an oil fraud, but since 2003, nothing has been discussed about it again. Nigeria gave The Gambia part of its oil and thereby lost products worth \$500 million.

The business environment in The Gambia is favourable to Nigeria. This explains investment by Nigerians in The Gambia in the mi- 2000s. According to Mr. Doudou Bojang, the Head of Corporate Affairs at Guaranty Trust Bank (GTBank) in The Gambia,

There were several advantages to Nigerian banks in The Gambia. He mentioned the Repatriation Law in The Gambia, which allows the Bank to take all its funds back to her home country without having to compulsorily invest in The Gambia. In addition, the Expatriate Quota Tax (EQT) levied on registered foreign businesspersons is beneficial to Nigerians. While Nigerians pay EQT of 10,000 Dalasi, other nationals pay 40,000 Dalasi. Added to this is the relatively easy Gambian Port Authority System that enables businesspersons to clear goods without delay (cited in Bojang 2016).

In contrast, Mr. Emmanuel Kolawale in 2016 one of the staff of the GTBank opine that the cost of doing business in The Gambia for the same period is high this is not unconnected to high rate of taxation (Emmanuel 2016). This may be supported by the example given by Mr. Okey Peter Akwada lamented on the high rate of taxation in The Gambia, according to him, there is payment for everything, every activity is taxed. He posits that,

He had to pay 5,000 Dalasi for the KMC tax, 14,500 Dalasi for the annual business registration and 1,600 Dalasi for the residence permit. A total equivalent of N211,000. Customs duties are also high. Clearing a 40-foot container of goods can cost about 90,000-95,000 Dalasi, an equivalent of N950,000. These taxes are mandatory and defaulters are duly penalized. Once when Mr. Akwada defaulted on the payment of his taxes, he was taken to court and had to pay a fine of D16, 500 (N165,000). According to Mr. Akwada, more of the profit of the business goes to expenses and at the end of the year, he is able to save about N30,000-N40,000 (Akwada 2016).

Mr. Chris Uzo, attributes the challenges of doing business in The Gambia to the fall of Naira. He argues that dollar has constantly appreciated in Nigeria which is not so in The Gambia where the price has been \$1- D43/44 in the last three years, but in Nigeria the exchange rate have risen from \$1-N165 to \$1-N365. This constitute a challenge, as most of the goods in Nigeria are imported from outside and exporting it to the Gambia become unprofitable to the dealers (Uzo 2017).

From the above assuagement, the informal business takes larger percentage of the business between Nigeria and The Gambia is informal and is not recorded, this understanding prompted a discussion on formalizing trade between the two countries. The process began in 2015 when an agreement on trade and investment was signed between Nigeria and The Gambia (Ugwuodo 2015).

Nigerian and The Gambia signed the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 2014 this was geared to promote rapid development and best practices in the tourism industry in the sub region. According to People's Daily (2016) The Gambia was the first country to sign MoU with Nigeria on tourism. In November 2015, The Gambian Tourism Board participated in the Akwaaba-African Travel Market festival that was held in Lagos as part of continuing efforts to increase awareness for The Gambia as an all year tourism destination (The Guardian 26th May, 2015). In addition, Nigerian Nollywood actors have been involved in several projects in The Gambia displaying the rich culture of the two countries

2.5 Nigeria's Judicial Assistance to The Gambia

The Gambia judicial workers are made of expatriates from Nigeria, Ghana and Pakistan who are sent there for the period of three years. Nigeria has been involved in judicial assistance to The Gambia since 1960 through the secondment of high quality judicial officers. The first Registrar of The Gambia Supreme Court was a Nigerian. Mr. Samuel Abayomi who was appointed in May 1960.

In addition, by 1973, His Lordship Mr. E.O. Ayoola was sent to The Gambian judiciary on secondment as Chief Justice of The Gambia. The 1980 agreement on secondment brought the secondment practice to formality. The legal luminaries are saddled with the responsibility of training and developing The Gambian lawyers in

drafting of legal proceeding and setting of the reform commission. Four legal officers were seconded from the Federal Ministry of Justice to The Gambia in 2000. This crop of officers served The Gambia for eight years. At the end of their tour of duty, three of the legal officers were retained by The Gambia to serve in different capacities. Chief Emmanuel Akomaye Agim as the Chief Justice of the Gambia, Mr. Emmanuel Fagbenle as a High Court Judge and Mrs. Grace Mowo as a member of The Gambia Law Reform Commission.

Another crop of legal personnel were deployed by Nigeria to The Gambia on November 2008. This was followed by another deployment of eleven judicial officers in the same year to The Gambia.

Ibekwe (2016) reported that:

In 2013 a senior Nigerian judge serving as the Acting Chief Justice of The Gambia, Joseph Wowo was involved in a scandal. He was caught on tape soliciting a N2.5 million (500,000 Dalasi) bribe from a Gambian-based Dutch businessman in return for a favourable judgment in a land dispute case. This happened during a surreptitious meeting with the former Gambian Justice Minister, Lamin Jobarteh, a Dutch national, André Klaarbergen, and his Nigerian Lawyer simply identified as Mene. Mr. Wowo was recorded to be negotiating the price of subverting the judgment of a Gambian High Court over a land dispute case, which he agreed the Dutch rightly lost. Mr. Alieu Barry secretly recorded the meeting. The recorded CD tape and the transcribed copy were in evidence as exhibits in court.

Justice Emmanuel Nkea of the Special Criminal Court in Banjul in 2014, convicted and sentenced former Chief Justice Joseph Wowo to two years in prison, while the former Justice Minister, Lamin AMS Jobarteh, was sentenced to one year in prison. The Gambian government sacked both of them, these report destroyed Nigerian reputation in The Gambia.(Adejo 2016)

2.6 Educational Relations between Nigeria and The Gambia

Over the years, Nigeria and The Gambia have exchanged ideas in order to ensure even growth in the education sector of both countries. From the report of 1952 presented by Jeffrey, the West African Examination Council (WAEC) was formed to

regulate secondary school examination in the four British West African countries of Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and The Gambia, later in 1974 Liberia joined the Council.

WAEC conduct examination across these ECOWAS countries which are known as West Africa Senior School Certificate Examination (WASSCE) as well as General Certificate Examination (GCE). The WASSCE examination and the GCE awards ordinary level certificate as an after secondary examination. Nigerians who have taken the examination and posses such certificates are eligible to apply for higher schools in The Gambia, Ghana and Sierra Leone, if they satisfy the admission requirement they will be admitted into the schools of higher learning.

