

**Hegemonic Order and Regional Stability in Sub-Saharan Africa:
A Comparative Study of Nigeria and South Africa**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Olusola Ogunnubi (Student Number 211549688), declare that

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the One who is able to save unto the uttermost; the Almighty God, my maker and comforter. It is He who has kept me inspite of my consistent inconsistencies.

And

To the memory of my late father Prince Kolawole Gafari Ogunnubi who instilled in me the values of education.

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ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

ACCORD-	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ACGT-	African Centre for Gene Technologies
ACP-	African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States
ADB-	African Development Bank
AEC-	African Economic Community
AMVCA-	Africa Magic Viewer's Choice Awards
ANC-	African National Congress
APRM-	African Peer Review Mechanism
ARC-	Agricultural Research Council
ARMSCOR-	Arms Corporation
ASSA-	Astronomical Society of Southern Africa
AU-	African Union
BBC-	British Broadcasting Corporation
BIS-	Bank for International Settlements
BOSS-	Bureau for State Security
BRICS-	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CAEC-	Central African Economic Community
CAF-	Confederation of African Football
CAR-	Central African Republic
CCTA-	Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara
CHOGM-	Heads of Government of the Commonwealth countries
CNN-	Cable News Network
CONSAS-	Constellation of Southern African States
CSA-	Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara
CSIR-	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DFA-	Department of Foreign Affairs
DICON-	Defence Industries Corporation of Nigeria
DIRCO-	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
DMI-	Directorate of Military Intelligence
DoD-	Department of Defence
DRC-	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECA-	Economic Commission for Africa

ECC-	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOMOG-	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOWAS-	Economic Community of West African States
EFCC-	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission;
EC-	European Commission (EC)
EU-	European Union
FAMA-	Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa
FCT-	Federal Capital Territory
FDI-	Foreign Direct Investment
FIBA-	Fédération Internationale de Basketball
FIFA-	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
FIH-	International Hockey Federation
FNLA-	Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola
FOCAC-	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
GDP-	Gross Domestic Product
GFP-	Global Fire Power
GGC-	Gulf of Guinea Commission
GIGA-	German Institute of Global and Area Studies
GSSA-	The Grassland Society of Southern Africa
G20-	Group of Group of Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors of 20 major economies: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, European Union, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, United Kingdom, United States of America and Turkey
G24-	Group of Twenty four (A grouping of developing countries)
G77-	Group of Seventy seven (Largest intergovernmental organization of developing states in the United Nations)
HST-	Hegemonic Stability Theory
IAAF-	International Association of Athletics Federations
IAEA-	International Atomic Energy Agency
IBSA-	India, Brazil, South Africa Dialogue Forum
IBRD-	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICA-	International Cycling Association
ICC-	International Chamber of Commerce

ICC-	International Cricket Council
ICC-	International Criminal Court
ICJ-	International Court of Justice
ICPC-	Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission
IDA-	International Development Association
IDC-	Industrial Development Corporation
IFAD-	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFC-	International Finance Corporation
IGD-	Institute of Global Dialogue
ILO-	International Labour Organization
IMF-	International Monetary Fund
IMO-	International Maritime Organization
IMSO-	International Mobile Satellite Organization
ING-	Interim National Government
INGO-	International Non-Governmental Organizations
INTERPOL-	International Criminal Police Organization
IOC-	International Olympic Committee
IOR-ARC-	Indian Ocean Rim Association of Regional Cooperation
IPA-	International Peace Academy
IPC-	International Paralympics Committee
IPU-	Inter- Parliamentary Union
IRB-	International Rugby Board
IRPS-	International Relations, Peace and Security
ISO-	International Organization for Standardization
ISS-	Institute for Security Studies
ITF-	International Tennis Federation
ITU-	International Telecommunication Union
IWGA-	International World Games Association
LCD-	Lesotho Congress for Democracy
MDGs-	Millennium Development Goals
MFA-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MPLA-	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola
NAASP-	New Africa-Asia Strategic Partnership

NAM-	Non-Aligned Movement
NANS-	National Association of Nigerian Students
NEPAD-	New Partnership for African Development
NGOs-	Non-governmental Organizations
NIA-	National Intelligence Agency
NIIA-	Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
NIS-	National Intelligence Service
NPT-	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NSG-	Nuclear Suppliers Group
OAU-	Organization of African Unity
OIC-	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
OPEC-	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAC-	Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania
PAC-	Presidential Advisory Council
PAP-	Pan-African Parliament
PLO-	Palestinian Liberation Organisation
RSA-	Republic of South Africa
RSC-	Regional Security Complex
SAA-	South African Airways
SAAN-	South African Associated Newspaper
SABC-	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACOIR-	South African Council on International Relations
SAC SIS-	South African Civil Society Information Service
SACU-	Southern African Customs Union
SADC-	Southern African Development Community
SADCC-	South African Development Coordination Conference
SADF-	South African Defence Force
SADPA-	South African Development Partnership Agency
SADRN-	Southern African Development Research Network
SAIIA-	South African Institute of International Affairs
SAFPI-	South African Foreign Policy Initiative
SANGOCO-	South African Non-governmental Organisations Coalition
SSA-	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSC-	State Security Council

