Nigeria-The Gambia Relations, 1965-2016

Godwin Onuh Odeh, PhD
Department of History and International Studies
Sokoto State University, Sokoto
E-Mail: godwin.odeh@ssu.edu.ng

Abstract

A survey of literature on Africa's international relations reveals gross undermining of the Nigeria-Gambia unfrosted relations. This has been a result of undue attention given to the country's peace keeping operations particularly in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Bakassi Peninsula issues in Cameroun and other security challenges in Africa. The implication of this is the near dearth of literature on peaceful relations among African states. The overt neglect of this creates lacuna in the diplomatic history of the region which need to be filed. This need among others, form the core problematic of this paper. Against this background the paper examines trends in Nigeria and the Gambia relations since the independence of the latter in 1965. It notes that Nigeria and the Gambia occupied significant position in the geo-politics of the sub-region given their tangoed history as British ex-colonies. The paper notes three epochs: the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial eras in the history of the duos underpinned by diplomatic intercourse, migration, geo-politics, Pan-African movements and organized political pressure groups, international organization channel and technical assistance, among others. The paper adopts concentric circles model espoused in the mid-1980s, with special emphasis on the sub-region and contends that Nigeria's dynamic foreign policy and linkages with states in the sub-Saharan region dates to antiquity. It is finds that since political independence from the British dominion in the 1960s, successive Nigeria and The Gambia leaders have maintained cordial relations. On the balance of the doctrine of reciprocity, it notes that Nigeria has not derived benefits commensurate to her big brother role in Africa at large, and West Africa region in particular. Thus, the paper called for a redefinition of Nigeria's foreign policy to be more beneficial to her citizens both home and abroad. It concludes that African States and leaders should see the benefits of South-South engagement to improving African unity

instead of becoming perpetual slave in the pursuit of western agenda, which obstruct the emancipation of the sub-region and the continent.

Introduction

No State in the globalised world and even before operates at autarky, as the wellbeing or survival of a State largely depends on how well it manages its relations with her neighbours. What this means is that in international milieu, the independence which States enjoys has never been absolute or isolation, because States operates in an environment of interdependence. These characterizations defines interstates relations as conflicts and friendship broadly involving trade, diplomatic intercourse, exchanges of political and cultural ideas, technical aids and wars etc, are all part of relations. Of the identified essential elements of international relations, more attention has been given to war and conflicts studies thereby undermining discourses on States where peaceful relations exists such as Nigeria-Gambia decades of unfrosted relations. In other words, attention of scholars over the years has been on cases like crisis and wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, Bakassi Peninsula issues in Cameroun and other security hotspots in Africa.[i] It is against this backdrop the essay examined fifty one years of Nigeria-The Gambia relations to filing necessary gaps in African history. It is structured into the following: the introduction which is on, conceptual clarifications, background history of Nigeria and The Gambia relations, trends and pattern of Nigeria and The Gambia relations (from 1965 to 2016), reciprocity in Nigeria-The Gambia relations, and finally, the conclusion.

Conceptual Clarifications and Concentric Circles Model

This aspect clarifies the basic interrelated concepts that underlined its discourses. The concepts are international relations, foreign policy, diplomacy, national interest, reciprocity, migration and technical assistance. The concept of international relations has two connotations: first, as a theory (i.e. academic discipline, International Relations-I.R) and second, as a practice (i.e. international relations – i.r). As a theoretical discipline, it emerged at the end of the World War I. Its first appearance was the establishment of the Chair of the International Relations at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth in 1922[ii], and London School of Economics and Political Science in 1923. The aim was to comprehend issues that led to conflicts and wars and the quest for creating an institutional

mechanism that could promote global peace. Thereafter, the discipline spreads to other parts of the world. In short, before World War I, there was no deliberate and systematic study of the discipline as its subject matters were handled by traditional disciplines such as law, philosophy, economics, political science and diplomatic history. Quincy Wright cited in Akinboye *etal* buttresses this as that:

> The discipline of international relations has developed synthetically and this has militated against its unity. Other disciplines… have developed through analysis and subdivision of older disciplines, and that these disciplines began with theory and developed from an initial unity. In International relations… effort is being made to synthesize numerous older disciplines, each with a specialized point of view into a unity.[iii]

The above attempt to isolate the discipline from older disciplines identified. The controversy this generated is yet to simmer down. However, the octopus growing specializations in many younger disciplines saved the adherents of International Relations from the elbow trap of critical analysts as it can now be conveniently conceptualized and contradistinguished for analytical reasons and as well be classified as an autonomous discipline in several tertiary institutions even in Nigeria. As an autonomous academic discipline, Karl W. Deutsch cited in Abia opines that:

> An introduction to the study of international in our time is an introduction to the art and science of the survival of mankind. If civilization is killed in the nearest future, it will not be killed by famine or plague, but by foreign policy and international relations.[iv]

The above collapses together the differences between the phenomenon as a discipline and practice, by making International Relations the study of international relations itself. The concern of the paper is not so much with International Relations as discipline, but the practice of it.

On the other hands, international relations as a practice date to antiquity. In ancient Europe, Asia and Africa, kings, kingdoms and emperors exchanged messages, gifts, traded with one another, formed alliances and concluded treaties.[v] Thus, the practice of it appears to predate the Westphalia Treaty of 1648[vi] that gave

birth to the modern state system. The Africa experience of this using Nigeria and The Gambia as test case is the crux of the chapter. It suffice few conception of the practice of it is taken. Hedley Bull cited in Akinboye *etal* puts the practice of the phenomenon as; "a complex set of relations among states that form an international society and not simply a system of states".[vii] Viewing the concept as a complex set of relations gives it a wider coverage that is very rewarding. However, he could not escapes the sledge hammer of critical analysts, because he ended up pigeon-hoeing concept within the narrow precinct of state-centricism without noting avalanche of non-state actors in international system whose activities blends with nation states there by making the global system very dynamic. K.J. Holsti cited in Abia conceptualizes it as; " all forms of interactions between the members of separate societies, whether government-sponsored or not".[viii] This too is all encompassing, but it is instructive to notes most of the ethnic nationalities in Africa that came to appropriate the so called arbitrary boundaries drawn by European colonialism intervened into one's another at the level of language, culture, identity and territory. The ethnic and linguistic mixed up in post-colonial African states buttresses this point. Stretching African history further, one notes that international relations date to the dim past, which renders Holtsi's ideas of "separate societies" suspicious.