Following ECOWAS protocol of free movement of persons, goods and services, Nigerian student applies to higher Institutions in The Gambia and they are granted easy movement across the borders. Thus, many Nigerians are studying various courses in different schools in The Gambia.

Also, Nigerian Universities trained many Gambian before they established the University of The Gambia. Immediately after independence in 1960, the University of Ibadan granted many Gambians admission on scholarship from the Nigerian government. These include Bakary Bunja Darbo, a French graduate who later became the Vice President of The Gambia in 1982 and Abdoulie Momodou Sallah, also a French graduate who later became the Head of the Civil Service and Minister of Higher Education in 2009. This trend of awarding scholarship to The Gambians continued until 1987.

The current registrar of the University of The Gambia Mr. Momodou Tarro is an alumni of the university of Maidugurl. He graduated in 1997 where he enjoyed a special package that excluded The Gambians from international tuition fees, but paid the same school fees as Nigerians where the government subsidized the tuition fees. Apart from him, fifteen other Gambians benefited from this package, many of them are seasoned administrators in The Gambia government they include: Dr. Ahmadu Samate medical student who is now the Head of Department, Surgery Department at

the School of Medicine and Allied Health Sciences, Dr. Siedu Sanya rose to the position of the director of Agriculture.

Political crisis in Nigeria and Sierra Leone prompted the establishment of the University of The Gambia in 1999. Nigeria was instrumental in training the staff of this university, the country provided the pioneer Vice-Chancellor of the University of The Gambia, in the person of Prof. Donald E.U. Ekong who served for six years 1999 - 2005 two years of which was under the sponsorship of The Commonwealth, after which Nigeria paid his salary and allowances through the TAC scheme. He laid the bureaucratic foundation of the institution which it is running with up till now, the administrative architecture of the school is akin to what is obtainable in Nigeria; the university was divided into faculties of arts, sciences, business and public administration, education among others. This architectural foundation enables the school to stand on its feet as a reputable institution of high learning in West Africa. Aside the VC of the school, Nigerians also served as the school registrar, deans of faculties, professors and senior lecturers who were seconded to help build the university and train indigenous academic and nonacademic staff.

The above indicates that Nigeria has been of great help to The Gambia in developing her educational sector. This range from giving out scholarships to Gambians to deploying professionals to build and develop her educational sector.

2.7 Defence Relations

The collapse of the Senegambia confederation in 1989 created a defence vacuum in The Gambia. One of the reasons of the collapse was because of border trade. It was the most lucrative form of revenue and so both Senegal and The Gambia wanted to be the ones to control the border trade; this created a conflict of interest. Secondly because of cross border cultural relationships it was easy for violence to erupt, there was ethnic rivalry between The Gambians and Senegalese which created tensions and also divided the military, because the soldiers only took orders from superiors officers of their ethnic stock. This created an issue of cross border violence; also, another cause of disagreement was that Senegal preferred to import only French goods while The Gambia did not have any restrictions to its import, which meant the

market was flooded with inferior but cheaper goods in the market. In addition, because of export delays Senegalese farmers preferred to smuggle their goods to The Gambia because they had no restrictions, this created a problem between Senegal and The Gambia because it was reducing the quantity and value of Senegalese export to the benefit of The Gambia. Finally the union was created as a result of external threats to both countries. They united to fight a common enemy and when that threat ceased to exist the aim of the union was defeated and both nations went back to their old ways of rivalry between themselves.

Hence, President Jawara resorted to Nigeria to remedy the challenges created by the withdrawal of Senegalese army; this prompted a Defense Pact between Nigeria and The Gambia resulting in the appointment of several Nigerian officers to lead The Gambian national army in order to secure the regime (Touray 2000: 174). Nigeria sent about sixty nine soldiers to The Gambia who served in the country's national army top provide technical and military training to the soldiers, some of those appointed to lead The Gambian army include: Col. Abubakar Dauda and Col. Lawan Gwadabe (Guardian Newspaper, 7th August, 1991). Nigeria trained The Gambian land forces in 1991 and 1993 and contributed in that same year training teams known as Nigerian Army Training Assistance Group (NATAG) to The Gambia.

The presence of the Nigerian soldiers in The Gambia averted the problems of favouritism but created the problem of resentment. This is exemplified by the coup of 1994, where the leader of the coup Yahya Jammeh a young army officer, argued that "The arrogance of the Nigerian commanders was one of the reasons behind the coup of 1994 that brought him to power". Lt. Col. Samsudeen Sarr also confirmed this when he argues that;

The final straw was when the government reduced us to nonentities and brought in Nigerian soldiers to command and control us. After the Nigerians also realized that The Gambian government had no respect or regards for the sons of the destitute Gambians enlisted as soldiers in The Gambia National Army (GNA), they also started to abuse us in any conceivable way. In the end, they had degraded us to nothing but men without pride or honor (Sarr 2007).

The success of the 1994 coup led by Yahya Jammeh limited the role of the forty-two Nigeria soldiers in The Gambia national army, who were training The Gambian officers after the exodus of the NAGTAC contingents from The Gambia. However, Nigerian officers are no more in The Gambia army but the Nigeria-The Gambia defense pact ensures that Gambian officer undergoes advance military training at the Armed Forces Command and Staff College in Jaji, Kaduna State. Nigeria equally sent twenty two staff of the Nigerian National Defense College (NDC) in 2015 to The Gambian Armed Forces, Defense Headquarters to enhance further training assistance to The Gambian Armed Forces.

Aside military assistance, Nigeria has also assisted The Gambia by providing police advise and training to The Gambian police officers from the 1990s to 2000s in a specialized areas such as; finger printing, handwriting and photography. Nigeria agreed and extended its training facilities to the nascent Gambian Intelligence Officers; Immigration Officers and Prison Personnel who attended courses under the agencies of the Nigerian Security Organization and have since returned to The Gambia. In the same way, Nigeria has provided Immigration Advisers to The Gambian government. In terms of social relationship Nigerian-The Gambia relationship has been mainly in the areas of Technical Aids Corps Scheme, education, Gambian National Youth Service Scheme (GNYSS), air transport, tourism and cultural relations, movie industry and the combat of illicit trafficking.