SWA-	South-West Africa
SWAPO-	South West Africa People's Organization
TACS-	Technical Aid Corps Scheme
TNC-	Transitional National Council
TRC-	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCT-	University of Cape Town
UMEOA-	West African Economic and Monetary Union
UNCTAD-	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNESCO-	UN Educational, Scientific and Social Council
UNFAO-	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
UNGA-	United Nations General Assembly
UNITA-	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola
UNO-	United Nations Organisation
UNSC-	United Nations Security Council
US/USA-	United States of America
USSR-	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WCO-	World Customs Organization
WHO-	World Health Organization
WIR-	World Investment Report
WTO-	World Trade Organisation
ZANU-PF-	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

ABSTRACT

Barely twenty years after the end of the Cold War, the international political system has experienced an unanticipated shift from a United States (US) led unipolar global order to a new order marked by its fresh wave of multiple competitors (Prys 2009:137). The global burden on the US had reciprocally inspired the appearance of a range of actors: regional (middle) powers such as Brazil, China, India and Russia; European Union (EU); South Africa and Nigeria. Consequently, an increasing level of expectation has been imposed on regional powers to provide the right leadership direction capable of promoting international stability and paving the way for development in these regions.

In the light of the above, this thesis examines the implication of the hegemonic stability theory in understanding the power dynamics within Africa. In essence, the study specifically seeks to operationalize the concept of regional hegemony by drawing on insights from a comparative foreign policy study of African regional powers with emphasis on Nigeria and South Africa. Using largely qualitative and secondary data supplemented with primary data, the study examines the underlying assertions of a possible hegemonic influence of both countries and, thus, addresses the dearth of literature on regional power and leadership dynamics - particularly in Africa.

Since the celebrated entry of South Africa into the African democratic arena, the resultant implication of this has been a change in the power, leadership and economic equations in Africa. From a theoretical projection of hegemonic stability theory, this study concludes that there is undeniable linkage between the foreign policies of Nigeria and South Africa and their hegemonic ambitions in the continent. However, by extrapolating the hegemonic stability theory at a regional level of analysis, the study finds very little empirical evidence to suggest the application of the theory at the regional level. While Nigeria and South Africa have been called upon repeatedly to play hegemonic roles within the continent, the study shows that both countries lack the conditions to effectively play such roles within a continent with major historical, internal and external constraints that puncture the possibility of a hegemonic influence. In short, hegemonic claim in Africa is mere (un)official rhetoric and lacks substance.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Background and outline of the research problem

Barely twenty years after the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin wall, the international political system had experienced an unanticipated and remarkable shift from a United States (US) led unipolar global order to a fresh wave or emergence of multiple competitors (Prys 2009:137). The global burden on the US had reciprocally inspired the appearance of a range of actors: regional middle powers¹ such as Brazil, China, India and Russia; regional blocs like the European Union (EU); and regional powers like Argentina, Iran, Nigeria and South Africa. This changed global context has led to continuing interest in (and increasing research focus on) regions, regional order and regional powers in terms of their roles (with other regional/state actors) in the international system (see Prys 2008; 2010; Fawcett and Hurrell 2007; Katzenstein 2005; Flesmes et al. 2009). This interest has also paved way for new research trends into comparative regional politics and comparative foreign policy studies especially at the regional level as distinct from the myriad of intellectual works that earlier concentrated on the global super powers.

Expectedly, an increasing and greater level of expectation has been imposed on regional powers to provide the right impetus and leadership direction in order to promote international (regional) stability and inspire growth and development in these regions. The mounting reluctance and increasing lack of interest of Western countries to intervene in civil and political conflicts particularly in Africa and many parts of the developing world have further invoked enormous pressure on these regional actors. In other words, regional powers have now come to take a dominant role in addressing conflicts, economic deprivation and political instabilities in their region (Pry 2010:1-2; Bush 2002; Chase 1999; IDRC 2001). Rising pressure and expectation are therefore invoked upon regional powers, for instance, to deal with the political conflicts, instabilities and economic challenges taking place in their backyards.

¹ Pastor's (1999) list of regional powers includes: Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan and South Africa Germany, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Russia and the United Kingdom.

Particularly, countries like Brazil, India, South Africa, Nigeria, and Australia are repeatedly called on by the Western world to rescue their regions from total collapse (Alden and le Pere 2003; Obiora 2011; Adebajo 2007; Schirm 2006).

Studies have therefore been conducted on regional power actors as both facilitators (Hurrell 2005; Ikenberry and Kupchan 1990; Singh 2000) and obstacles to regional integration (Pedersen 2002). Scholars have similarly examined regional actors at the level of the emergence and maintenance of “regional security complexes” under the control of one state (Buzan and Waever 2003). Other studies on regional leadership focus essentially on the role of a regional power as a middle power or/and emerging power in global governance (Pedersen 2002). However, there seems to be a dearth of literature on a comparative study of regional leadership, particularly in Africa, resulting in a lack of empirically verifiable conclusions. Drawing on insights from a comparative foreign policy study of Nigeria and South Africa, this study explores the capacities for regional leadership of both countries on the one hand and on the other hand explicates the implications of both countries’ foreign policy behaviours on their regional hegemonic ambition within the African regional space. Contemporary research on regions in a comparative approach is therefore crucial in order to build deeper empirical nexus between regional cases.