Ray Ofoegbu cited in Enuka, puts international relations as "relationships among actors in the international system",[ix] which he articulates four level, namely:

a. Private international relations that entail intercourse between citizens belonging to diverse nation-states at the level of passports and visas;
b. Cultural international relations which embraces social, cultural and intellectual exchanges among diverse groups. Examples are sporting events (Olympic games, world cup series, African Cup of Nations) and cultural events such as Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) and Christians and Muslim pilgrimages;
c. International economic relations which focuses on world economy matters such as international trade, debt crisis, north-south dialogue and New International Economic Order (NIEO), south-south cooperation, foreign aid, IMF etc;

d. International political relations, which includes political matters alone resting on bargaining, cooperation, conflicts, wars, military, ideological issues and diplomatic affairs.[x]

The above underscores the fact that the relation is not absolutely exclusive, but intertwined since politics without economic would be lifeless and fruitless.
From the above multiple conceptions, international relations is conceived in the chapter as the sum total of the contacts of two or more peoples and societies across appropriated borderlands in a given historical age be it pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times. This pattern of relations demonstrates no society or group lived in splendid isolation; an isolation blown out of reasonable proportion in colonial historiography.[xi]

The concepts of national interest and foreign policy have watertight relationship. This is against the backdrop of the understanding that the foundation of a State foreign policy is her national interest. This underscores nation's foreign policy does not operates in a vacuum. National interests may be view as an analytical tool and an instrument of political option[xii].As an analytical tool, it serves as conceptual guide providing the needed focus to intended State policy option; as an instrument of political action it may employed to justify or condemn State's foreign policy option and project it abroad. National interest may be divided into two: primary and secondary interests[xiii]. Primarily, it is the expression of policies targeted at promoting the independence of a country, which include the nation's territorial integrity and its independence. While in secondary sense, it focuses on the protection of the nationals in diaspora and investments oversea. Thus, Han Morgenthau, cited in Akinboye summarizes the tight relationship between the two thus: "No nation can have a true guide as to what it must do in foreign policy without accepting national interest as that guide".[xiv]

On the other hands, foreign policy, like any other concepts has been viewed differently by scholars. Northedge cited in Abia, puts it as product of interplay between outside and inside[xv]. This suggests it is an externalization of State's action predicated on domestic or internal realities. Akinbobola, conceptualizes it as: "…the actions of a State towards the external environment with the ultimate aim and objective of achieving specific goals towards the enhancement of the national

interest".[xvi] The conception underpinned the prominence of power in foreign policy formulation and pursuit. The conscious pursuit of what a nation identified as its national interest and committing available resources to achieve is view as foreign policy in the chapter. The super powers national interests underlining their foreign policies are essentially combative. Against this backdrop their policies are usually targeted at giving and withdrawal of economic aid, military assistance and protection against external aggression.

Conception of diplomacy is based on each scholar's perception and interest. In Latin, it is *diploma* and in the Greek, *diplono*.[xvii] The "diploma" means an official document, while *diplono* means folded paper or document. The original connotations may have informed subsequent definitions of the concept by scholars. Sir Ernest Satow cited in Ogunsanwo, puts diplomacy as:

> The application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the government of independent States, extending sometimes also to their relations with Vassal States; or, more briefly still, the conduct of business between State by peaceful means.[xviii]

Though laudable, Satow's conception may be criticized on the grounds that not all diplomats are intelligent and more also that war does not end diplomacy as its operations is irrelevant in the face of total agreement and total disagreement. Quincy Wright, cited in Johari, in the same vein conceptualizes it at two levels – popular and specific thus:

> In the former sense, it implies the employment of tact, shrewdness and skill in any negotiations or transaction; in the later sense, it means the art of negotiation in order to achieve the maximum of group objectives with a minimum cost, within a system of politics in which war is a possibility.[xix]

This too shares inadequacies with Satow's conception. In the light of what is now track-two diplomacy (a specific kind of informal diplomacy in which non-officials like scholars, retired civil and military officials, public figures and social activists engaged in dialogue with the aim of resolving conflicts) the phenomenon needs re-interrogation. Arising from the inability to pitch tent with any of the definitions, the essay view diplomacy either bilateral or multilateral as the art of conducting

international relations in a way that national interest is not jeopardized both in the time of peace and war. In short, diplomacy remained the "how" of international relations as contradistinguished from foreign policy, which is the "what" of international relations.

Reciprocity in the operations of Nigeria's foreign denotes the idea of mutual support and benefit. Ate cited in Fage ties its conception to its proponent thus:

> Those who know Akinyemi at a close range understand that he subscribes, almost as a doctrine, to a certain idea of "reciprocity" in private as well as in public affairs. He tend to believe and act largely according to that belief, that inter-personal as well as inter-state relations can function to mutual satisfaction if the rule of reciprocity is adhered to. [xx]

Literally reciprocity therefore, works like if "you scratch only back and I scratch yours". A foreign policy that lacks this principle is seems to be standing on one bad leg. Obio Ozor cited in Fage substantiates this that:

> What we are saying is that any foreign policy that does not insist on reciprocity is simply moralistic and infantile; for in the game of nations there can be no permanent friends or permanent enemies; for only circumstances determine which course a nation will take to protect its own national interest as conditions and circumstances change.[xxi]

It is in this context the chapter would in due course interrogates benefits derived by Nigeria in decades of her relations with The Gambia.

The next concept is migration which attracts diverse definitions like many other concepts in humanities. Thus, few would be taken. Hossain, cited in Nwoke, defines migration as relocation of residence for duration for various reasons.[xxii] This underscores the fact that migration involves movements of people from one place to another, but it failed to point out whether the said movement is within or across national border lands. Tyldum, puts migration as going abroad to work.[xxiii]This fits into the discourse of the study, but fails to point up the nature of the movement; forced or voluntary. Migration as applied in the essay connotes

forced and voluntary movements of people across national boundaries. Like any other social movements, the combination of push and pull factors (centrifugal and centripetal forces) resulted in international movement of people. What makes international migration special is the chain migration i.e. international connection. Hormats, Walker, and Ogata cited in Oche comments on the nature of this that:

> Once migration foothold are established, family members join successful migrants, remittance link communities across great distances, and established immigrants groups help the newly arrived find work and negotiate seemingly alien ways and practices. Migration itself then becomes a new connection between nations, evolving into a social process that is increasingly sustained by factors that are largely beyond the realm of government action or the economic impulses that originally generated it.[xxiv]

The above shows how migratory process triggers chain reaction. It is on the basis of this one found cases where legitimate entrance of relatives provides opportunities to facilitate entrance of additional migrants. This may explains why some Gambians are found in Nigeria and Nigerians in The Gambia.