The GNYSS was established in 1996 with the aim to provide The Gambian youth who form the majority of the population with the requisite skills to address the acute problem of unemployment. The National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) of Nigeria supported the GNYSS during the first eight years of its establishment. The NYSC is an involuntary scheme created by the Nigerian government in which youths who are done with their undergraduates serve the country for a year. This scheme was for the age of 19-30 years, youths are deployed to different parts of the country both the rural and urban areas, the government gives them military training, military clothes and you are paid allowance every month of N19,800.

Nigerian Technical Assistant teams were deployed to The Gambia to set up the GNYSS and not less than four teams have deployed over the years to help with

capacity building in labour development and administration. The last set of these Technical Assistants left the Gambia in 2004 (The Nigeria Ministry of Youth and Sports 2013).

2.8 Civil Aviation Cooperation

At the level of aviation, Nigeria has existing bilateral relation with The Gambia signed in 2004, Nigeria was involved in the training of The Gambia Civil Aviation Personnel in the areas of Air Navigation services, Airport Rescue and Fire Fighting Operation, Pilot training, Engineering, Aero-medics, Aerodromes, Ground Aids and Air Routes (AGA) (Nigeria High Commission 2015). There are other multilateral treaties that both on aviation which both countries are signatories to such as the Yamoussoukro Declaration of 1988 in which African leaders responsible for Civil Aviation adopted an African Air Transport Policy.

Again, the Banjul Accord signed by seven West African states—Nigeria, The Gambia, Cape Verde, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia—on April 3rd 1997, was aimed at ensuring and implementing the Yamoussoukro Declaration of 1988. This accord demands that all ECOWAS member states unify their aviation policies and processes to facilitate development of international civil aviation through agreement between states. This was significant in the safety oversights in the aviation sector, but in practice, there is no evidence of cooperation between the ECOWAS states on aviation because of the Banjul Accord (Schlumberger 2010).

From all indications, the bilateral relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia has been effective in all fronts. This relationship has been cemented by successive regimes in Nigeria since it was enunciated in 1965. Nigeria has always responded to the demand of The Gambia whenever they make a request for such. It is the believed of Nigeria that those stronger African countries should be of help to those smaller ones in times of need. This she believes will reduce dependence on Europe and North America.

It has been the belief of Nigeria that getting technical assistance from fellow African country is cheaper on the receiving state and will not affect its international reputation. This can be found in the area transportation, fees and accommodation.

Exchange of skilled personnel within Africa has shown belief in African training institutions and then trust in the competence and technical knowhow of indigenous personnel. Nigeria understands and is conscious of her manifest destiny and historic mission for the development of Africa, this she has pursued through the Afro-centric foreign policy thrust, which is evidenced in her aids to The Gambia.

3. CHAPTER

NIGERIA- THE GAMBIA RELATIONS: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

3.1 Application of Kozák's Asymmetric Theory

Nigeria- The Gambia relations was seen over the years as asymmetrical. This is because the two countries differ in capability; Nigeria is better than The Gambia, thus, Nigeria does more to The Gambia than it receives from it. Asymmetrical relations indicate a situation where a weak and a stronger state are into relationship; in this type of arrangement, the weaker state either rely or safeguard itself from the stronger state. While the stronger state is faced with four main options; the first is to distant itself from the weak state, the second option is open up to the state and integrate the weaker state. The third option for the stronger state is to deemphasize the activities of the weaker state and focus on other things and the fourth is to open to the weaker state and dominate it.

It is, however, noteworthy that the relationship between stronger and weaker states must be complimentary and of benefit to the parties involved. One of the effects of opening up to the weaker state is that it can bring about improvement in economic development bringing about a balance between the stronger and weaker states. When the stronger state assists the weaker one with those issues of economic and social importance, the stronger state is at the same time helping itself to deepen its economic sphere as well as solving its national security problems (Kozak 2010: 27).

This theoretical explanation helps to analyze Nigeria-The Gambia relationship, and understand the dynamics of the relationship. Few years after independence, Nigeria and Gambia established bilateral ties with an effort to build sustainable economic relations; they adopted a trade policy based on protectionism, restriction on imports. However, the Policy of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), which most African states adopted in 1986, brought about liberal trade regime with little or no restrictions on health materials or public health.

Undermining the restrictive trade policy, Nigeria extended the right hand of fellowship to The Gambia which is a pointer to the idea of a stronger state helping the weaker

one. This was done when Nigeria decided to open up to provide support to The Gambia providing assistance in healthcare, judiciary, military, academic and other fields. The Gambia in response lowered its economic and political restrictions on Nigeria which conform to the idea about a weaker state's readiness to open itself up for the stronger state as presented by the Asymmetrical argument.

Again there was an economic treaty between the two countries leading to the Nigeria-The Gambia Joint Commission which is designed to integrate their cultural and economic linkages. Furthermore, in 2015, an agreement on trade was signed by the two countries which efforts have been placed on its implementation. There were efforts by The Gambia to build state institutions along the Nigerian pattern; this can be found in The Gambian educational system especially at the university level and judicial arm which in The Gambia is also patterned alike that of Nigeria. The reason is not farfetched because Nigerian judicial officers have been sent to The Gambia on secondment. There was a similar approach in military relations where Nigerian soldiers were appointed who provided technical support to The Gambian army before 1994 (Udochukwu 2011: 4).

The bottom line is that Nigeria accepts responsibility for some of the challenges in The Gambia hence devising means to mitigate those challenges by cooperating with them. Thus, Nigeria invests human and material resource to solve those problems, this investment may seem unprofitable to Nigeria in the short run but it has benefit to Nigeria and Nigerians on a long-term basis. This is the hallmark of the openness in the asymmetrical analysis; therefore, it is safe to say the Nigeria-The Gambia relations is asymmetry. In addition, the Kozak's asymmetry model options that were mentioned earlier, the stronger state here was willing and ready to help the weaker state, the weaker state as well opened its door without fear of any domination.

3.2 Nigeria's Gain from Gambia Relations

Nigeria relationship with The Gambia is on unequal basis; The Gambia is one of the smallest countries in Africa and among the poorest with a population of fewer than two million people. The Gambia is without significant natural resources and is dependent so much on foreign aid while 75 percent of its population depend on agro-

business (crops and livestock). Nigeria, on the other hand, is most populous Black Country in the world, with a population size of almost 200 million people, blessed with enormous mineral resources and human capital. Hence, Nigeria took it upon herself the manifest destiny to assist The Gambia in any possible ways. This is done without recourse to material gains to Nigeria. This does not preclude some benefit that may accrue to Nigeria in the relationship.