While countries like Nigeria and South Africa have been called upon repeatedly to take up leadership positions within the continent, it is unclear whether both countries are well prepared beyond official rhetoric to effectively play such roles. In the past few years, there have been repeated claims by scholars -- particularly among the South African intelligentsia -- of a South African “hegemonic” status (comparative to other potential regional power blocs) without advancing clear empirical evidence to support such claims. It therefore becomes questionable to reach such a conclusion without drawing from clear substantive evidence where South Africa, for instance, has extended its unrivalled and unchallenged hegemonic or leadership capacity particularly beyond its Southern African stronghold through the active engagement of its foreign policy towards Africa. In essence, can we also legitimately speak of an acceptance of Nigeria and/or South Africa’s continental hegemonic position among other countries within the African region as first among equals?

Therefore, the study is critical in its attempt to intellectually deepen the rhetorical debate on the use or misuse of hegemony to ‘flaunt’ Nigerian or South African *Pan-African* role or status based on both countries’ preponderant material power within the continent. From a theoretical position of hegemonic stability theory, this study addresses the question of establishing the linkage between the foreign policies of Nigeria and South Africa and their hegemonic ambitions to regional stability, security and order in Africa? The purpose is to extrapolate the hegemonic stability theory at a regional level of analysis with specific focus on two major regional powers in Africa (Nigeria and South Africa). It equally presents fresh understanding and insight into the role of external powers (such as non-continental powers, the UN and international financial institutions etc.) on the foreign policy trajectories of both countries and their implications for regional hegemony. For this and other related reasons, the study interrogates the widely held assumption of Nigerian or South African hegemony in Africa. It focuses on these two dominant regional leaders within the African continent by exploring not just their leadership potential or role but also, and more importantly, their leadership capabilities or capacities in a comparative context.

Nigeria and South Africa have been carefully selected for comparative analysis on the basis of their evident potentials as African leaders and also on the strength of each country’s respective claim to being the *giant of Africa* and *Africa’s big brother*. Since the celebrated entry of South Africa into the African democratic space, the resultant implication of this has been a change in the contours of power and leadership equations in Africa. Thus, we draw largely from both countries’ foreign policy role conception, perceptions, constellation of interests, successes and failures and their implications in advancing regional hegemony and international stability within the context of the hegemonic stability theory.

1.2 Nigeria and South Africa in comparative context

Nigeria and South Africa are uniquely placed as countries that both emerged from an amalgamation of two or more previously distinct territories (Kaba 2005). Nigeria was the manifestation of the unification of the Northern and Southern British colonial protectorates while for South Africa, the merger was between the Afrikaner controlled Republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State on the one hand and the British colonies of Cape and Natal on the other hand.

As also rightly noted by Kaba (2005), the *annus mirabilis* of Nigeria's independence in 1960 coincidentally marked a watershed for South Africa's political history. While Nigeria joined over 15 other countries to secure her independence in 1960, this period was signatored by the Sharpeville massacre which resulted in the killing of harmless South African protesters by the South African apartheid police. Thus with the acceptance of Nigeria's membership into the Commonwealth of Nations during this period, South Africa, on the other hand, was forced to withdraw its membership from the Commonwealth – a body it joined as a founding member in 1931 following the Statute of Westminster.

In the area of religious diversity, Nigeria and South Africa share strong similarities of a multi-religious community. According to the 2001 census, South Africa's population accounts for 11% Zion Christians, 8.2% Pentecostal/Charismatic, 7.1% Catholics, 6.8% Methodists, 6.7% Dutch Reformers, 3.8% Anglicans, 36% other Christians, 1.5% Muslim, others 2.3%, unspecified 1.4%, and none 15.1%². On the other hand, according to the 2006 population census, Muslims consist of 48.8%, Christians 50.8%³ (Catholic - 24.8%; Protestant - 74.1%; Other Christian and Orthodox denominations - 0.9%) while the rest accounts for 0.4% (Pew Research 2011; Kaba 2005).

In terms of economic capacity, Nigeria is enriched with a lot of mineral and natural resources including hides and skins, cement, coal, columbite, cotton, crude oil, palm oil, natural gas, peanuts, rubber, textiles, tin, and wood. Its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) purchasing power parity is put at \$478.5 billion (2013 est.) while its real growth rate is at 6.2% (2013 est.). Its per capita purchasing power parity stands at \$2,800 (2013 est.) (CIA Fact Book 2014). The size of Lagos economy according to *The Economist* (2011) at \$45bn is equivalent to the entire Kenyan economy and larger than Ethiopia's. On the other hand, South Africa GDP: purchasing power parity is put at \$595.7 billion (2013 est.) while its real growth rate is recorded as 2% (2013 est.) (CIA Fact Book 2014). Also, its per capita purchasing power parity stands at \$11,500 (2013 est.) (CIA Fact Book 2014). South Africa's industries include automobile

² The 2011 Census did not include questions about religion due to low priority Census (statssa.gov.za).