The last but not the least of the concepts is technical assistance which is synonymous with foreign aid. Foreign aid according to Jhingan, refers to public foreign capital on hard and soft terms, in cash or kind, and inter-governmental grants.[xxv] This conception pitched aid in economic context without considering provisions of other support such as military skills to other nations. Technical assistance as used in the paper entails economic military and other forms of helps and reliefs given to other nations for the purpose of development. The chapter is aware of series of argument that surround the motive behind foreign aid; which some view as agent of development, while others sees as another form of imperialism.[xxvi] However, the chapter notes that Nigeria aid to The Gambia was not borne out of hegemonic ambition, but rather a demonstration of its traditional big brother role helping the younger with returns that is not compelling nor exploitative in nature. It is in this context the assistance rendered to The Gambia by Nigeria is situated.

The paper is anchored on concentric circles model propounded by Ibrahim Agboola Gambari in 1984; when he was the foreign minister under the regime of General Muhammadu Buhari. Ideally, according to its proponent core of the centric circles was to be Nigeria and other circles would be her immediate neighbours, the sub-region, the continent and the universal world.[xxvii] It attempts to prioritize Nigeria's foreign interests but ended putting West Africa first on the list. Akpuru Aja, cited in Ajaegbu *etal* substantiates this that the main current of the philosophy of concentric circles are as follows:

a. Nigeria's immediate neighbour;
b. Nigeria's security and national defense climate is contingent upon security climate between and within the sub-region;
c. the hegemonic power ambition of Nigeria demands that the country exercises considerable influence over its neigbours to keep off extra-continental power from undue interference in the affairs of the sub-region;
d. and, globalization encourages integration and regionalism.[xxviii]

Though the above look attractive, issues it raises are not entirely new as African states and world matters have being at the front burner of Nigeria's foreign policy thrust since Tafawa Balewa's United Nations acceptance speech in New York on October 8, 1960.[xxix] Besides, the hegemonic role of Nigeria in the sub-region has been interrogated repeatedly even by those who has benefited from her goodwill. More so, Nigeria's foreign policy originates from faulty premise due to inability to meet her household needs. Bolaji Akinyemi cited in Umoden appeared to have cleared the air on the later lines of the argument thus:

> It is true that we have slums and untarred roads, and it is true that we have social problems. But is there any country that is free of these problems? Is there any country that has finished solving all its social problems before it has concentrated efforts on creating a nation that commands respect? That's the word: a nation that commands respect.[xxx]

Nigeria's initiatives of restoring and keeping its big brother role in African and the sub-region has remained the focus of successive government policies since 1960. The subsequent part of the paper looks at the history of Nigeria and The Gambia relations.

History of Nigeria and The Gambia Relations

The philosopher Hegel cited in Edet Okon Uya, declared with utmost conviction that "Africa is no historical part of the world; no movement or development to exhibit".[xxxi] Against this background, African societies were denied existence of towns and cities that could engaged in diplomatic intercourse and other forms of relations. According to Okpeh O. Okpeh Jr, such denials may be anchored on the following propositions:

a. That before contact with Europe African societies, kingdoms and empires were defined by a activism, inter-tribal belligerence and social anarchy;
b. That most Africans lived in the jungle;
c. That African societies were largely unorganized around any defining law governing human interactions; and
d. That the societies were in flux and people were not organized in a defined settlement.[xxxii]

Given all these as Eurocentric scholars would have us believed, inter-states relations were completely absent since societies were never at peace with one another. On the contrary evidence abound that African societies have cordial relations that date to the first millennium. Okoye cited in Shaw substantiates this that:

> … African communities and states have for ages had contacts with the countries of Europe and Asia, and also frequently entered into relations among themselves which were generally regulated by commonly accepted usages and certain customary rules of international law. Treaties and agreements were entered into and meant to be kept… international personality could not be denied to the native states of that period.[xxxiii]

Ancient's kingdom of Oyo, Benin, Hausa States, Kanem Bornu, Ghana, Songhai and the Mali, were the major actors in the African traditional international system. The later was the melting pot of the Senegambia local and external affairs. Interstates relations during this time straddled diplomacy, trade, cultural fusion and diffusion, religion, law etc. Detail history of the varieties of the relations between Nigeria and the Gambia before the twentieth century is already discussed

elsewhere. Thus, utmost attention would not be given to it in this aspect. However, it is pertinent to point out those relations before the era was peaceful as societies intervene into one another at different level.[xxxiv] The potency of the residual history of such age long relations made Y.B. Usman cited in Odeh, notes that, the operations of the logic of economic, political, military, cultural and ideological networks which had been developed in the corner of West Africa, are still maintained to date.[xxxv] Having notes the traditional ties between the duos, the paper looks at aspects of the relations since 1965.

Trends and Patterns of Nigeria's and The Gambia Relations since 1965

The Nigeria and The Gambia relation between 1965 and 2016 witnessed military and democratic governments. The relation takes the forms of geo-politics, religious-cultural, migration, technical assistance, economic, military and diplomacy pattern. First is geo-political relations based on the location, size, climate, population among others. Napoleon Bonarparte cited in J.C. Johari notes that "the foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography".[xxxvi] Scholar of geopolitics like Herder cited in Rao, share similar view and argued that: "history is geography set in motion".[xxxvii]The history of Africa sub-region furnishes no geo-political boundaries in pre-colonial times in modern European sense of it.

Relatedly, the geographical character of Nigeria has progressively guided the pursuit of her national interest in the sub-region and the continent at large. It may be recalled, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in the UN acceptance speech cited in Fawole observes that:

> So far I have concentrated on the problems of Africa. Please do not think that we are not interested in the problems of the rest of the world; we are intensely interested in them and hope to be allowed to assist in finding solutions to them through this organization, but being human we are naturally concerned first with what affects "our immediate neighborhood".[xxxviii]

The concentric circles may be traced to the UN acceptance speech. The practicably of the speech due in the context of the nation's political geography found expressions in her initiatives in the formation of the ECOWAS in 1975, the ECOMOG in the 1990s and her paternalistic participation in OAU, now AU and speaking for the continent in the UN and the Commonwealth of nations, among

other platforms.[xxxix] All these, The Gambia is an active member exception of the Commonwealth of Nations which it was withdrawn in 2013 president Yahyah Jammeh.

