## BILATERAL RELATIONS AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN WEST AFRICAN SUB REGION: THE CASE OF NIGERIA AND NIGER (2001 – 2005 )

By

## SA'ADATU ALIYU (ADM. NO: 1011202100)

NOVEMBER, 2015

#### **APPROVAL PAGE**

This is to certify that this project read and approved as having satisfied one of the requirements for the Award of Bachelor of Social Science Degree (BSc) in Political Science of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.

Dr. Yahaya Tanko Baba *Project Supervisor*  Date

Dr. Abdulmajid Alkali *Head of Department* 

Date

External Examiner

Date

#### DEDICATION

I dedicated this work to my parent Alhaji Hamisu Aliyu , Hajiya Mariya Aliyu and also to my caring husband Auwal Ahmad.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

All Praise be to Almighty Allah the most exalted and the most merciful, may peace and blessing of Allah be upon our noble prophet Muhammad (S.A.W), his household, his companions and all those who follow his steps up to the day of judgment.

Many people have been kind to me in the course of this research and on my academic pursuit in general, and I would like to thank them for the various efforts they put in this direction.

I therefore, express my profound gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Yahaya Tanko Baba who despite his numerous engagements took time to guide me through this research.

I acknowledge profoundly the moral and intellectual orientation I receive from all my lecturers in the department of political science.

I would like to put on record the invaluable assistance I received from my parents, my father Alh. Hamisu Aliyu, my mothers Hajiya Mariya Aliyu and Hajiya Hauwa'u Aliyu and also to my caring husband Auwal Ahmad may Almighty Allah (S.W.T) reward them abundantly.

My deep appreciation also extends to my sisters and brothers at home, my friends and classmates.

Finally, I appreciate profoundly the good company I enjoyed all my colleges in the school.

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
i									
Approval Page -		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ii									
Dedication		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
iii									
Acknowledgement -		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
iv									
Table of Content -		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
V									
CHAPTER ONE									
1.0 Introduction -		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1									
1.1 Research Proble	em ·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3									
1.2 Research Questi	ion ·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4									
1.3 Aims and Objec	ctives o	of the	Study	-	-	-	-	-	-
5									
1.4 Assumption of t	he Stu	dy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5									
1.5 Significance of	the Stu	ıdy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5									

1.6 Scope of the Study 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1.7 Methodology 7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1.8 Theoretical Framework 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1.9 Definition of Concepts 11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1.10 Scheme of Chapter - 11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CHAPTER TWO							
2.0 Review of related literatur 13	re	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.1 Brief Historical and Geog	raphic	al Bac	kgrou	nd of			
Nigeria and Niger Republ 17	ics	-	-	-	-	-	-
CHAPTER THREE							
Nigeria – Niger Relations							
3.0 Introduction 27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.1 Socio-Economic Relation 29	s -	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.2 Political Relations -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

3.3 Economic Re	elations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.4 Other Areas	of Rela	tion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.5 Obstacles of Bilateral Relation and Economic Cooperation									
Between Nig 47	eria and	d Niger	r Repu	blic	-	-	-	-	-
CHAPTER FOUR									
4.0 Summary 50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.1 Conclusion 51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.2 Recommenda 52	ation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bibliography 56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

#### **CHAPTER ONE**

#### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the contemporary settings, diplomatic relations among major nations have been the definina element of international relations. Therefore, nations states, no matter their degree and level of development and size depends on one another for survival. This is in view of the fact that in international politics, nations are in Island unto themselves or self sufficient. This need for economic, political cultural and other aspects of relationships becomes necessary and inevitable among nations irrespective of their size and geographical locations.

Equally nations, weak or strong, small or big aspires to be recognized in negotiation with other countries in order to protect their national interests. Hence the need for international, cooperation and mutual dependency among nations remain inevitable.

Nigeria and the Republic of Niger were colonial creation born out of series of negations, treaties and conquests by Britain

and France, in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The two countries share common land boundaries which stretches to over thousand kilometers. Both countries got their political independence from their respective colonial masters in 1960 and have since exchange diplomatic missions and entered into various bilateral relations which border on trade, industry, education, culture and politics with a view to furthering their respective national interests which are central to international relations.

It is an underlying fact that in the pursuit of international politics, there is no permanent interest. Whether interests being pursued by two countries are complementary, or the relationship is on interdependent basis, then the relation is likely to be good and enduring. But where interests clash, the relationship is likely to suffer because of geographical contiguity as well as similar historical background of both Nigeria and the Republic of Niger, it is expected that there are both tendencies for good relations between the two countries as well as strains depending on the manner in

which the leaders of two countries conduct their respective foreign relations.

This study therefore, examines the nature bilateral relations and economy cooperation between Nigeria and Niger Republic with the view to investigating the basis of this relations and cooperation and more precisely for explaining the prospects for broadening ties and cooperation between the two nations for general wellbeing of their citizens.

#### **1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM**

The research problem of this project stems from the way and manner Nigeria – Niger Relations have been carried out and maintained.

Some nations been great because of how they have established and been maintaining relations with other nations.

One could imagine how Niger will survive, given that the country has structural shortfall of foodstuffs depend on imports particularly from Nigeria. For instance, Nigeria and Niger Republic have over many decades maintain economic

cultural and political ties. This study however specifically focus mainly on the economic relations between these two sovereign nations.

relations Economic between Niger and Nigeria has contributed immensely in the development and improvement of these two economics as they share common frontiers in African sub-region. There exists the west trade of commodities between them, ranging from farm produce to manufactured goods respectively.

It is in view of the above that study investigates the nature of economic relations between Niger and Nigeria and how the pair together from 2001 – 2005.

#### **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION**

- 1. What are the bases for Nigeria Niger economic relations?
- 2. What are the primary objectives of the economic relationship between Nigeria and Niger?
- 3. How are these objectives being achieved?

#### **1.4 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

- 1. To examine the basis for the relationship between Nigeria and Niger?
- 2. To analyse the primary objectives of the relationship between Nigeria and Niger?
- 3. To determine whether those objectives are being achieved

#### **1.5 ASSUMPTION OF THE STUDY**

The study us based on the assumption that:-

- 1. Nigeria and Niger appreciate the needs for bilateral relationship to foster unity between the two countries.
- 2. Nigeria and Niger promotes and maintains a stable economic relations for development and prosperity.