³ Accordign to the Pew Forum on Religion (2013), Nigeria's Christian population of 80,510,000 accounts for 3.7% of world's Christian population. Nigeria has more Christian population than in any single nation in Western Europe in states that are traditionally Christian. Nigeria's Christian population is nearly the same size Germany's total population.

assembly, commercial ship repair, iron, machinery, metalworking, mining, steel, textile etc.

Table 1.1: Nigeria and South Africa: Key Population Statistics

POPULATION	NIGERIA				SOUTH AFRICA		
	174,507,539 (July 2013 est.)				48,601,098 (July 2013 est.)		
	Hausa/ Falani	29%	Ibibio	3.5%	Black	79.2%	
	Yoruba	21%	Tiv	2.5%	White	8.9%	
	Igbo	18%	Other	12%	Coloured	8.9%	
	Ijaw	10%			Indian/Asian	2.5%	
	Kanuri	4%			Other	0.5%	
	%	Males, By Age		Female, By Age	%	Male, By Age	Female, By Age
0-14 Yrs	43.8	39,127,615		37,334,281	28.3	6,909,066	6,866,163
15-24 Yrs	19.3	17,201,067		16,451,357	20.6	5,041,412	4,960,190
25-54 Yrs	30.1	25,842,967		26,699,432	38.1	9,561,452	8,948,398
55-64 Yrs	3.8	3,016,896		3,603,048	6.9	1,450,420	1,916,960
65 Yrs -over	3	2,390,154		2,840,722	6.1	1,177,999	1,769,038
Sub-total	100	87, 578, 699		86,928,840	100	24,140,349	24,460,749
Average Life Expectancy	52.46 years				49.48 years		
Male Life Expectancy	49.35 years				50.43 years		
Female Life Expectancy	55.77 years				48.51 years		
Median Age	17.9 years				25.5 years		
Median Male Age	17.4 years				25.2 years		
Median Female Age	18.4 years				25.8 years		
Literacy Rate	61.3%				93%		

Source: Author's compilation; See CIA Fact Book (2014)

The study has deliberately and selectively chosen Sub-Saharan Africa as its focus area and also deliberately excluded some countries that may equally have ambitions or potential for African regional hegemony. For example, Egypt is excluded from this study due largely to its acknowledged pan-Arabism and inconsistent foreign policy sentiment and posture resulting in its failure to sometimes see itself as part of the African continent (Brown 2001:97). Moreover, historically, its concern for Africa has often oscillated and guided by the interest of its leadership per time. Also, Libya's dwindling political position both within the continent and beyond coupled with its recent political turmoil justify its exclusion even though it also cannot clearly boast of a vast continental coverage and command of influence. Gaddafi's untimely death

perhaps cements this exclusion. Other countries such as Senegal, Ethiopia, Kenya and Ghana equally cannot claim to have much foreign policy effect beyond their sub-regions, hence their exclusion.

The main themes of this study would be addressed variously: first by an in-depth assessment of Nigeria and South Africa's foreign policy roles and capacity in Africa; and second, by using specific cases to investigate the active engagement of these capacities in terms of its successes and failures, costs and benefits. Also, the study will examine the implication of the presence or absence of regional hegemony or leadership for Africa's geo-political space.

1.2.1 Nigeria: Key statistics and history

As figure 1.1 demonstrates, Nigeria is located between Longitudes 3° and 14° East and Latitudes 4° and 14° north and bounded by the Republic of Benin and Niger to the West; on the East by the Republic of Cameroon; on the North by Niger and Chad Republics and on the South by the Gulf of Guinea. After over 50 years of colonial subjugation, Nigeria (officially known as Federal Republic of Nigeria) gained independence from the United Kingdom on the 1st of October, 1960. With an official estimated population of over 170 million; a landmass of 923,768 square kilometers, and 853km long coastline, Nigeria is ranked as the 32nd largest state in the world and the 10th largest in the African continent (Bach 2007; World Bank 2012).

Figure 1.1: Map showing Nigeria and its contiguous neighbours



Source: Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook (2013)

The country also has one of the highest rates of urbanization in the world (Bach 2007) and holds over 50% of West Africa’s potential for industrial and manufacturing sector (Bach 2007). Comprising of 36 states and a Federal Capital Territory (FCT), the country is divided into 774 local government areas with Abuja as its capital. In terms of ethnic and cultural diversity, Nigeria is also made up of over 250 ethnic nationalities stratified across geographical boundaries with each ethnic group occupying a contiguous geographical area. Specifically, there are 3 major ethnic nationalities; Hausa-Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba. The ethnic cleavages of the Nigerian state is also reflected in its religious spread with Igbos and Yorubas being predominantly Christians and located in the South, while the Hausa-Fulani Muslims are predominantly located in the North. Its political and historical experiences include colonization, decolonization, democratisation, constitutionalism, regime change from civilian to military; unitary and federal, parliamentary and presidential systems, endless transition to democratic rule and more recently a return to popular rule and the first civilian to civilian democratic transition (see Table 1.2 below).