Geo-strategically, except for The Gambia which is entirely situated in the Gambia River basin, all other countries from Senegal in the West to Nigeria in the East are completely located in the remaining part of West Coast.[xl]The West Coast therefore, provides the links binding the two together. As leading hegemonic local actor in the sub-region, General Ibrahim Babangida retired, first suggested the establishment of ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee in 1990 that was to lead to the formation of ECOMOG after the endorsement of the ECOWAS Chairman, President Dauda Jawara of the Gambia.[xli] The approval showcases good relations between the duos and an indicator that they were interested in salvaging the Liberia crisis. The said ECOMOG comprises of the contingents from Ghana, Guinea, The Gambia, Nigeria and Sierra-Leone. Still on the geo-political sphere, one of the earliest political pressure groups and associations in the sub-region known as the National Council of British West Africa (NCBWA) funded in the 1920s drew nationalists from both Nigeria, Gold Coast now Ghana, The Gambia and Sierra-Leone.[xlii] The West African Student Union (WASU) founded about the same period too drew students across states of the sub- region. These among other instances are fundamental test cases of how political geography continued to condition Nigeria-The Gambia relations which appear to be in a natural direction.

Secondly, there exists religious and cultural angle of the relations. The distribution of Islam, Christianity, Traditional religion and culture of the sub-region states unified the Soninke, the Malinke, the Mamdinka (Mandigos), the Hausa/Fulani, the Kanuri, the Bambara, Jola, the Tukulor, the Igbo, Yoruba, among others.. It is estimated that in The Gambia, 90 per cent of the population are Muslims, 9 per cent are Christians and 1 per cent adherent of traditional belief.[xliii] While in Nigeria, it is estimated 50 per cent are Muslims, 40 per cent Christians and 10 per cent adherents of traditional religions and others with no religion at all.[xliv] While this may be true, the concern of the chapter is not to establish the religion with the highest adherents, but to demonstrate the geographical spread of the religions and ethnic bonding in the sub-region. The adherents of various religion, ethnic and

cultural groups in Nigeria and The Gambia always meet in Festivals of Arts and Culture (FESTACs). Delegates from Nigeria and The Gambia met in 1966 the first African Negro black festival was held at Dakar, Senegal which Professor Wole Soyinka was at attendance. In the 1977 edition held in Lagos and the 2010 edition held in Senegal, Nigerians attended alongside with others.[xlv] Similarly, the two countries had participated alongside other African states in the British Commonwealth and Olympics games.[xlvi] In short, the Christian Churches of Nigerian origin such as the Assemblies of God Church, Deeper Christian Life Ministry and Redeemed Christian Church of God are found in The Gambia.[xlvii] These among others are indications of religious and cultural intercourse between Nigeria and The Gambia.

Thirdly, migration forms another pattern of the Nigeria and The Gambia international relations. As far back at 1796 to 1797, Mongo Park had described the Senegambia region as a place of great resort [xlviii]underscoring it as melting pot for diverse groups before the advent of European colonial rule. Nigeria was also point of such great destinations to many from the earliest times. The Bathurst now Banjul, Freetown and Badagry, Lagos assumed similar position and played similar role for migrants since the end of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade in the famous British Empire.[xlix] While there are over 50,000 Nigerians in The Gambia, over 6,000 Gambians residing in Nigeria.[l] On the official visits, at the graduation ceremony of the first set of Medical Science students of the University of Ife, now Obafemi Awolowo University in 1978, during the regime of General Olusegun Obasanjo retired, Dauda Jawara of The Gambia was at attendance[li] and in the late 1980s, the leaders of The Gambia alongside with Cape-Verde, Ghana, and Niger honoured the invitations of General Ibrahim Babangida and visited Nigeria.[lii] The presence of The Gambia nationals and Nigerians in The Gambia shows that the relation between the two has continued to maintain progressive trajectory. This is underpinned by tangible and intangible links and the economic conditioning that serves as centripetal and centrifugal forces in the duo of Nigeria and The Gambia. Fourthly, technical assistances form aspect of the relations. As a weaker country compared to Nigeria, but still partner in progress, The Gambia has benefited from Nigeria over the years. In the 1990s, Nigeria's Col. Abubakar Dada was sent by General Ibrahim Babangida to help established an army for the Gambia.[liii] This was because the army had not yet undergone the Gambianization process. In 1996,

during General Sani Abacha's government, team of five technical experts went to The Gambia to establish the Gambia National Youth Service (GNYSS). This is against the background of the findings that Nigeria's NYSC Scheme was was the best organized national youth service in the world.[liv] More so, in 2000 Nigerian Judges were sent to act as ad-hoc justices of The Gambia Supreme Court constructed in 1997 to substitutes the Judicial Privy Council of the United Kingdom. They served for eight years. The Gambia University established in 1998 received supports from Nigeria and even its first Vice-Chancellor, was the late Prof. Donald E.U. Ekong of the University of Calabar who served up to 2004. The University has maintained beneficial relations with the Obafemi Awolowo University of Nigeria over the years. On disaster sphere, the Nigerian National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) in 2012 made donations to The Gambia as a result of the flood of the said year. In summary, between 1987 and 2004, 364 professionals in the academics, health and engineering, among others served in The Gambia through Technical Aid Corps.[lv] The nation's Immigration Service through Nigerian support. As noted, all the assistances are anchored on the idea of the older brother helping the younger one.

Five, in the area of military relations what is defined today as Nigerian army before the Nigerianisation of the military in the 1960s was part of the larger British West African Army known as the Royal West African Frontiers Force (RWAFF) that was made up of the armies of The Gambia, Gold (Ghana), Nigeria and Sierra-Leone.[lvi] During the World War II, Nigeria, The Gambia, Ghana and Sierra-Leone provided 167,000 that was divided into seven brigades of which Nigeria formed three; two Gold Coast's and one each for The Gambia and Sierra-Leone.[lvii] Since independence, The Gambia and Nigerian armies jointly participated in peace keeping operations in Liberia, Sierra-Leone, Sudan, and Somalia among others, under the umbrellas of the ECOWAS, OAU (now AU) and UN missions. In 2003, when Nigeria participated in the UN Mission in Liberia, she was left to lift its troop and those of The Gambia and Guinea for the ECOMOG operations in the Monrovia.[lviii] In March 2009, President Musa Yar'Adua of Nigeria the then ECOWAS Chairman sent ECOWAS Ministerial delegation of the representatives of the Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, The Gambia, and Senegal to Guinea Bissau to mediate in the crisis following the assassination of President Joao Bernado Nino Vera of Guinea Bissau and his Chief of Defence Staff, General Tagne Na Weie by

renegade soldier.[lix] It is already noted that the ECOMOG was the brain child of General Ibrahim Babangida retired, and Dauda Jawara of The Gambia. Nigerian military personnel has served as the second in command in The Gambia army,[lx] which has remained one of the reasons for the 1994 Gambia military *coup d' etat* that brought Lieutenant Yahya Jammeh, which never frozen relations.