Gambia's geostrategic location provides an advantage to Nigeria in the relationship, as the only Anglophone country surrounded by many francophone neighbours like Senegal, Guinea Conakry, Mali and Lusophone countries of Guinea Bissau. Therefore, Nigeria's presence in The Gambia facilitates her foreign policy objective as a major power in West Africa. The closeness of The Gambia to Senegal, which is considered to be France eyes for West African neo-colonial politics, which Nigeria seeks to challenges make The Gambia strategic to ensure that such neo-colonial domination did not come to fruition.

Again, Nigeria benefits from The Gambia supports as it projects her interest in ECOWAS. This can be found in her support to Nigeria's intervention in Guinea Bissau, Liberia, and Sierra-Leone. This is strategic to Nigeria's economic and foreign policy.

Nigeria has been of tremendous help to the successive government who depended on Nigeria for assistance both human and material, thus, Nigeria is always confident about The Gambia support in any international arena. Nigeria has been involved in providing security and defense training for The Gambia Police and military personnel which helps in defense of the state territorial boundaries. This is important to Nigeria because it will ensure that no other country interferes in the internal affairs of The Gambia which by extension helps to achieve sub-regional security. Again, any national security challenge in The Gambia can by extension cause a security challenge to Nigeria and the West African sub-region.

The defense pact between Nigeria and The Gambia helps to mitigate any issue of security concern, which has effect on both states, through that mechanism; both countries can handle trans-border organized crime such as terrorism, human and

drug trafficking. The training provided by Nigeria to The Gambia when there is no war helps to ensure thoroughness in military and security intelligence and ensure that joint operation can be called upon in wartime.

Military strategy is an important segment of diplomacy. By providing military training Nigeria and The Gambia have cemented their linkage and established a strong bilateral relationship that benefits each country in one way or the other. The Nigerian defense Academy who are instrumental to the training of The Gambia military personnel is by that act showcasing the picture of professionalism and strength as well as military preparedness to the outside world. Also, the interaction between and among military personnel from both countries create an atmosphere of cooperation in term of challenges. This type of understanding does not mean alliance formation nor defense subjugation; rather it provides the basis for preparedness against emergencies by the countries concern.

Similarly, there is a linkage between Nigeria banking industry and The Gambia financial sector, it is important to note that the banking sector is strategic to the economic well being of any country, it is a link to financial crime as well as serve as a blockade to financial crimes. Thus, Nigeria sees the banking industry as of great importance to its economic growth and survival. Nigerian banks over the years have established branches outside Nigeria, which include The Gambia thereby enhancing business transaction and attract foreign exchange.

Green (2016:7) argues that Nigeria banks benefits from expansion to other countries as this helps to attract more investors to the banks, which means additional capital to the bank's treasury, which means improving the shareholders' fund. He further puts forward that the "stock of the bank's subsidiaries abroad is assets to the parent bank in Nigeria which it can use as a security for in case of insolvency". As a remedy, the bank subsidiaries in The Gambia have helped Nigerian banks to shield its liabilities. Also, the Nigerian banks in The Gambia also impact on the national economy of the host country, it creates job opportunities for the citizens of the country, also helps to facilitate a transaction between Nigeria business and that of The Gambia, also contribute to the national treasury through taxation.

The interviews Adebani (2011: 14) carried out with different volunteers having different professional backgrounds help show benefits at the individual level. As part of the benefit of this bilateral relationship, Nigerian experts have secured a job in The Gambia through the Technical Aid Corps Scheme (TAC), thereby reducing the unemployment level while improving The Gambian society. This scheme has given Nigerians international exposure as well as work experience. The TAC has helped to improve the social personality of the participant, which include leadership qualities, improve social carriage, cultural relativism and respect t for human life and dignity for the black race

One of the volunteers of the TAC interviewed, Sunday Mogaji opine that going to work in The Gambia helped him in developing leadership skills, which he never had. He submits further that the scheme helped him to appreciate worth of sacrifice, especially when those to whom it was invested on (The Gambians) do not appreciate his efforts. In addition, another participant, a Nurse who was part of the volunteers to The Gambia puts forward that one of her greatest lesson in The Gambia during her time was the virtue of patience. Another volunteer, Dr. Bello assert that being in The Gambia helped him to appreciate Nigeria better. In his view, you do not appreciate what you have until you see those in dire need of it, in his words,

The things we take for granted in Nigeria are not available here. We often condemn our country and assume that things are se even in smaller African countries. But I have found that it is not so ... Here, I have learned that Nigeria is envied and admired, because of Nigerians' ability to make things happen (cited in Adebani, 2011: 16).

On his own part, Dr. Yahya opine that one of the benefits of the TAC scheme is that it helped to create love, together and oneness among Nigerians abroad especially those participants in the scheme, in his words

No one talks about tribal segregation here. The brotherhood—and sisterhood—among the Nigerian volunteers is very strong here. We can use TAC to reorganize civic virtues in Nigeria. We see Nigeria better from outside, and we appreciate Nigeria better as international volunteers. We can go back and solve Nigeria's problems better. We are more united when

we go out of Nigeria.(cited Adebani 2011: 15)

The TAC scheme was designed strategically to project Nigeria's image abroad. An assessment of the scheme shows that this aim has been successful to the extent that some of the volunteers aver that Nigeria's image in The Gambia is highly respected, some of The Gambia happily state that they have Nigerians as their teachers from primary to secondary schools. Other volunteers submit that TAC volunteers are of great importance to Gambia people. The Gambia show appreciation to Nigerian medical doctors who have in one way or the other treated them. The fact that The Gambia keep asking for more volunteer of TAC is an indication of the good image of Nigeria and the goodwill of the TAC scheme

Arguably, Nigeria and The Gambia have benefited from the bilateral relations between the two countries in great ways; however, there are areas that have posed a great challenge which need a review.