Nigeria is also the largest African country in terms of population and widely acknowledged as the most populous Black country in the world with over 60% of West Africa’s population (Bach 2007). By implication, 6 out of every 10 West Africans are Nigerians.

Table 1.2 Critical periods of Nigeria’s history since independence

Date	Event
October 1, 1960	Independence. Nigeria at the time made up of three regions under a Westminster parliamentary model. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa became the first Prime Minister from the North and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as President from the South
1963	Declaration as a Republic
1966	Nigeria’s first military coup d’état led by Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu but Gen. Aguyi Ironsi emerged the Head of the ruling military Council. Civilian government is overthrown in a coup General Aguiyi Ironsi (an Igbo)
July 1966	General Yakubu Gowon, (from the middle belt) led a coup with aid from northern groups
1967-1970	Secession of the Eastern region from Nigeria and the declaration of Biafra Outbreak of the Nigerian civil war

	<p>Division of the country from four regions in twelve states</p> <p>End of the civil war with a government pronouncement of “No victor no vanquished”.</p> <p>Division of the country from four into regions into twelve states</p>
1972	Replacement of the Pound with the Naira
1975	<p>Nigeria spearheads the formation of the Economic Community of West African States.</p> <p>General Gowon is toppled by a military coup led by General Murtala Muhammed from the North</p>
1976	<p>General Mohammed increases the number of states from 12 to 19.</p> <p>General Olusegun Obasanjo assumes power after General Murtala is killed in an attempted coup led by Col. Dimka</p>
1977	Nigeria hosts African Festival of Arts and culture [FESTAC] in Lagos.
October 1979	First military to civilian handover with Alhaji Shehu Shagari elected as the first Executive president
1980	Nigeria’s Green Eagles hosts and wins the African Nations Cup Tournament for the first time since inception.
1983	General Muhamadu Buhari from the north leads a military coup
1985	<p>General Ibrahim B. Babangida, a middle belt muslim, overthrows General Buhari in another military coup.</p> <p>Nigeria wins the inaugural U-16 FIFA-KODAK World Cup.</p>
1987	<p>A failed military Coup led by Maj-Gen. Mamman Vatsa in which Vatsa and colleagues lost their lives.</p> <p>Gen. Babangida creates new more states and increases the number of states to 21.</p>
1990	<p>Another failed Coup led by Maj. Gideon Orkar in which Orkar and number of officers lost their lives.</p> <p>Nigeria organizes and spearheads the formation of the ECOWAS monitoring group in Liberia – ECOMOG.</p>
1991	Gen. Babangida creates nine more states further increasing the number of states to thirty.
June 1993	<p>Moshood Abiola wins the first elections since the start of military rule, but the elections are annulled by Babangida</p> <p>Gen. Babangida inaugurates an interim Government headed by Ernest Shonekan.</p>
November	General Sani Abacha becomes the new leader after another coup and three

1993	years later he manipulates the democratic process such that he is nominated for president
1994	Nigeria wins the African Cup of Nations for the second time
1995	Commonwealth imposes sanctions against Nigeria.
1996	Gen. Abacha increases the number of states to thirty-six.
June 1998	General Abacha collapse and dies and is succeeded by General Abdulsalami Abubakar, a muslim from middle belt. Parties are allowed to operate relatively freely and political prisoners are released
1999	Abubakar successfully and peacefully transfers power to Obasanjo under his party – Peoples’ Democratic Party. Olusegun Obasanjo’s PDP wins the Presidential and National Assembly elections, adding to their majority control of state and local government seats. There are now 36 states in Nigeria. Nigeria hosts the World Youth Soccer Championship.
November 1999	Zamfara state in the north installs sharia criminal code. The army is deployed to Niger delta to root out militias, especially in the town of Odi.
2000	Nigeria co-hosts African Nations Cup Tournament with Ghana Intensification of communal conflicts in several cities Nigeria begins Liquefied Natural Gas Production.
2002	The Supreme Court overturns a biased electoral law and later opens the door for more parties to be registered
2002	The National Assembly attempts to impeach President Obasanjo over budgetary issues. Later the president apologises and the matter ends.
2003	National elections as President Obasanjo begin his second term in office under his ruling party [PDP].
2007	Marked the first transfer of power from one civilian government to another through elections, despite the fact that the process is mired in corruption
2010	Death of former President Musa Yar’ Adua Emergence of Boko Haram insurgency group Election of Goodluck Jonathan from the minority Niger delta region as president
2013	Nigeria wins the Orange All Africa Nations Cup in South Africa for the third time

Source: Adapted from McDonald (2005)

In the economic realm, aside being the first oil producing state in Africa, which dates back to 1958, Nigeria is also the largest producer of oil on the continent. Nigeria’s total military population spanning over 70,000 plays a prominent role in African and global affairs while its poorly developed and integrated economic structure is largely dependent on the export of raw materials especially crude oil, most of which comes from the Niger Delta area. In the early years of its independence, agricultural and mineral products used to be the mainstay of the economy but this has shifted to huge

reliance of its revenue on the sale of crude oil. Nigeria's GDP is estimated at \$478.5 billion. It is the combination of all of these factors that arguably place Nigeria as a dominant regional power within the West African sub-region in particular and the African continent in general.