Sixth, the economic relation between Nigeria and The Gambia got boost consequent upon epic decline in the historical economic significance of Britain after the Second World War and years after The Gambia independence. The Gambia turned to France, Germany, Switzerland, Japan and Arabs for economic aid. Following the cessation of the western aid as a result of the 1994 *coup d' etat*, The Gambia turned to Taiwan, Libya, Cuba and Nigeria for economic support.[lxi] Presently, of the twelve or so Banks operating in The Gambia, six are Nigerian origins.[lxii] The banks are namely; Access Bank, Eco Bank, First Bank and Zenith Bank, which apart from other services gives employments to The Gambia people. Three Nigeria's insurance companies have also being operating in The Gambia. Between 1980 and 1990s, the government of Nigeria under Ibrahim Babangida gave enormous support to joint venture projects with nation states such as Benin, The Gambia and Sierra-Leone.[lxiii] Still on the economy, the adoption of ECOWAS travel document remain a significant step towards the removal of tariffs and non-tariff barriers to trading relations among West African sub-region states and Nigeria and The Gambia are signatory to the idea of single currency in the region both in the treaty of Lagos in May, 1975 establishing the ECOWAS and the 1991 July treaty establishing monetary union.[lxiv] It may be recalled trading relations in the region date to the era of the trans-Saharan trade as when single currency in form of cloth, metal, and gold were used in the region. By the time of the colonial regime the British West African pound was used in The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra-Leone and the British Cameroun until the countries acquired independent status which was to lead to the establishments of national currency issuing banks.[lxv]

Seven, consequent upon their political independence both countries established diplomatic or consular missions with one another, further to the provisions of the 18 April 1961 Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations. It may be recalled; nations from ancient times recognized the status of diplomatic agents. This was

accepted by the UN Charter's principles on the sovereign equality of states, maintenance of international peace and security, and the promotion of friendly relations among nations.[lxvi] While Nigeria's High Commission is in Banjul, The Gambia's is in Abuja respectively. Over the years Nigeria, has used international organizations such as ECOWAS, OAU (now AU), UN, Common wealth of Nations, OPEC, Non Aligned Movements among others, as planks of multilateral diplomacy in fighting for African interests. Nigeria with the tactical supports of the defunct OAU (AU) and in collaboration with Togo established the ECOWAS in 1975, which The Gambia has benefited along with other members states. To safeguard the dignity of the black man all over the world, Nigeria at the then OAU summit in 1981, succeeded in persuading all the member states to adopt the charter on human and people's rights.[lxvii] Like other black nation states, The Gambia benefited. Through the Commonwealth, Nigeria succeeded in making international community and some African states to isolate South Africa. In 1986, Nigeria made The Gambia and some African states to stay away from the Commonwealth game in Edinburg in the protest against the participation of the apartheid South Africa.[lxviii] Bolaji Akinyemi captures Nigeria's commitment to the fight against apartheid thus:

> … It is the duty of not only the Government but of all the people of Nigeria-as indeed that of every black man the world over-to continue to support the diplomatic, economic and cultural isolation of South Africa until that country abandons racial discrimination: until that government treats the black man in South Africa as a full citizen of the country of his birth.[lxix]

In short, the same commitment made General Yakubu Gowon disallowed the International Press Institute to hold its General Assembly meeting in Lagos with South African participation. Also, Nigeria refused to issue entry Visas to South African Journalists and at the end IPI was forced to shift its venue to Europe.[lxx] In November 2010, The Gambia severe diplomatic ties with Iran, consequent upon the seizure of suspicious arms shipment in Nigeria.[lxxi]

It may be interesting to recall the ECOWAS's 13th Heads of Sates Annual meeting held in Banjul, the headquarters of The Gambia established the Standing Mediation Committee consummated in the deployment of ECOMOG troops to

Liberia. In 2005, President Obasanjo spearheaded the move that stopped Lieutenant Yahya Jammeh from becoming the Chairman of ECOWAS.[lxxii] Most recently, on the 13th December 2016, President Muhammadu Buhari, together with Sir Leaf Johnson (the chairperson of ECOWAS and President of Liberia), John Mahama of Ghana, the President of Sierra-Leone with other international delegates visited The Gambia to persuade Yahya Jammeh to hand over power to Adama Barrow in the elections he conceded defeat and congratulated his challenger, but later rejected the results.[lxxiii] As result of Jammeh's obstinate to hand over power, The Gambia case top the 50th ECOWAS Annual summit held in Abuja on the 17th of December, 2016.[lxxiv] The question that may be raised at this juncture is what was Nigeria's motive in the engagement and its implications of her multilateral diplomacy? Though the answers to these are explicit from the foregoing analysis, Joy Ogwu cited in Ogbu summarily captures it thus:

> Fuelled by African nationalism, Nigeria's diplomacy and participation in numerous international organizations was in turn conditioned by a desire to achieve ascendency to a better position in the international arena to further its own interests and larger African interests… Because of its size and population of over a quarter of Africa, its rich natural resources and economic potential, it was considerably easy for Nigeria to thrust itself into a prestigious position and be accepted as a rising power in the multilateral sphere.[lxxv]

In summary, Nigeria consistently lent her voice to ECOWAS, OAU (AU), UN, Commonwealth, OPEC, Non Aligned Movements (NAM) etc, on issues that would benefit her, her immediate neighbours, which The Gambia is one and other African states at large. After this, comes the question of her gains in her Afrocentric foreign policy stand over the years. This the remaining segment of the chapter shall address particularly within the context of The Gambia and Nigeria relations.

Reciprocity in Nigeria and The Gambia External Relations

It is noted in the chapter, reciprocity in Nigeria's foreign relations is traced to Akinyemi's years from 1985 to 1987. This is wrapped in his idea of "projecting strength and demanding or commanding respect."[lxxvi] The argument is that Nigeria has responsibilities towards Africa, especially her immediate neighbour, but

African countries equally have responsibilities towards her. Thus, African states must identify and defend Nigeria's interest in international forum in the same way Nigeria has assisted them in diverse areas. This is what is refers to the diplomacy and relations of consequence. A situation where by if a nation is nice to Nigeria, Nigeria will be nice to her. On this note, Ogunsanwo cited in Alli, painfully notes that Sierra-Leone that have gained so much from Nigeria during her recent civil war was the country that blocked ECOWAS from taking a unique stand in favour of Nigeria's candidacy for a UN Security Council's Permanent Seat.[lxxvii]