#### **1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Since independence, Nigeria and Niger maintain stable economic relations with the view to improving the lives of their citizens. This has a great impact on the economy of two countries especially on the basis of their proximity (They share Border) as they maintains trade routes and economic exchange for trading goods and exchange of various resources. Despite this long existing economic relations between Nigeria and Niger, they are still yet to find a profound solutions towards sustaining and developing their economies specifically as intends to give an overview of Nigeria and Niger Relations from 2001 to 2005 with particular emphasis on factors that influence Nigeria – Niger economic relations either positively or negatively.

Fundamentally, the study is aimed at assessing the economic relations between Nigeria and Niger with the view to understand the positive and negative impacts of the relations. In addition how Nigeria and Niger economic relation can be improved especially to enhance the economic status of their citizens.

#### **1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

There are many aspects of relations that exist between Nigeria and Niger i.e economic, cultural political relations. This study will only cover the economic aspects of the relations between Nigeria and Niger.

This is perhaps because of the importance and benefits that could be derived from this relations to both Nigeria and

Niger and because economic relation is the major relation among the relationship between Nigeria and Niger.

This study will also cover the period of 2001 – 2005 as the limitation of the study.

#### **1.8 METHODOLOGY**

The research methodology gives the description of the various steps involved in carrying out a research to ensure the validity and reliability of the study. The research methodology this study is structured into; research design, population of the study, method of data collection, and document analysis.

#### 1.8.1 Research Design

Asika (1991), defines a research design as the structuring of investigation aimed at identifying variables and their relationships to one another designing a research is an assurance against failure. The research design is further viewed the framework or plan for a study that is used in collecting and analyzing a set of data.

It is the method of the research to use by the research to achieve the goal; the topic and variables to be studied determine the particular research design that would be applied in the course of the research. The descriptive analysis is suitable for this study and content analysis was the method of the research applied.

Content analysis as a method of investigation is adopted in this study. This involves reading meaning into materials that are collected for the purpose of achieving reliable and verifiable conclusion. A writer like Selltiz define content analysis as a research techniques for the objective, systematic and qualitative description of the manifest content of communication (Selltiz C, 1977)

Kelinger (1973) defined content analysis as the method of studying and analyzing the bilateral relation objective and qualitative manner for explaining variables. Since the study involved the analysis of some variable in written words and other documented materials.

#### **1.8.2** Population of the Study

According to Wimmer and Dominick (1987) define population in the context of research as the entire unit of analysis to be studied by the researcher in order to arrive at a conclusion. As Yusuf, (2011:46) identified in Kombo Tambo (2006:76) that population in academic research is all about a group of individuals, object or items from which samples are drawn taken for analysis.

In whatever, degree or way, population could be building, animals, materials and humans. In this note, bilateral relation and economic cooperation between Nigeria and Niger in West African sub-region will be study.

#### 1.8.3 Method of Data Collection

In this research work, secondary data is relevant in achieving the objectives of the research, the use of secondary source of data is the main method of data collection adopted in this research work, this method is adopted due to intrinsic values. The secondary source in this study includes material like; Newspapers, Magazines,

Textbooks, Internet, Journals Government Publication, official documents e.t.c which help me to gain An insight into the nature of bilateral relation and economic cooperation between the Nigeria and Niger in West African Sub-Region.

#### **1.8.4 DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS**

Data gathered from documents relevant to the study are analyzed, the document include those from text books, internet, journals, writings etc.

#### **1.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Theoretical framework gives direction to researchers. It is on the basis that linkages approach is chosen. The linkages approach, according to Prankel (1973:42), is one of the latest theoretical approaches to study of international politics linkages any recurrent sequences of behaviours that originates on system and reacted in another. It offers systematic tools of analysis for investigation of perennial problems of the next between domestic politics and the international political spheres as two system interaction.

The linkages theory is important in studying and explaining relationship between and among countries of the world. In

this wise, this theory will also be employed in explaining the economic relations that exist between Nigeria and Niger as the name of the theory implies.

#### **1.10 DEFINITION OF THE BASIC CONCEPTS**

For the very of this research, two concepts are frequently used. This include Bilateral Relation, economic cooperation and the concepts are this operationalized.

Bilateral Relation can be defined as the relationship between two independent nations, it could be cultural economic and political factors influence this relationship.

Economic cooperation is component of international cooperation that seeks to generate the condition neither to facilitate the processes of trade and financial integration in the international arena by implementing actions with purpose of obtaining actions with economic benefit in the medium and long-term.

#### **1.11SCHEME OF CHAPTERS**

Chapter one of this work focuses mainly on the introduction of the research and the basic concept, such as scope of the

study, significance of the study, objectives of the study, assumption of the study, theoretical framework and methodology.

Chapter two of this work is the literature review, the historical and geographical background of Nigeria and Niger Republic.

Chapter three of this work will look at the bilateral relationship in a economic way between Nigeria and Niger from period of 2001 – 2005.

Chapter four covers summary, conclusion and recommendations of this work.

#### **CHAPTER TWO**

#### 2.0 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A lot had been written on Nigeria-Niger relations, especially on trans-border cooperation reflecting the genesis and types of cooperation. Therefore this work will be on economic cooperation

Oniya (2001) brought out the area where Nigeria and Niger expand their relations in various fields especially through the activities of committee of expert on water resources along the border communities. He pointed out that as a result of those activities good neighborliness among border communities have been encouraged

William L. Hinjari (1993) argues that since the border communities of Nigeria and Niger Republic are socially, culturally and economically integrated, the situation call for deliberate policy on border relations by both governments which should be pursued at the national, state and local Government levels particularly those sharing the international boundary.

Kyari Tijjani (1993:76-87) on the other hand was more interested in the Kanuri community as regard Nigeria and Niger relations. His view was that modern international boundary which today separates Nigeria and Niger around Borno State has defied the history of culture of the people of According him the fact of economic the area. to interdependence among the people of this states, imposed ecology which render this differing cooperation upon between Niger and Nigeria imperative.