At the international political front, Nigeria is a founding member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and equally played an instrumental role in its eventual transformation into the African Union (AU) in 2002 (Adebajo and Mustapha 2008). At the sub-regional level, it no doubt played an important and leading role in the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 (Ojo 1980) while also using these institutional platforms as launch pads for the prominent role it played in the liberation of Southern Africa. Its withdrawal of troops from oil-rich Bakassi peninsula to settle border dispute with Cameroon was indicative of its willingness to play a mediatory role in conflict resolution in Africa among many other instances (Uzodike *et al.* 2013).

Aside its economic and political landscape, the character of the post-independent Nigerian state is also influenced by a number of factors including its geographical and religious makeup among others. Osaghae (1998:19) sums up the character of the Nigerian state into three elements; colonial nature of the state, its lack of relative autonomy, and the federal system of government. Nigeria has been ravaged by long years of military rule and ethno-religious conflict while it also experienced a civil war that almost tore apart the entire fabrics of the nation. Corruption and gross mismanagement in the public sphere, ethnocentrism, mismanagement and failure of the national economy, incessant regime change, institutional, structural and policy inconsistencies, geographical fragmentation (regionalism) and political violence has been a major cancer of the Nigerian state.

All of these factors nevertheless do not foreclose the circumstance of Nigeria as the most populous country in the black world. In fact this reality has further sharpened the international perception of Nigeria particularly in the post-independence era informed by a conviction of its 'manifests destiny' emphasizing "the country's responsibility for the liberation and development of Africans and the entire black race" (Osaghae 1998:29). On the strength of the above assessment Nigeria is no doubt a major regional power in West Africa and Africa.

1.2.2 South Africa: Key statistics and history

Perhaps no other state has such intriguing political history in the modern world as South Africa's. Situated at the southernmost tip of Africa, South Africa has a population of approximately 50 million people and has the largest economy in Africa. It is also a country with one of the most ambitious constitutions in the world, particularly noted for its Bill of Rights. However, the country still faces challenges in areas such as poverty, HIV/AIDS, unequalled wealth distribution, xenophobia, inequality and unemployment. With its capitals city in Pretoria, geographically, the country is slightly less than twice the size of Texas. Officially, there are 11 recognized languages even though there are considerably more languages being spoken in South Africa. Its GDP (Purchasing Power Parity) is estimated to be around \$595.7 billion (2013 est.) (See CIA Report 2014).

The political and governance landscape of the post-apartheid South Africa is significantly shaped by its apartheid experiences; often reflecting an attempt to redress the imbalances of the past and the imperative to build a 'Rainbow' nation, united in spite of its diversity and multiracial composition to ensure that the oppression of one race over another never happens again. In terms of political organization, even though there are elements of federalism and presidential system, South Africa is fundamentally and constitutionally a unitary state and operates essentially a parliamentary system under a bicameral legislative arrangement (National Assembly and National Council of Provinces). In other words, as prescribed by the constitution, members of the executive cabinet are also members of parliament while the business of governance is presided over by the President who also doubles as both the head of state and head of government. However, upon election, the President is exempted from the parliament whereas the executive cabinet is accountable to parliament, which can ultimately impeach the President and/or even the cabinet from office. Representing the nine provinces of the country, the National Council of Provinces consists of 90 members while the National Assembly consists of 400 members. Each province has its own legislature and Executive Council (SA 1996 Constitution).

Figure 1.2: Map showing South Africa and its contiguous neighbours



Source: Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook (2013)

Table 1.3 Critical periods of South Africa’s history

Date	Event
1652	The arrival of the settler community (white people) from Europe, which began the long periods of war and colonization
1902	The end of the Anglo-Boer War
1906	The defeat of the Bhambatha Rebellion, which was the last armed resistance against colonialism
1910	The Union of South Africa is founded
1912	The founding of the South African Native National Congress, later called the African National Congress
1913	The enactment of the Land Act which allocated about 87% of land in South Africa to the white people, and the rest to the black people who were the majority.
1931	South Africa joins the Commonwealth of Nations following the Statutes of Westminster
1948	The coming into power of the National Party and the beginning of the Apartheid policy
1955	The adoption of the Freedom Charter at the Congress of the People
1960	The banning of all liberation movements and the start of the armed struggle against apartheid
1976	The shooting and killing of students by police in Soweto

1990	The unbanning of the liberation movements and the release of political prisoners
1993	The adoption of the Interim Constitution, which provided for general elections based on universal franchise
1994	The holding of the first democratic elections and the installation of Nelson Mandela as the first democratically elected black president
1996	The adoption of the Constitution which was hailed as one of the most liberal with a very progressive Bill of Rights.
1999	The second democratic elections with Thabo Mbeki as new President
2008	Mbeki is recalled from office and Motlathe is sworn-in as the interim president to complete Mbeki's term of office
2009	President Jacob Zuma is installed as the new president