Taking clue from the Sierra-Leone, the chapter seeks to establish The Gambia support towards Nigeria in reciprocating her contributions to its national development. As observed, the Gambian presidents in the 1970s and 1990s honoured the invitations of Nigeria's presidents and visited the country. When Nigeria squandered her international goodwill because of human rights abuse, and was tagged the "pariah and rogue nation" under General Sani Abacha, she enjoyed considerably warm relations with The Gambia Yahya Jammeh.[lxxviii] Esther John Audu, a High Commissioner to The Gambia during Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's administration outlined the following as reciprocations to Nigeria:

a. That Nigeria government has not left The Gambia, and The Gambia has always been there for Nigeria;
b. That The Gambia voted for Nigeria's candidate to be elected in to the UN security council;
c. That when Nigeria wanted a commissioner seat at the AU, The Gambia voted for her; and
d. That real estate companies from The Gambia has invested in River state and Abuja by building houses.[lxxix]

Dauda Adewusi Osho, framed The Gambia's pay back to Nigeria in the following words:

> I have been in The Gambia since 1995. The Gambia is a place to live. When it comes to peace, they are one hundred per cent; if you do not know peace and have peace in your land come to The Gambia. The blood in their vein is peace. They appreciate Nigeria and do not disturb us. What is more than somebody not disturbing a foreigner in his own native land.[lxxx]

While this commendable, the peaceful disposition of the people of The Gambia might be fundamental properties of the lack of oil mineral resources and precious stones such as diamond and gold known to have caused crisis in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa. It may be angle be argued the people have no so much to fight over compared to Nigeria where resource agitations and controversies has toughen the character of an average Nigerian.[lxxxi]

Be that as it may, reciprocity is not a one way traffic phenomenon, because countries weigh differently on diplomatic balance. Two ways to reciprocity as argued by Ambassador Oluwasegun Ibidapo-Obe; are "material and manpower" angle.[lxxxii] The material angle is power derived from economic resources which The Gambia do not possess, and the manpower handle deal with political power or influence which the state of The Gambia like any other nation state possesses. Furthermore, he buttresses Esther's observation to thus:

> Nigeria has been a donor country to The Gambia. What Nigeria wants is The Gambia continual votes for her candidate each time the need arises at the AU, ECOWAS, UN, ILO, among others, and this has been working to a greater extent. Through The Gambia, Nigeria should be able to secure vote from Senegal and even Mali since the two are close neighbour and have good relationship, because politics is all about influence.[lxxxiii]

The Gambian High Commissioner, Amadou Sheikh Omar Taal , on the other hands, note thus:

> The Gambia and Nigeria relations are extremely good. The two countries are working closely both at the bilateral and multilateral level. We have reached a point today that has never been achieved before. Our relationship is the best so far.[lxxxiv]

These observations reveal the nature of the relations and reactions to it, which appear commendable. In fact, Nigeria played a leading role in restoring peace to The Gambia during and after the political impasse caused by Yahya Jammeh in 2016. It had played similar role in several African States. The favourable response to Nigeria as showcased in NYSC and GNYSS relations is commendable too. It was expected Yahya Jammeh would peacefully handed over power to Adama

Barrow as a result of Nigeria's constant diplomatic plea under the umbrellas of the ECOWAS and AU and considering her noble role in the development of The Gambia.

Conclusion

By a way of conclusion, three epochs (the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial) are discernible in the history of the areas now defined as Nigeria and The Gambia, underscoring the distance nature of the relations. In other words, it discovers the fifty one years of Nigeria-The Gambia relations under review as fundamental progression of centuries of networks developed in the corner of the West Africa sub-region. The dynamics of the relations renders absence of inter-states relations in Africa's dim past portrayed in colonial historiography suspect. The paper further notes that European colonialism disrupted relations in Africa following the disturbance of the balance of power in Europe. This has been largely repaired and sustained till date. However, the concern of this study is not so much with the pre-colonial and colonial developments, but post-colonial relations underpinned by elements of geopolitics, religion, culture, migration, technical assistance, military operations, economy and diplomacy. Given the over half a century or so Nigeria's contribution to the national development of The Gambia, the study concludes by charging her do more, since to whom much was given, more is expected in returns. Other African countries too, are charged to take necessary clue from The Gambia to paying Nigeria in a good coin. It is only on this premise Nigeria's continual supports to her and other African States would make meaning in the age of diplomacy of consequence.

Endnotes

[i] G O.Odeh, *Nigeria NYSC and The Gambia NYSS: Narrative of Founding, Partnership and Reciprocity in the 20th and 21st Centuries*, Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2021, p.1.

[ii] S. Burchil and A. Linklater, "Introduction" in *Theories of International Relations.* S. Burchill Etal, UK: Palgrave Macmillan; 1996, P. 6. C. Enuka, Meanings of International Relations: *Lecture Note HIS 763: Advanced Studies International Relations*, Awka: Nnamdi Azikiwe University. P.3.

[iii] S.O. Akinboye and F.O. Ottoh, *A Systematic Approach to International Relations*. Lagos: Concept Publications Ltd, 2005, P. 26.

[iv] V.B.E. Abia, *Contemporary Issues in International Relation.*. Lagos: Concept Publications Ltd, 2000, P. 12.

[v] G.O. Umozurike, *Introduction to International Law*. Third Edition. A. Aguda (ed), Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd, 1993, Pp. 6-9.

[vi] H.J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: Struggle for Power and Peace.* Sixth Edition Revised by KTN. Thompson. New Delhi: KaLyani Publishers, 2012, P. 294.

[vii] S.O. Akinboye etal, *A Systematic Approach to International Relations.* P.17.

[viii] V.B.E. Abia, *Contemporary Issues in International Relations. P*. 14.

[ix] C. Enuka, *Meanings of International Relations*… P. 1.

[x] C. Enuka, *Meanings of International Relations*… P. 2.

[xi] J.B. Webster, " Political Activity in British West Africa, 1900-1940" In *History of West Africa.* Vol. II, J.F.A. Ajayi & M. Crowther (eds), London: Longman, 1984, P. 580.

[xii] S.O. Akinboye, "Nigerian Foreign Policy" in *Elements of Politics*. R. Anifowose and F. Enemuo (eds), Lagos: Sam Iroanusi Publications, 2008, p. 365-366

[xiii] M.L. Arabu, A. History of Nigeria – Niger Relations: 1903-1993. A Thesis submitted to the Postgraduate School, Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto, Nigeria in fulfillment for the Requirement of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (History) October, 2015, pp. 58-59.

[xiv] S.O. Akinboye, "Nigeria Foreign Policy" in *Elements of Politics*. p. 366.

[xv] V.B.E Abia, *Contemporary Issues in International Relations*. Lagos: Concept publications, 2000 P.19.

[xvi] Akinbobola, "International Relations" in *Elements of Politics*. P. 331.