Barkindo's (1992) contribution focused on the relations between Kano people and Nigeria's region of Asibn(air) Maradi and Damagaran. What emergedfrom this is the fact that the forces which led to economic, political and cultural linkages between Kano and some of the region of Niger republic are still as strong if not stronger as they were centuries ago. This explain the failure of every attempt to control all these linkages through artificial barrier.

Inuwa (1993:56-62) discuss the evolution and implications on trans-border socio-economic activities of the Nigeria-Niger boundary convening was the years 1890-1906.

This area of covering was the Anglo French treaties of 1890, 1898m 1904 and 906.

Usman (1981:101-105) also contributed to the understanding of the historical relations among the people of Hausa state of katsina, Gobir and Zamfara tracing the facts of cultural relations overtime. His Historical discussion of the Hausa states between Nigeria and Niger is a twentieth century development.

Odili (1993:101-171) on the other hand, concentrated on trans-border crossing especially during environmental crisis and for informed planning. He discussed the history and reasons for Nigeria and Niger trans-border mobility. The most important reason pointed out by him is that of the existence of a feeling of one ness amongst the people across borders, which was nurtured by both physical and cultural homogeneity and affinity. He talks about what he referred to as three basic sets of "unknown" in the Nigeria-Niger transborder mobility when there is drought.

The technical difficulty, he pointed out of estimated the number of Niger nationals that come to Nigeria during

environmental crisis such as drought is enormous because that population drift is sudden. The difficulty is compounded by the porosity of the border, the personal information, lack of appreciation for government's need of such data, the traditional Africa concept of national boundaries and raised problems.

Mile's (1993:113-120) contributed to the literature on Nigeria-Niger border communities relations rested on two neighboring Hausa villages along the Nigeria-Niger boundary. The two villages are Yardaji inDaura emirate of katsina state (then kaduna state) and takuwa in magaji a local Government of Linder province the survey results indicated the following:

a. That the Hausa villages from the frontier do not place their ethnic identity (as Hausa) above their national one (as Nigerians).

b. They generally express greater for the non Hausa cocitizens than the foreign Hausa.

Hinjair (1993:152-167) dwell on the impact of international boundary on the political, social and economic relations of border communities taking katsina state as a case study. He concludes that Social, Political and economic relations of the border communities have implications for government policies at various levels. He argued lightly that the international boundary has not been clearly demarcated in many respects across the boundary. He further argued that, since the border communities of Nigeria and Niger Republic are socially, culturally and economically integrated, that situation call for deliberate policies on Border relations by both governments, such a policy should be pursued at the national states and local government's levels particularly those sharing international boundary.

# 2.1 BRIEF HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHCIAL BACKGROUND OF NIGERIA AND NIGER REPUBLICS

It is a truism that no country in the world is self sufficient. This fact among others underlies the necessity for

countries to relate with one another, Nigeria and Niger inclusive.

Nigeria and Niger were colonial creation during the Berlin conference of 1884 to 1885, the then European powers- Britain, France Germany, Spain and Portugal decided to partition the bulk of African among themselves. Thus from 1980's to the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the land that is now Nigeria and the land that is now known as Niger were systematically conquered by Britain and France respectively and each remind under colonial rule under until in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nigeria was granted political independence on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1960 while the Republic of Niger was granted its political independence on 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1960.

Nigeria and Niger are located between the two countries has a very long boundary covering over 1,000 kilometers, Nigeria-North of the boundary while Nigeria to the south.

#### NIGERIA

Nigeria is a federal constitutional republic comprising 36 states and federal capital Territory Abuja. Nigeria is located in west Africa and shares land border with Republic of Benin in western Chad and Cameroon in the eastern and Niger in the north, it's coast in the south lies on the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean.

Present day Nigeria has been the site of numerous kingdoms and tribal states spanning over a millennium. The modern states has it's origin in British colonization during the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the merging of the Nigeria southern Nigeria protectorate and Northern protectorate. During the colonial period, the British set up administrative and legal structure whilst retaining traditional chiefdoms. Nigeria achieved independence in 1960, but plunged into a two year civil war. Several years later, it has since alternated between democratically elected civilian government and military dictatorships, with it's 2011 presidential election being viewed as the first to be conducted reasonably freely and fairly. (Coleman, 1979)

Nigeria is often referred to as the Giant of Africa", its population and owina to large economy. With approximately 174 million inhabitants, Nigeria is the most populous country in African and the seventh most populous in the world. Nigeria has one of the largest populations of youth in the world. The country is inhabited by over 500 ethnic groups, of which the three largest are Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. Regarding religion, Nigeria is roughly divided in half between Christians, who live mostly in the southern and central parts of the country and Muslims, concentrated mostly in the Northern and southwestern regions. A minority of the population practice regions indigenous to Nigeria, such as those native to Igbo and Yoruba peoples.

Nigeria's climate is characterized by high temperatures (averaging 27°c to 24°c during the cool month of December and January). The mean annual rainfall in the south averages from 100 cm to 180 cm and decreases northwards, to as less as 50 cm. (Asiwaju A. I. 1989)

Nigeria relief and topography is generally characterized by plains and low plateau & under 1,500 Ft above 200 level

with the exception of the Jos plateau sand Adamawa mountains which rise to over 4,000 ft. the major rivers are the Niger and it's greatest tributary, the Benin, the River Niger flows from futa Djallon mountains in the republic of Guinea through the Republic of Mali, Niger, Nigeria into Atlantic ocean. Nigeria has a share in the Lake Chad together with Chad, Cameroon and Niger Republic. (Osagie E.S 1982)

Agriculture is the dominant occupation of Nigerians with over 60% population engaged in it. Crops grown include rice, millet, guinea corn, yam, maize, cassava, groundnuts, cotton, cocoa, palm oil, rubber etc. while the first six form the food crops, the last five form the export crops, animal rearing is also a n important occupation in the savannah land of the north especially among the fulanis.