3.3 Nigeria –The Gambia Relations: The Critical bottlenecks

The non-implementation of the bilateral treaties involving Nigeria and The Gambia is posing a great challenge to the Nigeria–The Gambia relations. Several bilateral agreements were reached by Nigeria and The Gambia such as the 'Fishing Rights Agreement', 'Agreement on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation' and the 'Agreed Notes on the Inaugural Session of the Nigeria-The Gambia Joint Commission'. These are novel agreements but are yet to be implemented. The ECOWAS protocol on free movement of people, service, and goods has been hampered by enormous taxation levied on businesspersons and women between Nigeria and The Gambia. A former Nigerian High Commissioner to The Gambia, Ambassador Mariam opines that Nigerians in The Gambia are frequently threatened by immigration officers who often request for a residence permit from them; whose cost is unbearable by most Nigerians in The Gambia (Francis 2005). This contrary to ECOWAS protocol on free movement of people, goods, and services, in a contrary opinion by another former High commissioner to The Gambia Ambassador Esther Audu (cited in Ajayi 2016) argues that Nigerians living in The Gambia are not criminal but those trying to use The Gambia route to cross to Europe to peddle drugs

and those involved in Human trafficking are the ones having difficulties in The Gambia. In her words,

It is those in transit, who do not really know much about the country; because The Gambia is so small, unlike Nigeria, you could hardly do something of such and nobody will notice. If you are a new person, residing anywhere, they know. However, those in transit get involved in illegal businesses, confidently thinking they can find their way, and before they know it, they have already been caught (Esther Audu cited in Ajayi).

In addition, Nigerians are subject of envy by The Gambians who saw Nigerians as a threat to their prosperity; this is because of the hardworking nature of Nigerians who often expand their business within a short time. Thus, The Gambians tend to discriminate against these Nigerians seeing them as those who have come to dominate their economy.

This worsens as a result of little or no awareness about the nature and character of the TAC scheme leading to misconstrue of the scheme by rural dwellers who sometimes mistake the volunteers to job seekers who came to take the little available job in their country. Adebani (2005: 66) argues that the head of the TAC directorate agreed to the gap in publication citing the need to fill this gap, he argues that the rural dweller are not aware that Nigeria pays the TAC volunteers rather than their presumption that they are being paid by The Gambia.

One of the volunteers, who happen to be a medical practitioner, cried that they are serving a people who see them as threats rather than those providing helping hands. In his view because of TAC volunteers' level of qualification, the few Gambians sees them as competition. This will not have been so if those recipients of the services rendered understand the reason for a volunteer.

Adebani (2005: 65) assert that a Nurse volunteer lamented of ill-treatment in her services, she was posted to a private hospital which is contrary to the agreement between Nigeria and The Gambia on TAC. She argued that the attitude of the people and the working conditions were harsh and the Gambians perceive her as someone who came to take their place. Another issue of concern is the brain drain

phenomenon, often, the volunteers refuse to return when they get a permanent job in their host country. Their coming back is only to complete the paperwork; this in effect reduces their contribution to advancing Nigerian state. A former volunteer submits that she was the only person that returned out of eight volunteers. Adebani (2005: 67)

Also, some of the medical volunteer's lament of ill-treatment by The Gambians who pay Cuban medical workers more respect than their Nigerian counterpart even when they recognize that Nigerians volunteers are more committed to the task than the Cubans. According to Adebani a volunteer said that The Gambia are political in their appreciation of the TAC scheme, they know that the volunteers have contributed to the improvement of their healthcare system, but they give more respect and public recognition to the Cuban medical doctors than the Nigerian volunteer medical personnel.

A study on human trafficking in shows Nigerians involvement, and Nigerian victims who suffer untold stories of human rights abuse, ranging from physical battery to rape, unlawful detention even death in most cases. Njoku (2015: 27) opines that a good number of Nigerians are suffering in The Gambia prison as a consequence of offenses relating to human trafficking. This led to the deportation of Nigerians from The Gambia and impinges on Nigeria-The Gambia relations. The Day reported that in 2001 about fifty Nigerians were deported from Guinea and The Gambia, a larger number of whom were girls involved in prostitution (Thisday newspaper June 2016).

The above challenges are some of the issues that need urgent attention to remedy Nigeria-The Gambia bilateral relations In the midst of all these challenges Nigeria has not ceased to provide aids to The Gambia in various capacity. The underlining motive is that such aids and assistance helps Nigeria to advance her resolve for sub-regional peace and security and guide against those issues that may affect the relationship between it and her small brother, (The Gambia).

3.4 Assessment of the Afro-Centric Policy

The generosity that Nigeria has exhibited to The Gambia over the years has been subjected to criticism, that some Nigerians are questioning the benefit Nigeria derives from her commitment in the international system. Some of the questions raised bothers on Nigeria's capacity to respond to those bogus commitments especially with a reduced foreign exchange regime occasioned by the economic recession. This is important because the economic status of a state determines its role in the international system when the economy is not robust, it limits the role of the states, this is justified when Nigeria President Mohamed Buhari reduce the number of Nigeria's diplomatic missions in 2016.

There have been strong arguments against Nigeria's Afro-centric policy due largely to the economic situation of Nigeria. According to Fafowora (1988: 67) "The structure of the economy, with a weak and import-oriented industrial sector and the vagaries of an oil-based economy, are not conducive to the pursuit of an independent and vigorous foreign policy. A vigorous foreign policy can only be pursued from a position of economic...strength".

Similarly, Olusanya (1988: 147) puts forward that: "A country in which millions are in the unemployment market, a country crying for foreign investment and weighed down by the burden of external debts is not a good candidate for highly competitive positions in the field of international politics". In his view on Nigeria's foreign policy Professor Inno Ukaeje (cited in Nwanolue 2012: 83), opine that "Our false generosity abroad and penury at home are proof that we are pretending to be what we are not because in reality, we have been overstretching ourselves"

The current nature of Nigerian economy makes these assertions valid. As at December 2017, Nigeria is indebted externally to the tune of \$15,047.43 billion, and it-serviced debt in the same year to the tune of \$6 billion. Between 2008 and 2015 Nigeria's average external debt stood at \$6375.33 million. Nigeria export earnings in 2015 were \$282,024.60 million, this point to the fact that debt managing is a major challenge for Nigeria economy.(Nigeria external debt 2016)

To pursue a vibrant foreign policy, there is a need for a vibrant industrial sector, for Nigeria, the industrial sector is at the state of comatose. This gave rise to

dependency where Nigeria imports all finished products while exporting raw materials and its neo-colonial implications, therefore, Nigeria cannot afford to spend so much on the external environment. The focus should be on how to revamp the economy by investing in the industrial sectors. Also, there is need to visit the agricultural sectors which have been abandoned by the petrodollar regime (Saliu 2006: 128), The weakness of Nigerian Economy was made public by the World Bank Group and other UN agencies which saw a weakness of the Nigerian economy.