[xvii] A.G. Tyoyila, I.E> Uzoma and I.G. Yina, "Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: A Relational Analysis" Vuna Journal of History, International. A Peer Reviewed Journal. Vol. 2, No. 2. T. Ayemga (ed), Dept. of History and International Relations, Veritas University, Abuja Nigeria. 2015, P. 202.

[xviii] A. Ogunsanwo, "Citizen Diplomacy: Challenges for Nigeria's Foreign Policy" in Citizen Diplomacy. O.C. Eze (ed), Lagos: The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 2009, P. 20.

[xix] O. Agbu, "Nigerian Foreign Policy Under President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua" Challenges and Prospects" in Citizen Diplomacy O.C.Eze (ed). Pp. 52-53.

[xx] K.S. Fage, "The Technical Aid Corps Scheme as an Instrument of Nigeria's Foreign Policy" in Perspective on Nigeria's National Politics and External relations: Essays in Honour of Professor A. Bolaji Akinyemi. T.A. Imobighe & W.O. Alli (eds), Ibadan: University Press, 2012, P. 203.

[xxi] K.S. Fage, "The Technical Aid Corps Scheme as an Instrument of Nigeria's Foreign Policy P. 209.

[xxii] B.E.B. Nwoke, "Population Census and Rural-Urban Migration in Nigeria: The Public Health Implications" in Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Vol. 25, E.U. Uchendu (ed,). Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2016, P.22.

[xxiii] G. Tyldum, The Social meaning of Migration. A PhD Thesis, Dept. of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo, 2015, P.8. At: http://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/48707/PhD-Tyldum-Duo.pdf?Sequence=1.

[xxiv] O.D. Oche, The Second Wave: Contemporary African Migration and the Diaspora African. A paper presented at the International Conference University of Jos, October, 1998, P. 14.

[xxv] M.I. Jhingan, International Economics. 5th Revised and Enlarged Edition. New Delhi: Vrinda Publications Ltd, 2007, P. 462.

[xxvi] G.K. Randhawa, Foreign Aid in Development at: Www.Researchgatemanuscripts.Com/Society/2012/38.Pdf. M.I.Jhingan, International Economics. Pp. 465-467

[xxvii] A. Ogunsanwo, "Challenges and Prospects of Nigeria's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century" in *Perspectives on Nigeria's National Politics and External Relations: Essays in Honour of Professor A. Bolaji Akinyemi.* T.A. Imobighe and W.O. Alli (eds), Ibadan: University Press Plc, 2012, P. 117.

[xxviii] A. Akparu-Aja, " Nigeria in the West African Sub-Region" in *Nigeria: A People United, A Future Assured, A Compendium.* Vol. 1. H.I. Ajaegbu (eds). Calabar: Gabumo Publishing, 2000, P. 487.

[xxix] W.A. Fawole, *Nigeria's External Relations and Foreign Policy Under Military Rule (1966-1999).* Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press, 2003, Pp. 38-39.

[xxx] G. Umoden, *The Babangida Years.* Lagos: Gabumo 1992, P. 188.

[xxxi] O.E. Uya, *African Diaspora and The Black Experience in New World Slavery.* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing, 1987, P. 17.

[xxxii] O.O. Okpeh Jr, *Lecture Note on HIS 428: Nigerian Urban History.* Department of History, Benue State University, Makurdi, 2007.

[xxxiii] T.M. Shaw, "The Actors in African International Politics" in *The Politics of Africa: Dependence and Development.* T.M. Shaw and K.A. Heard (eds), Longman & Dalhousie University Press; 1979, Pp. 367-368.

[xxxiv] For detail discussion of the Nigeria-The Gambia traditional relations, read: G O.Odeh, Notes on Relations between Nigeria and Gambia before the 20th Century" in *Africa Update, African Studies,* Vol. XXV, Issue (Spring 2018). G. Emeagwali (ed). A publication of the Department of History, Central Connecticut State University, USA.Available at: https:// www2.ccsu.edu/africaupdate/?article=276, 2-8.

[xxxv] G.O. Odeh, *The 1914 Amalgamation of Nigeria as a Precursor to Integration as a Crossroads: One Hundred Years After.* P. 24.

[xxxvi] J.C. Johari, *International Relations and Politics: Theoretical Perspectives in the Post-Cold War Era.* New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 2014, P. 286.

[xxxvii]B.V. Rao, *World History*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 2003, P. 6.

[xxxviii] W.A. Fawole, *Nigeria's External Relations and Foreign Policy under Military Rule*. P. 39.

[xxxix] W.A. Fawole, *Nigeria's External Relations and Foreign Policy under Military Rule*. P. 39.

[xl] Interaction with Vice Admiral Murtala Hamman-Yero Nyako. See also, *The West Coast, Excluding the Gambia River and Volta basins*, https://www.fao.org.

[xli] W.A. Fawole, *Nigeria's External Relations and Foreign Policy under Military Rule*. Pp. 157-158. C. Enuka, *Conflict and Peace Keeping in Africa: The West African Peace Keeping Initiative 1990-1997*. Awka: Arise and Shine Press, 2015, Pp. 132-133.

[xlii] E.E.G. Iweribor " Trends and Patterns in African Nationalism" in *The End of Colonial Rule in Africa: Nationalism and Decolonization.* T. Falola (ed), Durham, North Carolina, Carolina Academic Press, 2002, P. 9.

[xliii] G O. Odeh, "Religious Tolerance in The Gambia, 1965-2016: Lessons for Nigeria*"* in *Islamic University Multidisciplinary Journal (IUM), Uganda,3(1),2020.* At: https://iuiu.ac.ug. Online ISSN: 26176513; Print ISSN: 24090263, pp.70-82.

[xliv] G O. Odeh, "Religious Tolerance in The Gambia, 1965-2016: Lessons for Nigeria*"*. Nigeria-Religions at: www.nationsencyclopedia.com/africa/nigeria-religions.html. 26/12/2016.

[xlv] A.A. Secka and H. Cessay, *Drama and Theatre in The Gambia at the Point*.gm/Africa/gambia/article/drama-and-theatre-in-the-gambia 23/12/2016. A Monroe, FESTAC 77- The Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture: Lagos, Nigeria Taylor & Francis Ltd; 1977, retrieved 24/12/2016. www.jst-or.org/stable/4166961?

[xlvi] M. Mbye, c.50 years, Director of Planning/ and Deputy Permanent Secretary Ministry of Youth and Sports; Interviewed at The Quadrangle, Banjul, 30th August, 2018.

[xlvii] Z. Kela, , Second Secretary/ Head of Chancery, Nigerian High Commission; Interviewed at Banjul, 28th August, 2018.

[xlviii] B.O. Oloruntimehim "The Western Sandan and the Coming of French, 1800-1893" in *History of West Africa.* Pp. 346-347.