Source: Author's compilation

1.3 Statement of the problem: Broader issues to be investigated.

As explained earlier, literatures on regional or middle power status have continually surfaced within academic works, particularly since the end of the Cold War. Even though many of these publications have limitedly and intrinsically focused on Europe, Asia and the Americas, few of them have been directed at a comparative regional power interaction and dynamics among regional actors; and this is particularly true for Africa (see Prys 2009). Studies have also been conducted focusing on the domestic forces that inspire or determine the foreign policy of regional powers. According to Mistry (2009: 139), these studies focused on “how developments on the domestic front have configured policy options and behaviour”. Clearly ignored has been the need to thoroughly investigate regional leadership effectiveness in strengthening regional stability and promoting public goods. For this reason, this study aims to probe the intricacies of regional power actors' leadership capabilities to address endemic African issues and challenges. Also, existing literatures have often essentially focused on a moderate study of potentials, roles and responsibilities of the power actors without clearly exploring the actual effectiveness of the regional actors within their geo-political space and the implication of this status for stability and security within the region studied.

Literatures on regional or middle power status have continually surfaced within academic works, particularly since the end of the Cold War (Katzenstein 2005; Lemke 2002; Acharya 2007; Destradi 2010; Detlef 2010; Hurrell 2007; Kappel 2011 Lake 2009). Even though many of these publications have limitedly and intrinsically focused on Europe, Asia and the Americas, few of them have been directed at a

comparative regional power interaction and dynamics among regional actors; and this is particularly true for Africa (see Prys 2009).

A fundamental and sacrosanct value to international relations theory and practice is the need to establish how the theoretical foundations of international relations theories find empirical realities and relevance in contemporary global order, particularly at the regional level of analysis. Critical to this study, therefore, is the need to interrogate thoroughly how the leadership positions or capabilities of these key regional players translate to political (in)stability or regional (dis)order. This is crucial in determining the reality of any hegemonic order within the region. The paucity of scholarly work in this dimension remains enormous and this study is devoted to filling this gap. Again, Prys (2010) rightly observes the absence in theoretical and empirical literature of a conceptual and theoretical framework of analysis that specifically deals with hierarchical power relations at the regional level. The implication of this has been the implicit reliance on grand theories that are originally meant for global application to regional based assumptions.

Previous studies have focused extensively on single country analyses of South Africa or Nigeria (Adebayo and Landsberg 2003; Schoeman 2003). Other studies have also attempted to establish roles and responsibilities that these regional powers play within their region. However, hardly any study exists that comprehensively and systematically interrogates not only the roles and capacities of regional powers but also more importantly, comparatively explores the effectiveness of these roles and capacities and their implication for African continental renewal with respect to regional stability, development, security and order. Therefore, this study is justified and validated given its potential to contribute to efforts aimed at filling the intellectual void in the area of comparative analysis of regional powers in Africa. Given this reality, the crux of this research is the imperative to establish how Nigeria and South Africa have effectively engaged their leadership positions and capabilities for the *stability, security and order* of the continent, its sub-regions and its people (*public goods*).

1.4 Research objectives

Fundamentally, the study specifically seeks first to evaluate critically the capabilities of Nigeria and South Africa as continental regional powers to effectively respond to

leadership responsibilities within the continent given their acknowledged vast potentials. Secondly, it particularly aims to assess the *efficacy* of these capabilities to establish regional stability in Africa. Generally, the objectives of the study are:

- (i) To account for the foreign policy principles, perspectives and prerogatives of Nigeria and South Africa towards Africa and explore the extent to which these foreign policy perspectives have been drivers for regional hegemony;
- (ii) To identify and comparatively examine the national power advantages of Nigeria and South Africa and the implication this has for regional hegemonic status;
- (iii) To demonstrate and comparatively explore the constellation of interests that have advanced or restrained the capacity or willingness of Nigeria or/and South Africa in the direction of hegemonic ambition;
- (iv) To draw valid deductive and empirical inferences of the lessons of the study and its implications for comparative, theoretical and empirical literature on regional powers and hegemonic stability theory.

1.5 Research questions

The thesis seeks to address the following questions:

- (i) What are the foreign policy principles, perspectives and prerogatives of Nigeria and South Africa towards Africa and to what extent have these foreign policy perspectives been drivers of regional cooperation or confrontation?
- (ii) What are the elements of Nigeria and South Africa's national power and what implication does this have for regional hegemonic ambition?
- (iii) In what ways have external and internal systemic factors advanced or constrained Nigeria or/and South Africa's ability to effectively provide legitimate leadership or hegemonic control in Africa?
- (iv) What empirical conclusions can be drawn from the study particularly for comparative, theoretical and conceptual literatures on regional powers?

1.6 Research proposition

The main proposition for this thesis is that; *effective hegemonic presence can be currently determined within the African regional space*. I therefore further propose the following support propositions:

- (i) There is a significant relationship between Nigeria's power resources and her effective hegemonic influence in Africa.
- (ii) There is a significant relationship between South Africa's power resources and her effective hegemonic influence in Africa.
- (iii) The hegemonic capacities of both Nigeria and South Africa are more successfully utilized when both countries work cooperatively and collaboratively to address issues of African security and stability.