Nigeria is blessed with minerals such as petroleum, uranium, tin, columbine coal limestone, iron ore and deposits of gold discovered in economical quantities. Manufacturing industries that specialize in textile material, pharmaceuticals, soft drinks, beer cement andvehicle

assembly plants are found mostly in Lagos (the former capital), Kano, Aba, Onitsha, Ibadan, Kaduna, Port Harcourt and Zaria.

#### NIGER

Niger republic is a west African country with a surface area of 1,267,000 KM2. It is a landlocked country and surrounded by seven (7) countries: Benin republic, Nigeria, Chad, Libya, Algeria, Mali and Burkina faso, it's name is derived from it's river (the word "Niger" means "the river of rivers" in berber) which crosses it along the extreme southwest for 550km. (Akinyem, 1978)

Physically in Niger republic is like a hole of plains which found from the south to the North where emerge the Air massifs in center and the djado in the northeast.

The physiognomy of the country depends strongly on rainfalls. In the Northern part which represents four over five (4/5) of the national territory, annual rainfalls are less than 300-600 mm of rainfalls is sahel area favorable to agricultural and breeding activities. Only a small part in the

southeast, between Dosso and Gaya can be considered as sudan savannah.

Niger republic is a multicultural and multilinguistic country. Eight (8) main local languages are spoken but the official language is French. That means that not more than 10% of the population can correctly speak French with the great majority ignoring the colonial language.

The official currency is the of affiance which is equal to 0.01 French after January 1994 devaluation. However the Nigeria official currency (the Naira) is very common and used all among the Nigeria-Niger border. (Bobbo, 2002)

The population of Nigeria republic as estimated at nine millions inhabitants (9,000,000) and 90% are concentrated in the one quarter (1/4) of the territory, especially in the southern part of the country. Population density various from 80 inhabitants 1km in the region of Maradi to less than 5 inhabitants per km2 in the desert zone. Niger republic is a crossroads between the "white" Northern African and "Black" Africa and has various ethnic groups.

The western part is essentially occupied by Zarma-Songhais (22%) a sedentary ethnic group that lives along the Niger River. This region is the far eastern part of the former GAO Empire created in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and defeated in the XVII 11<sup>TH</sup> century by Tuareg. Zarm-seaghals are traditionally known as warriors and their history is characterized by many wars against mossis, Tuareg and fulanis (especially those from sokoto and say in the south). The south east of the country in Torodi area is occupied by gourmantchesan ethnic group mostly found in Burkina faso.

The Hausa (53%) Mainly occupy the middle south. They are involved insedentary agricultural and trading activities. The Niger-Hausa people are living only in small area of the Hausa zone which main part goes along the Northern Nigeria. These people inherited plate tradition, they have able to gather other ethnic group without necessary using power. Hausa language is quite understood and used all over the Niger republic.

In the southeast many ethnic groups are living together. The important ethnic group is kanuri or beriberi's

(4%) whom are sedentary farmers are also found in Nigeria. Also Tubus are living in this region and they have their origin in Chad.

The desert zone is essentially Tuaregs area (11%) They are not the only ethnic group there, but they have strongly marked zone as they cannot claims being any other part of the country to other groups, they are living with such as the Arabs from Libya the hausas and fulanis. (Barkindo, 1991)

The Fulani (10%) are found all over the Niger territory. They are normal and breeders in the desert or semi-desert zone (especially the Bororos). They are sedentarized in the south. (Barkindo, 1991)

It seems therefore that no one could really identify a typical Niger ethnic group. Each ethnic groups is just the local and minor branch of the whole ethnic or linguistic group whose majority is established outside Niger republic borders. Such a situation can be explained by colonial delimitation of borders Niger is like a residual space" lately occupied by the French colonize.

Niger republic is one of the poorest countries in the world and is characterized by many handicap landlockness, the climatic regime depending on poor and irregular rainfall lack of national economic space aid an excessive population growth.

Niger is an agricultural and postural country, Agriculture and postural activity represent 40% + GDP and employ nearly 90% of the population. Only 12% it's surface area favorable to agricultural activities and are used for food production with millet sorghum as major crops. Groundnuts, are where were major economic resources of Niger after the second world war to late 1970's are now a marginal product in time of trade.

Niger is not an investor country. The major private enterprises are owned by foreigners. One of the most important features of the country economy is its fragility to be influenced by Nigeria economy.

#### **CHAPTER THREE**

# 3.1 BI-LATERAL RELATIONS AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN NIGERIA – NIGERIA IN WEST AFRICAN SUB-REGION (2001-2015)

Basically in the contemporary international system, diplomatic relations among nation the major defining element of information relations. In this manner therefore, nation-states matter their degree and no level of development and their size depend upon one another survival. This in view of the fact that in international politics , no nation is in Island unto itself or self sufficient economic, political, cultural and other aspect of relationships becomes necessary and in evitable among nations irrespective of their size and geographical location (Tunde adeniran, 1990).

Moreover, relationship among nation has become an inevitable task because of the realization of the fact that no nation can unilaterally rate the level of her development alone in a community of nations judging from the resource available in the and equally all nation, weak or strong, big or small aspires to be recognized and wants to negotiate with

other countries which they are in relations with to protect their mutual interests.

Hence, the need for interaction, co-operation and mutual dependence among nations for their benefit arises. In this chapter we tend to access the viability of bi-lateral relations and economic co-operation between the Nigeria and Niger in West African sub-region.

Nigeria and Niger Republic are currently working towards cementing all bi-lateral economic relations to boost the fortunes of both nations and the West African sub-region. To this end, this chapter engages crucial question or relevant of bi-lateral relations in the quest for mutual relations between Nigeria and Niger Republic

Nigeria and Niger joints commission (NNJC) was established to achieve the objectives of promote transit trade for greater economic integration of Land locked countries within African into international trade. Nigeria as a major player in the West African shipping business will continue to fulfill all relevant international and sub-regional obligation under various instrument to address the peculiar

need of land locked countries. Relation between Nigeria and Niger Republic covers many areas of human endeavours. These area of inter-relations include political, economic, education, cultural and social relations. It is there with antecedent that this chapter examined the actual bi-lateral relations transpiring and economic co-operation between Nigeria and Niger in the West African sub-region. (Asiwaju A.I, 1989)

#### **3.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL RELATIONS**

Closely related to historical relations are the cultural relations between the people of the two communities being in the same. Religion, language and kinship ties are important factors in foreign policy principles and practices.