[xlix] D A. Osho, c.54 years, Managing Director Salami Enterprises and Chairman, Council of Elder Yoruba Community; Interviewed at Serrekunda, The Gambia, 27th August, 2018.

[l] G O. Odeh, *Nigeria NYSC''s Role in the Founding of The Gambia National Youth Service, 1996-2004.* A PhD Dissertation, Department of History and International In studies, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka,2019, p.72. See also A. Jallow, *The Gambia: Nigeria High Commission Celebrates the Country's 55th Independence* at: www.allafrica.com.17/12/2016. C.O. Kebbe, The Gambia: Migration in Africa's ….Coast. at: migrationpolicy.org/articke/gambia-migration. 9/12/2016.

[li] T. Wuam, S.T. Otali and J. Oblikwu, (eds), "Obasanjo Second Era: An Introduction" in *Obasanjo Second Era, 1999-2007*. Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2011, P. 3.

[lii] G.Umoden, *The Babangida Years.* Lagos: Gabumo Publishing, 1992, P. 197.

[liii] G. Umoden, *The Babangida Years*. P. 212.

[liv] For detail, read, G O.Odeh, *Nigeria NYSC and The Gambia NYSS: Narrative of Founding, Partnership and Reciprocity in the 20th and 21st Centuries*.

[lv] G O. Odeh, "Nigeria's Technical Aid Corps Engagement in The Gambia, 1987-2012: A Neglected Aspect of Nigerian Foreign Relations", in *Culture & Nigeria's Foreign Relations in a Globalizing World* L O. Eriomala and S. Wapmuk (eds), National Institute for Cultural Orientation (NICO), Abuja, 2020, (ISBN: 978-0-9935781-9-9), pp.211-232. See also, J.A. Bamgbose, "Obasanjo's Foreign Policy. 1999-2007" in *Obasanjo Second Era.* P. 338. A. Jallow, *The Gambia: High Commission Celebrates the Country's 55th Independence*.

[lvi] A.A. Atofarati, *The Nigeria Civil War, Causes, Strategies and Lessons Learnt.* At: africanmasterweb.com/biafranwarcauses.html. Retrieved on 9/12/2016.

[lvii] K.O. Akurang-Parry, "Africa and World War II" in *The End of Colonial Rule in Africa*: *Nationalism and Decolonization.* P. 55.

[lviii] W.O. Alli, *The Role of Nigeria in Regional Security Policy.* Abuja: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftury West Africa, 2012. P. 54.

[lix] D. Omagu, "Globalization of Conflicts and Nigeria's Role in Peace Support Operations" in *Multilateralism, the United Nations and Nigeria in the 20th and 21st Century*. C.S. Orngu (eds), Makurdi: Gwatex Publishers, 2015, P.297.

[lx] A. Thomson, *An Introduction to African Politics.* Third Edition, London: Rout Edge, 2010, P. 140.

[lxi]*Country Profile 2014: Gambia Retreating into Isolation*. www.theafricareport.com/west/country-profile-2014-gambia.html. 21/12/2016.

[lxii] Z. Kela,, Interview. A Jallow, *The Gambia; Nigeria High Commission Celebrates the country's 55th Independence*…

[lxiii] G.Umoden, *The Babangida Years.* P. 197.

[lxiv] See G O. Odeh, *Nigeria NYSC''s Role in the Founding of The Gambia National Youth Service...*

[lxv] P.S.K. Harvey and M.J. Cushing, Is *West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) a Common Currency Area? Review of Development Finance*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2015. At:www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/p11/S1879933715000044. Retrieved 27/12/2016.

[lxvi] For details of this see the preamble to Annex I of 18 April 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

[lxvii] S.O. Ogbu, " Nigeria's Leading Role in the Elimination of Apartheid and Colonialism in Africa Through the OAU and the Commonwealth of Nations: Leadership by Example" in *Benue Valley J4ournal of Humanities.* Vol. 6. No. 1. A.M. Adejo (ed), Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2004, P. 4.

[lxviii] G O.Odeh, "Enhancing Nigeria's-South Africa Relations: History as a Panacea to Xenophobic Attacks on Nigerians" in *Nigerian Forum*, A Journal of World Affairs, Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), (40), 11, 2019,pp. 410-439.

[lxix] A.B. Akinyemi, "Nigerian Foreign Policy in 1975: National Interest Redefined" in Survey of Nigerian Affairs, 1975. O. Oyediran (ed), Ibadan: Published for NIIA by University Press Ltd in Association with Oxford University Press, 1978, P.107

[lxx] A.B. Akinyemi, "Nigerian Foreign Policy in 1975: National Interest Redefined" in Survey of Nigerian Affairs, 1975. P. 108.

[lxxi] Interaction with A. Jallow, First Secretary, The Gambia High Commission, Abuja.

[lxxii] S. Oshewolo, R.M. Oshewolo and J.S. Olanrewaju, "Nigeria's New Diplomatic Role in Africa: The Obasanjo Example" *POLAC International Journal of Humanities and Security Studies.* Maiden Edition. B. Ezonbi (ed), A Journal Publication of the Department of History and International Studies, Nigeria Police Academy, Wudil Kano, Jos: Eiwa Press, 2015, P. 210.

[lxxiii] G O.Odeh, "Nigeria-The Gambia Military Relations,1939-2016" in Labar: Journal of Military History & Peace Studies. A publication of the Department of History, Nigerian Army University, Biu, Volume 1.No.1, 2019, p.191.

[lxxiv] A. Sambo, *NTA News Report.* 17/12/2016.

[lxxv] S.O. Ogbu, "Nigeria's Leading Role"… P. 7.

[lxxvi] G. Umoden, *The Babangida Years*. P. 191.

[lxxvii] W.O. Alli, *The Role of Nigeria in Regional Security Policy*. P. 77.

[lxxviii] W.A. Fawole, *Nigeria's External Relations and Foreign Policy under Military Rule (1966-1999).* P. 33.

[lxxix] G O. Odeh, *Nigeria NYSC and The Gambia NYSS: Narrative of Founding, Partnership and Reciprocity in the 20th and 21st Centuries*, p.67.

[lxxx] D A. Osho, Interview.

[lxxxi] O. Ibidapo-Obe, c.58 years, Nigeria Higher Commissioner; Interviewed at Banjul, 30th August, 2018.

[lxxxii] O. Ibidapo-Obe, Interview.

[lxxxiii] O. Ibidapo-Obe, Interview.

[lxxxiv] A S O. Taal, c72 years, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of The Gambia to the Federal Republic of Nigeria; Interviewed at Abuja, 4th September, 2018.