Some scholars like Nwanolue and Iwuoha (2012) believe that Nigeria's Afro-centric foreign policy should be revisited because it is not in the interest of the country. In their view Nigeria is putting too much in Africa without recognition and respect, most African countries do not have regard for Nigeria despite Nigeria's contribution to them. This led Nwanolue (2012) to argue that,

...it is clear that Nigeria's acclaimed big brother role in Africa, which encourages her to flamboyantly waste scarce resources on unfruitful brotherly missions in Africa only gained her a cheap popularity as the giant of Africa without any recorded tangible economic prosperity. Hence, we strongly recommend that Nigeria should seek first 'economic development' and then every other thing shall be added unto her.

Aside these issues, the need to link domestic and foreign policy is very important and central. It is this linkage that made Nigeria be attentive to foreign policy issues. One of the foremost scholars of Nigerian foreign policy Prof. Ibrahim Gambari(1995: 824) had this to say: "a well formulated and executed, strong and virile domestic policy not only addresses the domestic problems but would also be a springboard for the forging and implementation of robust foreign policy".

The linkage school emphasized the interface between the economy and foreign policy of a state. This linkage is often neglected by the economists when they are analysing the national economy; they tend to focus more on economic indices without a recourse on the diplomatic implication of economic activities. Yet diplomatic activities have an impact on the national economy this can be seen from those obtainable from Nigeria-The Gambia relations which is dependent on the nature and

character of policymakers, how they perceive these opportunities and their resolve to make adequate use of them. While there are little or no material or economic benefits to Nigeria for its roles in Africa, Nigeria has been recognized as a major power in Africa with a central role in African peace and security (Saliu 2006: 132).

The Nigerian Afro-centric foreign policy direction corresponds with the argument of Kozák's Asymmetrical theory which emphasized that a stronger state should adopt an open policy to benefit the weaker one to resolve the challenges of the weaker state in the relationship between them. The stronger state helps the weaker state solve some of its critical problems that bother on economic and social spheres. In other words, Nigeria believes that strong African states should help the weaker ones to help reduce the dependence on Europe and North America thereby providing "African solution to African problems".

The Kozák's asymmetrical theory can be seen in Nigeria-The Gambia relation; this is because Nigeria took it upon itself to assist The Gambia in those areas they are in need without considering material benefits. The Gambia as well accepted the helping hand extended by Nigeria especially through the TAC scheme which helps to bridge the gap of what they don't have and what they need, bringing them at par with Nigeria in the bilateral relation.

The Technical Aid Corp scheme helped to reduce the dependence of The Gambia on Europe and North America in areas of health care workers and facilities, military training and intelligence, judicial workers and structure, these are the reasons anticipated by Nigeria while initiating the scheme.

CONCLUSION

The argument of this study began with the interrogation of the relevance of asymmetrical theory in the analysis of international relations. The study further brings to focus the substantial difference in external relations and their role in understanding foreign policy and actions. The relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia is historical, yet asymmetrical. The relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia best explain the idea about bilateral asymmetrical relationship. The Gambia had needed Nigeria more than Nigeria needs it.

The relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia is primarily influenced by the Nigeria's Afro-centric foreign policy design. As a result, Nigeria has committed to The Gambian cause because Nigeria is stronger while The Gambia is a weaker state; hence, Nigeria sees it as her responsibility to assist The Gambia, which is in line with the provisions of the asymmetrical argument. There are several arguments about Nigeria's Afro-centric foreign policy especially in the years of economic challenges; some has argued that Nigeria should withdraw from international engagement while another school opposes it.

This study is aimed to explore Nigeria's gains from her bilateral relationship with The Gambia even though it is an asymmetrical relationship and by extension, supporting Nigeria's Afro-centric foreign policy thrust which enabled Nigeria to give aids to The Gambia. As a guide to the analysis, the Asymmetrical model option of Kozák was adopted, the theory argues that states in asymmetrical relationship has several options to adopt- the strong state can decide to open up, close, refuse or control the weak state. On the other hand, the weak state can decide to close or open up to the relationship with the bigger state. However, the most efficient option for states in that asymmetrical union is to ensure a closure of the differences among them by having contacts with each other.

The study adopts the qualitative methodology, secondary data were collected from books, journals, official publications, internet sources and other articles. The study is divided into four chapters; the introduction where background issues were dealt with, the problematique of the study was also stated in this chapter. Chapter 1 did a

review of literature where the writings of scholars on foreign policy and international politics were reviewed in order to discover the trend and the gap in research and to relate the literatures to this project. Chapter 2 examined Nigeria's Afro-centric foreign policy in a bid to establish the basis for Nigeria's relations with The Gambia, understanding why Nigeria is Afro-centric. The concern of chapter three was the analysis of Nigeria–The Gambia bilateral relations; here the Kozák's asymmetrical theory was applied as a guide to the analysis. The chapter found that Nigeria has opened up to The Gambia in her bilateral relations, and this was of benefit to Nigeria both in the area trade and investment as well as ensuring regional peace and security. The chapter also outlines some of the challenges confronting Nigeria in that relationship and how it has been able to handle the challenges, and the conclusion page.

Successive Nigeria governments have had good relationship with The Gambia. The relationship which began since 1965 has been sustained by various regimes in the spirit of continuity and change. Nigeria has shown readiness to help The Gambia when they requested beyond providing remedies but has demonstrated commitment to the development of the country within Nigeria's pursuit of African unity, economic development, peace and security.

The open door policy by Nigeria and The Gambia in their bilateral relations has been of immense benefit to Nigeria and Gambia. The Gambia has benefited from the Technical Aid Corp (TAC) scheme extended to it by Nigeria in strategic areas such as education, health, judiciary, defense among others. From the report credited to the World Health Organization WHO, Nigeria health worker have been of great relevance in developing The Gambian health sector. In area of deficiency especially equipments for operations, TAC medical workers built health infrastructures such as medical theatres and commence surgery for patients by so doing reducing the tension on the Banjul General Hospital.