Nigeria and the Republic of Niger are linked by religion, language, kinship and other cultural factors.

The population of the Republic of Niger is predominantly Muslims. Muslims form the largest religious group in Northern Nigeria and have substantial population in South- West Nigeria.

Therefore, the religion of Islam in a way, has linked Nigeria with the Republic of Niger. There is the belief by many political observers that the predominance of Muslims in Nigeria's politics is one of the reasons for the good relations between Nigeria and the Republic of Niger. Both Nigeria and the Republic of Niger are members of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (O.I.C.).

As Guy Martins (1989: 634) has observed, the Republic of Niger has close linguistic affinity with Northern Nigeria. Hausas form over 50 % of the population of Niger and are also the dominant ethnic group in Northern Nigeria.

Even the Djermas and the Kanuris that constitute about 25 % of the population of Niger are also found in Northern Nigeria.

Therefore, these linguistic ties undoubtedly facilitate the conduct of foreign relations between Nigeria and the Republic Niger.

It is these ties that have made France quite suspicious of Nigeria's influence on the Republic of Niger (Martins, 1989: 634).

Another socio-cultural aspect in Nigeria - Niger relations can be seen in the kinship ties between the inhabitants of the two countries especially those living at the border areas. Inter-marriages between the people of the two countries are very common as well as participation in common cultural festivals such as wrestling, sharo et cetera.

As David Collins observed in Asiwaju, (1984 : 195), cross - border social relations are made necessary on the basis not just of the broad fact of identical culture but even more by considerations of parental connections such as prevail almost everywhere in the linkage has continued to count as the most important social unit.

For example, it is believed that a former head of state of the Republic of Niger-President Ba'are Mainassara and the incumbent Major Dauda Mamman Wanke have their roots in Argungu Emirate of Kebbi State in Nigeria. Both leaders had at one time paid homage to the Emir of Argungu and were conferred with traditional titles.

These types of socio-cultural ties, no doubt, do have influence in the decision - making process of the respective

leaders as far as foreign policies are concerned. And this is likely one of the reasons why the Nigeria -Niger relations is adjudged to be good. Hammani Diori was quoted to have said: Nigeria and Niger are one family" (Legum, and Drysdale, 1975 : 545).

Similarly, President Kountche of Niger was quoted to have declared: "Nigeria and Niger are brothers" (Garba, 1987 : 180). Mamman Gao, a Hausa traditional musician from Niger Republic, likened Nigeria - Niger relations to that of eyes and nose when he said "Nijeriya da Nijar dai-dai siike. Abinda yat ta6a hand duka idanu ta ruwa sukai. Abinda yat taba Nijar lallai ku tabbata ta ya taba Nijeriya duka. Haka komit taba Nijeriya ya taba Nijar duka". The translation of the above lyric is that "Nigeria and Niger are the same. Whatever affects the nose also affects the eyes. Whatever affects Niger definitely affects Nigeria. Whatever affects Nigeria, also definitely affects the whole of Niger".

#### 3.3 POLITICAL RELATIONS

The political relations between Nigeria and Niger gained momentum towards the end of the colonial rule. Between 1956 and 1958, the only period in the history of Niger when multiple political parties operated, Djibo Bakary (known in Jibia) led a) political party known as Union Democratique Nigerian (UDN). Its ogan was SAWAABA Malam Aminu Kano's NEPU used the same slogan in first republic political campaign. In fact according to Barkindo (1993, 42-52) Djibo was very close to Malam Aminu Kano and other prominent members of the. NEPU and that the Sawaba party of Niger was actually formed in the house of Alhaji Adado in Fagge ward of Kano city (Nigeria). Not only that, Barkindo further pointed out that during the famous De-Guile referendum on the French community in 1950, Diibo Bakari came to Kano where 'he consulted the NEPU leadership on what stand to take. He was advised to declare separate independent for his country. The meeting also discussed possible merger of Nigeria and Niger after both had gained

independence it was because, of that Djibo Bakari opted for "NO" to French community.

This point is corroborated by Jibrin Ibrahim in an article "Democratic Translation Niger Republic who saw what the French did to secure 'Yes" votes was as a result of the fear that an indeendent isolated Niger would be swallowed by Nigeria. (Ibrahim 1993:54).

Today, it is not uncommon to see posters of presidential candidates of Niger in Nigeria and vice-verse. BBC reported it prior to 2007 election in Nigeria that the posters of PDP and ANPP as well as that of DPP presidential candidates were in high demand in Niger Republic. It is also common to see the poster of MNSD-Nassara candidate in Nigeria, particularly, 2005 presidential election in Niger. Similarly, playing of cassettes of political songs and praises for political candidates is a common feature in both countries.

The two nations are also at each others assistance with regard to democratization of both countries. This is because both countries have-similar political climate. For instance,

the two countries have experienced adamant military regimes, political exclusion and need for participation. Therefore, being neighbours they are conversant with each/others moves and program n towards democratization and consequently assist anaiesr from each other.

The membership of nations in international organizations such, as Economic community of West Afrionn states (ECOWAS), African Union (AU), United Nations organization, (UNO), New partnership- for African development (NEPAD) etc, enhances how they relate to each other politically. Niger's support Nigeria; for example for Obasanjo's candidature for the secretary to the United Nations in the 80s and also for the membership of Nigeria in the United nations Security Council in 2008 was a living testimonies the other hand, Nigeria has always supported Niger in both its internal and international political pursuits. The similarity of intention as regards succeeding one's self from military head of state to civilian head of state better know in Northern Nigeria and southern Niger as 'Tazarce' of late Sani Abacha of Nigeria and late Mainasara Ba'are of

Niger may be an indication of political consultations and cooperation between the two leaders in particular and between- Nigeria and Republic of Niger. In addition, the continuity or 'Tanzarce', scenario of .president Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria which was trout down by the National Assembly in 2007, was copied by the incumbent-president of Niger Republic, president Tanja Manmadu through his controversial referendum purported and third years drag confirmation which rightly Niger's political atmosphere in to rancor. This attracts criticisms and support in both Niger and Nigeria, and-consequently draw the attention of the international organizations such as-European Union (EU), economic community -of west African states (ECOWAS) World Bank and even the United state o<sup>;</sup> America and France in taking sanctions action against Niger or reversed to the constitutional fifth Republic and shone the purported sixth republic.