The relationship has also benefited Nigeria in a number of ways despite her assumed benevolence to The Gambia; first, The Gambian has a better perception of Nigeria as a big brother. But the economic recession in recent will have adverse effects on the bilateral relationship this is because Nigeria and The Gambia will rather focus on

issues of domestic importance as it affects their citizen rather than being preoccupied by regional and continental issues. In effect, Nigeria and The Gambia relationship will remain asymmetric in the nearest future, while there is the possibility that The Gambia will turn to the West for assistance, which in effect will deepen the influence of Europe in West Africa, which the Nigerian aid seeks to reduce.

There are several agreements or treaty about Nigeria and The Gambia bilateral relations but these treaties have not been implemented leading to several unofficial relationships between the countries. This study therefore puts forward that those who to benefit from a treaty be involved during the formulation of the agreements, this will ensure that their input will be made. In so doing, the beneficiaries will feel involved and committed to the agreement. In addition, the requirement for the implementation of the agreement both human and material should be of concern to the parties to the treaty. A working linkage should be established between policy makers and those that will benefit from the policy as well as those saddled with the responsibility of implementation.

Again, the need for policy continuity is emphasized, policies and programs should not be discontinued when a new government comes on board. This means that successive regime should evolve programme that can be attractive to both the present regime and its successor.

In addition, the study argues that Nigeria big brother image should guide its foreign policy conduct; this means that the country should match ability with expectation while it continues with its Afro-centric foreign policy thrust.

The brother image of Nigeria as seen by The Gambia where Nigeria invest immensely through the Technical Aids Corps scheme, this made The Gambia to see Nigeria as a leader and champion in the sub regional politics and is willing to cooperate with Nigeria. This position should be explored by Nigeria to remove those stringent requirements by The Gambian government on Nigerian living there to provide residence permit, which has been burdensome on those Nigerians. Doing this, will help Nigeria curb the insult and disrespect melted on Nigerian citizens by The Gambian immigration.

Consistent harassment by both The Gambia and Nigeria border security on Nigerian trader should be revisited; in this light; these agencies should be retrained, overhauled to facilitate movement and trade along the ECOWAS corridor. In the same vein, the apex banks in The Gambia and Nigeria should facilitate trans-border banking formalities to allow banks in both countries to make transactions easy for small-scale business especially in making payments from Naira to Dalasi

The small nature of The Gambia market should not discourage trade with it, because The Gambia serve as a link to its neighbouring countries of Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry and Mauritania, trading with The Gambia opens up trade with these countries. The challenges pose by lack meaningful transportation can be mitigated by contracting private shipping lines to navigate the route.

Nigeria and The Gambia should formalize that informal trade link between both countries. As they have negative effect on the economy on the long run no matter the short run benefits it presents. Formalization will come by registration of those informal trade partners and checkmate all informal and illegal cross-border transaction between the countries.

To curb the activities of the human traffickers, there is need to evolve legislation against human trafficking by both countries with severe penalty for perpetrators. Also there is need to evolve poverty reduction programmes which gives impetus to human trafficking both on the traffickers and the trafficked. Doing this will help reduce it drastically and there is need for proper sensitization of Nigerians and The Gambians about the evils of human trafficking. There is need for proper publication about the Technical Aid Corps to The Gambia citizen, so that will not see Nigerian volunteers as competition for their limited jobs. Nevertheless, understand that the volunteers are being paid by Nigeria to help The Gambia, this process will be completed through the input of the Nigerian Mission in The Gambia and the directorate of TAC.

The ill-treatment faced by Nigerians in The Gambia should be looked into and not ignored, The Gambians see Nigerians as a threat and as ones who have come to take their space and work. The issue of free movement of goods and person by ECOWAS is also having a major slide back as custom seem to arrest people who try

to cross the border. Also corruption between the two nations leaders is also a major challenge in the asymmetry relations, most leaders are trying to gain for theirselfish interest not for the welfare of the country.

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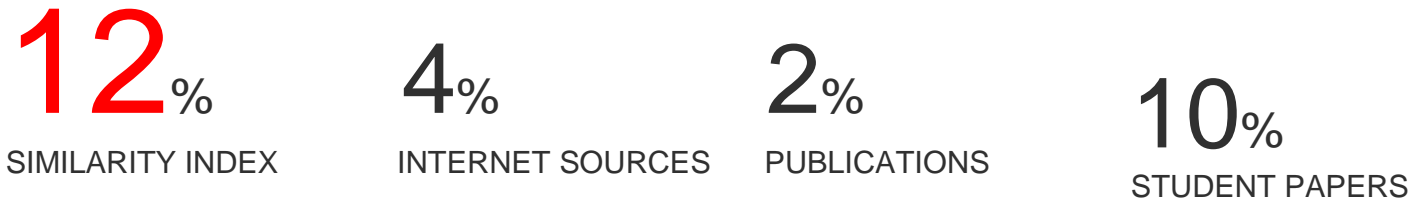
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2018

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We as the jury members certify the “NIGERIA-THE GAMBIA RELATIONS: A CASE STUDY IN ASYMMETRYRELATIONS” prepared by Patience Lyop Pam, Dachomo defended on

18/June/2018

Has been found satisfactory for the award of degree of

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DEDICATION

I will firstly love to dedicate this work to God the Almighty, for giving me strength wisdom for this project and his profound love. I also want to dedicate to my family, my late dad Mr. Pam Dachomo and my mother Mrs. Priscilla Gang for her abundant love, prayers and sacrifices, my elder sister Mrs. Noro Pam Dayom, my Nieces who I love dearly Rinret Zoe Dayom, Khirnan Dayom, Veirat Yerima, Alice Daniel and to my babies Kimmy and Erica. To my uncle Ehpraim, my brother-inlaw Dr. Pannan Dayom and my god father Mr. Fom Gwotsson.

Also want to mention my friends who have been there for me through out this period Vivian Gbede, Panshak Lar, Kanny, My Nnamdi, Cyril Gotip, Shakshivi, Lemtifat, Rennas, Hend and my masters classmates.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to give all praises and honour to the Almighty God for giving me the wisdom, good health and strength to carry out this project work. I would like to acknowledge the contribution of my one in a billion supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sait Aksit, for his relentless guidance, efforts, encouragement and advice towards the success of this project, thank you for being a father, friend and teacher. I would also like to acknowledge my family for their unending love, support and encouragement throughout the duration of my studies. My colleagues and friends have also been a source of encouragement to me. I say thank you all.

ABSTRACT

NIGERIA-THE GAMBIA RELATIONS: A CASE STUDY IN ASYMMETRY RELATIONS.