Another area of relevance in political relations between the two nations is the traditional political institution. Traditional institution is one of those institutions

that have encouraged -the maintenance of relations across the boundaries. Institution and survived the evils colonial rule on both side of the boundary.

The political' influence of traditional rulers is not only within their domains either in Niger or in Niger but cut across the border of the two countries. There exist a consultant linkage between them because many traditional а rulers in Niger believed that their original seat of power are in Nigeria while their counterparts believed that ruling presently only over a fraction of theirthev are subject in Nigeria and the rest' of their subjects are in Niger Republic. Political relations on both patterns of traditional institutions and democratic institutions, the two countries will continue to wax between stronger as a result of corning close to each other as is being dictated by state of affairs both in West-African sub-region and the international arena.

(Joseph. N. Garba, 1991)

Having examined the historical, cultural and political relations of the two nations, let us now examine the economic relations, which exist between them.

### **3.4 ECONOMIC RELATIONS**

Economic relations between the two countries have their genesis in the trans-sahara 'trade that led to the information of important market such as Damagaram in Niger and Kano in Nigeria. Indeed, there were trade relations between what is today refers to as Nigeria and Republic of Niger before colonization, iron ore, potash and salt were sent into Kano and Katsina from the North (Niger) and cotton, textiles and dyestuff was a major export to the North, while movement of grains promote the trade. This became a new pattern of trade later. (Joseph. N. Garba, 1991)

The sub-regional organization has given merchants and traders from both countries opportunity to freely engage in commercial activities (within the circle of the law of the two nations) in both countries. Nigeria is a

major market for Niger's live stock in ail seasons of the year especially during sallah and charismas similarly, it is a common knowledge that grains, such as millet and beans are transported into the Nigeria in large quantity from republic of Niger. Most of the beans available in Nigeria market is from Niger republic. (Hinjari, 1993)

The presence of open-air market, 'which operates on weekly basis, and presently the border markets, such as that of Dan-Issa and Maiadua in Katsina state allow the people of the two nations to commercially interact with" each other. So also the influence and activities of Igbo traders in Niger republic is a pointer to the economics existing between the people of the two relations countries. The economic integration will be difficult or even impossible without communication networks; it is because of this, the two government took a timely decisive action establish communication networks between the two countries. The following communication networks were established:

1. Konni - Sokoto neighbouring link

2. Maradi (Niger)- Katsina (Nigeria) telephone link of 12 circuits

3. Niamey – Kaduna - Lagos international link of 24 circuit with a circuit for telex.

4. A television link between Maradi microwaves and the station (NNTC, 2001:3:3) Even Katsina transmission though the economic relation tends to lie more heavily on the Nigeria side as a result of its economic advantage over Niger Republic, and that is why when Nigeria took an action of temporay closure of Jibia-Maradi border for five days, between 8 and 12 November, 2009, it become an attempt to penalized Maradi international market in particular and the economy of Niger Republic in general. But, fortunately after bilateral talks between the two countries the border was re-open by the Nigerian custom service after five days. The two nations would continue to economically relate with each other in the interest of their people in particular, and "the West African sub-region in general. The relations between the two nation is in

furtherance of their commitment to good neighborliness. (Barkindo, 1991). Trade between Nigeria and Niger has received a boost, following the inauguration of economic cooperation between the two countries. It is expected that by this bilateral arrangement the body will further promote trade facilitation and cooperation between business entities and both countries. The import and export trade relation have received a higher degree between the two countries.

Table 3.3.1 shows that from 1965 to 1967, Nigeria ranks third among the countries that Niger imports commodities and second from 1980 to 1982.

	Value of Export in Million U.S. Dollars							
Selected countries	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967		
UNITED STATES	0.2	0.1	0.1	.02	0.1	0.1		
United Kingdom	-	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4	-		
Japan	-	-	0.1	-	-	0.2		
France	8.1	13.9	13.5	14.2	19.1	17.5		
Ivory Coast	-	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.7	0.5		
Nigeria	3.8	3.5	5.1	6.4	6.1	5.3		
Senegal	-	0.2	0.7	0.2	-	-		
Total World Export	14.4	19.6	21.2	25.2	34.5	25.4		
Source: Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and								

Table 3.3.1: Niger's Export Figures (1962-1967)

Source:Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and<br/>DocumentsCander (1968-1969),<br/>Legom C.Legom C.Cander (1975).Drysdale, J., (London: Rex Collins,1975).

Table 3.3.2: Niger's Import (1965-1982)

Leading countries	1965	1970	1975	1980	1982
France	820.8ml = 53%	26.7ml = 53%	30.1ml = 30%	237.5ml= 39.1%	145ml=3 1.1%
Nigeria	0.6ml = 1.7%	0.8 ml =1.4%	2.3ml = 2.3%	70.8ml=1 1.6%	70ml=15 %
Ivory Coast	1.7ml = 4.6%	3.0ml = 5.2%	4.0ml = 4.0	20.1ml=3. 2%	29.5ml=6 .3%
Italy	0.5ml = 1.45%	0.8 ml = 1.4%	1.5 ml = 1.5%	47.1ml=7. 7%	8ml=1.7 %

**Source:** International Trade Statistics Year Books (in Africa Now, p. 1436).

The path newspaper of 20<sup>th</sup> December, 1998 reported that Nigeria and Niger has signed business pact which encompasses an agreement of chamber of commerce for promoting local businesses and setting up of a bank which would serve as an exchange bureau in order to curtail the problems of long process at the central bank.

There is also a lot of unrecorded trade in form of export of live cattle, camel and sheep to Nigeria by Niger Republic and import of foodstuff, fruits, manufactured consumer

goods and petroleum products from Nigeria by the Republic of Niger.

A visit by the writer in June 1998 to various markets in Niamey, Birnin Kouni. Dosso, Gaya and Birmin Gawure has shown that the bulk of the manufactured goods in those markets were Nigerian - made

Besides trade, Nigeria and Niger signed an agreement in January, 1972 in which the former would supply electric power to the latter. To date, the agreement has been honoured by Nigeria.

In July, 1972, Nigeria and Niger signed an agreement for the transportation and storage of goods from Niger much of which passes through Nigeria for exports (Leguni, and Drysdale, 1975 : B657). To date, the agreement has been honoured by Nigeria such that over half of Niger's exports and imports pass through Nigerian ports.

Nigeria and the Republic of Niger are also involved in joint economic ventures such as the Cement factory at Malbaza (Niger), Uranium mining at Aiasto-esl (Niger), iron ore at Say (Niger) and phosphates at Tahoua and Tapoa (Niger with the agreement that the iron ore and phosphate

are to feed the Ajaokuta Steel Complex (Nigeria) and Kaduna Fertiliser Factory (Nigeria) respectively (Olaniyan, 1986 : 145).

In the area of financial assistance, Nigeria has always been a friend in need to the Republic of Niger. For example in 1972, when the Republic of Niger was faced with famine caused by drought, Nigeria offered the country relief assistance to the tune of M345,105 (the value of Nigerian Naira was \$1.65) (Ogiinsanwo, 1979 : 40).

Nigeria also provides migrant labour to the citizens of the Republic of Niger. Hundreds of the citizens of the Republic of Niger troop to Nigeria daily as migrant labourers.

## **3.4.1 OTHER AREAS OF RELATIONS**

 Electricity: The supply of electricity to the Republic of Niger by the Federal Republic of Nigeria was based on an agreement on supply of electric power from Kanji dam (Niger) signed in January 1972 in Lagos between society Nigerienne Electricite (NIGELEC) Niger and National electric power Authority (NEPA)<sub>s</sub> now power Holding

company of Nigeria (P.H.C.N.) Nigeria satisfied in Niamey in 1992. Many cities in Niger enjoy electricity supply term Nigeria some of the cables which supply Niger with electricity, pass republic. The energy cooperation between the two countries has been consolidated and developed to the point Niger presently is from Nigeria (NN, 2001:3-2).

# 2. Agriculture And Water Resources

The semi rid physical environment of both countries makes it imperative to relate in matters of agriculture and water resources. For-example the presence of ground water is evident from existing perennial streams. Springs, lakes and ponds around Kware. Illela and Kalmalo. Evidentially, these water deposit have a high concentration calcium carbonate and are highly alkaline with a pH value of 7.4 to 8.6. This is not suitable for direct human consumption, a fact that forced some Illela (Nigeria) resident to look for alternative source of drinking water. Many people have gone as far as Birnin- Konni (Niger) where drinking water is treated. This in effect calls for trans-border co-operation on the

basis of shared geological environment. (Illiva, 1993:37-46). Apart from the river Niger that flows in both countries the two countries have also four (4) major basins common to then. They are the Maggia-Lamido, the Gulbin Maradi, River, Yobe Basins. Studies are made and a report title strategy for rational development of four basins common to Nigeria and Nigeria. It recommended for example the conveyance of water from the Zango dam in Niger into lake Kalmalo in Niger and conveyance of water to Niger from Jibiya dam in Nigeria and also the establishment of a data bank on water resources (NNTCCC, 2001: 3-4) other areas included control of desertification where the two countries prepared so programmes for densification control integrated countries the entire border area (11500km). Pest control is another areas of co-operation because migratory locusts do not know boundaries, that two have agreed to pool their resource in countries combating the menace of pest during planting season.

# 3.5 OBSTACLES OF BILATERAL RELATION AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN NIGERIA AND NIGER REPUBLIC

General speaking Nigeria-Niger relations could be described as cordial. There are nonetheless inevitable clash of interest which sometimes distribute the cordial relationship such as:

Explosion of Niger National From Nigeria in the second republic of Shehu Shagari nearly cause a friction between the two sister countries at the official level and among the citizens themselves. It proved difficult especially for the traditional rulers to implement that directive which came from the federal authorities.

Trans-border mobility or migration south-wards into Nigeria are another-problem. This was common in periods of crisis such as drought and other national disasters in Niger. The most recent ones or problems related to this issue of farmers/ Fulani frequent clashes and alleged ; robbery of Niger Republic which led to loss of lives and properties in Nigeria, and in cases the accusing finger is pointed to Niger nationals,

Another problem is that which relates to changing relative values of currency used in the two countries. The CFA used in Niger is convertible because it is used in many francophone nations. But the Naira on the other hard, is no co-ordinated with other currency as the CFA and is therefore always stand at the risk.

Another problem is that which relates to changing values of currency used in the two countries the CFA used in Niger is convertible because its used in many francophone nation between the naira on the other hand is not coordinated with other currency as the CFA is therefore always stand at the risk of using value in comparison to the CFA. This greatly affect the relationship when the idear or common currency for West African states materialized this problem which naturally disappeared. However, despite all the difficulties, there are advantages to be obtained by both Nigeria and Niger through interdependence in the spirit of new partnership in African development (NEPAD). From the above discussion we have- attempted in the chapter to point the historical, cultural, political, economics and

other relationship between the federal Republic of Nigeria Niger as foundation for enhancing of а our and relationship of understanding of the two borders communities. We have indeed review the relationship of the two countries and they were understood to be cordial though it poses some problems to the federal Republic of Nigeria more than it posses to Niger.

### **CHAPTER FOUR**

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

#### 4.1 SUMMARY

This research project comprises of four chapters; chapter one, two, three and four.

Chapter one comprises of introduction research problems, research question, Aims and Objectives of the study, assumption of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study, methodology, theoretical framework, definition of the basic concepts and finally scheme of chapters.

Chapter two comprises of review of related literature, brief historical and geographical background of Nigeria and Niger Republics.