The focus of this study is the bilateral relations between Nigeria and The Gambia, one of the biggest and one the smallest states in Africa. The interest in this study began with the interrogation of the relevance of asymmetrical theory in the analysis of international relations. Asymmetrical theory brings to focus the substantial difference in external relations and their role in understanding bilateral relations and actions. The relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia is historical, yet asymmetrical. This study put forward that this relationship best explained the idea of bilateral asymmetrical relationship. The Gambia had needed Nigeria more than Nigeria needs it. The study argues that the relationship between Nigeria and The Gambia is primarily influenced by Nigeria's Afro-centric foreign policy design. As a result, Nigeria has committed to The Gambian cause because Nigeria is stronger while The Gambia is a weaker state; hence, Nigeria sees it as her responsibility to assist The Gambia, which is in line with the provisions of the asymmetrical argument. There are several arguments about Nigeria's Afro-centric foreign policy especially in the years of economic challenges; some have argued that Nigeria should withdraw from international engagement while others opposed it. It brought to fore Nigeria's gains from her bilateral relationship with The Gambia even though it is an asymmetrical relationship and by extension, supporting Nigeria's Afro-centric foreign policy thrust which enabled Nigeria to give aids to The Gambia. As a guide to the analysis, the Asymmetrical model option of Kozák was adopted, which argues that states in asymmetrical relationship has several options to adopt- the strong state can decide to open up, close, refuse or control the weak state; on the other hand, the weak state can decide to close or open up to the relationship with the bigger state. However, the most efficient option for states in that asymmetrical union is to ensure a closure of the differences among them by having contacts with each other.

Keywords :Asymmetry, Foreign policy, Afro-centric, Africa, Bilateral, Independence , International Relations

ÖZ

NIJERYA-GAMBIYA İLİŞKİLERİ: ASİMETRİK İLİŞKİLERDE BİR VAKA ANALİZİ

Bu tez çalışması Afrika'nın en büyük ülkelerinden olan Nijerya ile en küçük ülkelerinden biri olan Gambiya arasındaki ikili ilişkilere odaklanmaktadır. Bu özel ilişkiye olan ilgi asimetrik yaklaşım çalışmalarının uluslararası ilişkilerin analizindeki yeri tartışmaları çerçevesinde ortaya çıkmıştır. Asimetrik yaklaşım, farklı büyüklüklerdeki ülkelerin dış ilişkilerindeki yaklaşım farklılıklarını ve bunun ikili ilişkilere yansımalarını anlamlandırmaya ve açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Nijerya-Gambiya ilişkileri eskiye dayanan, asimetrik ilişkilere sahiptir. Bu çalışma, Nijerya-Gambiya ilişkilerini en iyi açıklayan yaklaşımlardan birinin asimetrik yaklaşım olduğunu ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Çalışma, Nijerya'nın Gambiya'ya yönelik dış politikasının temel olarak Nijerya'nın Afrika-merkezli dış politika yaklaşımından etkilendiği söylenebilir. Nijerya, sonuçta, daha güçlü bir Afrika ülkesi olarak daha zayıf gördüğü Gambiya'ya karşı sorumluluk duygusuyla ikili ilişkilerini geliştirmiştir. Bu durum, asimetrik yaklaşımın öngörülleri ile uyumludur. Nijerya'nın Afrika-merkezli dış politika yaklaşımı ile ilgili özellikle ekonomik zorlukların yaşandığı yakın dönemde farklı görüşler mevcut: Bazıları Nijerya'nın uluslararası bağlantılarını ve desteğini kısıtlaması gerektiğini savunurken, diğerleri buna karşı çıkmaktadır. Gambiya'ya Afrika-merkezli dış politika yaklaşımı çerçevesinde verilen destek ve yapılan yardım, bu küçük ülke ile olan asimetrik ikili ilişkilerine rağmen Nijerya'ya yükten çok fayda sağladığı ortaya konulmaya çalışılacaktır. Nijerya-Gambiya ikili ilişkilerinin analizinde Kozák tarafından geliştirilen asimetrik model yaklaşımı kullanılacaktır. Kozák ikili ilişkiler çerçevesinde ülkelerin farklı seçenekleri olduğunu savunmaktadır: Buna göre: güçlü ülkeler zayıf ortaklarına karşı açık veya kapalı bir yaklaşım sergileme yanında onlarla ilişki kurmayı reddetme veya onları kontrol etme eğilimleri gösterebilir; zayıf olan devletler ise güçlü devletlere karşı açık veya kapalı bir dış politika yaklaşımı içerisine girebilirler. Bununla birlikte, bu çalışmada, asimetrik ilişkiler temelinde en etkin farklılıkların ortadan kaldırılarak ilişkilerin sürdürülmesi olduğu vurgulanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nijerya, Gambiya, Asimetrik İlişkiler, Nijerya Dış Politikası, Nijerya-Gambiya İlişkileri, İkili İlişkiler

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACP- African Carribean and Pacific
AGA- Aeromedics Ground-Aids Air Routes
AIDS- Aquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC- African National Congress
APRM- African Peer Review Mechanism
AU- African Union
CET- Common External Tarriff
ECOWAS- Economic Community Of West African States
EQT- Expatriate Quota Tax
ERP- Economic Recovery Plan
ETLS- Economic Trade Liberalization Scheme
GCE- General Certificate Examination
GDP – Gross Domestic Product
GNA- Gambia National Army
GNYSS- Gambian National Youth Service Scheme
GTB- Guaranty Trust Bank
HIV- Human Immune Virus
KMC- Kanifing Municipal Council
MOU- Memorandum Of Understanding
MPLA- Movemment People For TheLiberation Of Angola
NATAG- Nigeria Army Training Assistance Group
NDC- National Defence College
NEPAD- New Partnership of Africa Development
NYSC- National Youth Service Corp
OAU- Organization Of African Unity
PAC- Pan Africanist Congress
SAP- Structural Adjustment Programme
SARAFFSA- South African Relief Agency For Freedom Fighters in South Africa
SWAPO- Southwest African People Organization
TAC- Technical Aid Corp

TGTT- Turkish Gendarmerie Training Team

UN- United Nations

UNOC- United Nations Operation in Congo

VC- Vice Chancellor

WAEC- West African Examination Council

WASSCE- West African Senior School Certificate Exam

ZANU- Zimbabwe African Nation Union