Chapter three comprises the bilateral relations and economic cooperation between Nigeria and Niger in West African sub-region from 2001 – 2015.

Chapter four comprises of summary, conclusion, recommendation and bibliography.

#### 4.2 CONCLUSION

From our research findings, we can systematically deduce that the trade along international borders created a very strong opportunity for the development of the economies of the nations involved. New opportunities have available for traders and businessmen to make hay while the sunshine by engaging much in trading and of the response business activities. This can therefore be achieved through the increased investment in trade between Nigeria and Niger, along this border under study which in future time will improve the lots of these communities.

Indeed, that trade relations between Nigeria and Niger stands a better opportunity to encourage human activities on how to make both end meets and for the income generation for the nations. But from objective perspective, what is happening along the border represents the government's non challenge attitude to the development of the trade and the border communities as a whole.

The two countries need each other, Nigeria needs the support and cooperation of the Republic of Niger especially with respect to the issue of good neighbourliness, general security and in vying for elective offices in the ECOWAS, OAU, UNO, etc.

The Republic of Niger, on the other hand, depend to a great extent on Nigeria for the export and import of its commodities as well as supply of petroleum products, electricity, foodstuffs and supply of labour to its citizens who seasonally migrate to Nigeria. Nigeria is Niger's most important trading partner in Africa. The country also needs Nigeria's support in vying for elective offices in the common multilateral organizations they belong.

#### 4.3 **RECOMMENDATIONS**

Based on the study the following recommendations would assist in no small measure, towards sustaining and improving the Nigeria – Niger relation:

1. First and foremost, trade cannot effectively be successful without communication; the authorities

concerned therefore should provide effective means of communication.

- 2. The governments of Nigeria and Niger should consider work on the proper demarcation of their borders. The need is to avert some of the clashes between Border Enforcement Agencies which occasionally stem from improper demarcation of boundary lines.
- 3. The merits of joint border post such as facilitating easy clearance of persons and good providing and easy communication links, procuring immediate mutual assistance in crime detection and prevention, and attenuating the incident of smuggling and illegal entry of aliens have been emphasized. It is therefore strongly recommended that as a matter of urgency, joint border posts be built to encourage trans-border cooperation through constant interaction between the Border Enforcement Agencies of both countries.
- Furthermore, both governments should also consider the proposal to linkup all their border post by telephone and good roads, in order to ensure: a

ceaseless flow of information between their Border Enforcement Agencies. It is our view that once a channel for the free flow of information has been established between Border Enforcement Agencies, mutual consultation naturally steps in to pave the way for their understanding of varied measures undertaken by each country in solving its socio-economic, political and administrative problems.

- 5. As a further stimulation of this interaction between Border Enforcement Agencies of both countries consideration should be given to the recruitment and deployment of customs and immigration officers who speak English and French to complement the need of opening up further links of communication.
- 6. The provision of common recreational and infrastructural facilities such as water and electricity is another area where interaction can be encouraged as a furtherance of international peace and friendship.
- 7. Since the success of border operations involves cooperation on both sides. Border Security Committees

comprising all security agencies of both countries should be established in all border areas. Such committees should meet regularly to discuss their joint operational problems, iron out areas of conflict and provide solutions to operational constraints. The possibility of conducting joint patrol exercises should be explored in the spirit of trans-border cooperation.

8. The harmonization of the operations of the customs and immigration services of both countries is being proposed in order to simplify the procedure for the clearance of persons and goods across the borders. This proposal, if accepted and implemented, will assist in facilitating trade, promote mutual cooperation and reverse the position of borders from being regarded as 'barriers' to 'bridges.

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- AKinyemi, A.B. (1978), Nigeria and the World: Readings in Nigerian Foreign Policy, Oxford University Press Nigeria, Ibadan
- Asiwaju A. I, (1989), Development of Border Regions, Joe-Talalu and Associates (Nig. Ltd, Ibadan.
- Asiwaju, A. I and Barkindo, B. M (eds.), (1993), the Nigeria-Niger Trans-Border Co-operation: Malthousc Publishing Press Limited, Lagos.
- Barkindo, B, (1999), Africa and the Wider World Longman Nigeria.
- Barkindo, B.M., (eds), .(1993), Nigerra-Niger Trans border Cooperation, Malthouse Publishing Press Limited, Lagos.
- Bobbo, D. (eds), (2002), Proceedings of the International Seminar by National Boundary Commission and Niger Boundary Commission Ogwu Publishing Company, Abuja.
- Garba, J.N. (1987), *Diplomatic Solidering: Nigerian Foreign* policy 1975-1979, (Ibadan: Spectrum).
- Jide, Owoeye, (1993), Understanding the New World Order: College Press Ltd. Ibadan.
- Joseph, N. Garba, (1991), Diplomatic soldering, Spectrum .Books Limited, Ibadan,
- Joseph, O. Toyin, (1997), the Concept and Practice of International Relations, Joecryss Publishers, Abuja.

- Klochkovsky, L.L (1975), Economic Neocolonialism, Progress Publishers, MOSCOW.
- Legume, C. and Drysdale, J. (1975), *Africa Contemporary Record: Annual Survey and Documents: 1968-69,* (London: Rex Collins).
- Martins, G. (1989), "Uranium: A case study in Franco-African Relations" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4.
- Ogonwo, A. (1979), "Nigeria's foreign Relations, 1970-1975" In Nigerian Journal of International Affairs, vol. 4, Nos. 1 & 2, 1978 (NIIA-Lagos).
- Olaniyan, R.O. (1986), "Nigerian and West Africa: Problems and Prospects in Future Relations" *In Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 12, Nos. 1 & 2 (Lagos: NIIA)
- Olusanyan, G.O. and R.A. Akindele, (eds) (1986), Nigeria's External Relations: The First Twenty-Five Years, (Ibadan: University Press Limited).
- Osagie, E. S. (eds), (1982), The Economic Integration of West Africa. Universe Press, Ibadan.

The Path Newspaper (20<sup>th</sup> December, 1998), SOkoto-Nigeria. Walter Rodney, (1972), How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Panaf Publishing, Inc, Abuja.