1.7 Scope of the study

This study covers the period between 1960 and 2012 for both Nigeria and South Africa as significant eras in both countries' foreign policies. The selected study period is important as it captures two shades of regime type and political dispensation of military and democratic eras for Nigeria and apartheid and post-apartheid in the case of South Africa. Again, for both countries, the periods under study accounts for over 50 years of foreign policy foray particularly into Africa and the West African and Southern African sub-regions respectively under two different regime types and an equally substantial period of regime change. The period under review therefore allows for a clear analysis of the foreign policy trajectories of both countries with the aim to evince how Nigeria and South Africa has projected their power status through the decades to advance any kind of hegemonic aspiration for itself in the formulation and implementation of its Africa centred foreign policy. In doing this, the study on one hand seeks to correlate the common denominator of successive Nigerian and South African leadership in their foreign policy incursion into Africa through the lenses of their Pan-African and Afrocentric role conceptions and foreign policy implementation under successive leaderships.

The period chosen, further underscores a critical analysis of the foreign policy vagaries in terms of changes on regime change and regime type and the different regime behaviours on foreign policy. The period also affords the opportunity for a connection in the investigation of change and continuity in Nigeria and South Africa's

African foreign policy. This is particularly important given the variation in leadership style and different political agenda as far as African foreign policy articulation is concerned. The study thus particularly limits its focus on the African continent informed on one hand by the general description of Nigeria's post-independent foreign policy as Afrocentric while on the other hand understands that South Africa's foreign policy has been one that has been intrinsically tied to the African continent as well.

Therefore, this study explores comparatively the effectiveness of Nigeria and South Africa's capabilities to adequately take up hegemonic positions in Africa. This is done by examining their power influences on each state's actions within the continent in the context of the hegemonic stability theory. The study therefore primarily attempts to answer the questions of hegemonic presence in Africa; and the patterns that typify regional power relations within the continent. The findings would be useful for analyses of regional power dimension across regions.

This study also specifically focuses on both the post-apartheid era and the post-military political dispensation of Nigeria and South Africa respectively from 1994 to 2012. Coincidentally, these periods (1994 and 1999) highlight a remarkable and albeit incredible period for both countries. Particularly, it marked a time of active disengagement from the globally unacceptable non-democratic totalitarian regimes of both countries to a more gratifying and internationally recognized democratic experience. It is also noteworthy to state that both countries have since then enjoyed unbroken democratic leadership and have equally changed political leadership three times.

Relevant to this research will be the examination of Nigeria and South Africa's leadership behaviour within the African continent with the view to establish the conditions that make for the presence of a hegemonic regime in Africa and fundamentally the implication this reality holds for the continent's stability during the period under study.

1.8 Research methodology and methods

This section discusses the methods adopted for the study's data collection and analysis with respect to the research population, sources and methods of data

collection and technique for data analysis.

The study draws largely from a triangulation of approaches and methods. It adopts mainly the qualitative approach while also making use of the comparative case study method of analysis. The qualitative research method aims to provide “an in-depth understanding of the world as seen through the eyes of the people being studied” (Wilmot 2011:1). Therefore, by generating hypothesis, it moves away from the attempt to impose preordained concepts.

The two selected cases proposed in this study are Nigeria and South Africa particularly in the post-military and post-apartheid epochs respectively. The historical background of both countries’ foreign policies is also discussed extensively. In-depth Interviews (IDIs) and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) will be conducted for data collection. This is to establish greater precision as detailed information emerges (see Jegede 2006; Ulin 2002). As Wilmot (2011:1) points out, “a well-defined sampling strategy that utilises an unbiased and robust frame can provide unbiased and robust results”. The qualitative approach involves collection of narrative data in a natural setting in order to gain insights into phenomena of interest. The results of qualitative research are descriptive rather than prescriptive. According to Mason (2002:1), the qualitative research methodology celebrates richness, depth, nuance, context, multi-dimensionality and complexity. According to Fawole et al; (2006:8), the potency of qualitative research lies in identifying strengths and weaknesses of a phenomenon.

1.8.1 Research population

In this study, the research population is underscored by the number of relevant stakeholders that are connected in many ways to the cycle of foreign policy making, implementation and evaluation. The study takes advantage of personal, oral and semi-structured in-depth interviews which were conducted with a carefully selected group of “*strategic informants*” directly related to the thematic issues of the research. Through purposive sampling, samples were taken from individuals within the network of foreign policy decision making of both countries including the Executive and Legislative arms of governments, research institutes, intelligentsia, diplomatic and the fifth estate (civil society). In all, four clusters/groups of interviewees were interviewed (see appendix A). The first cluster targets scholar analysts/academics from both Nigeria and South Africa who have a firm grasp and understand of the

issues under study. The second cluster of interviewees consists of diplomats/bureaucrats/officials/Policy makers/politicians of the governments of Nigeria and South Africa. The third cluster is drawn from non-governmental organizations, editors, opinion leaders and other stakeholders both from Nigeria and South Africa. The fourth and final cluster consisted of diplomats/envoys/officials of the Africa Union, ECOWAS and SADC etc.

In most cases, selection of the most productive sample to answer the research question was ensured. The motivation for this cross-section of samples is driven by the fact that the complexity of foreign policy making and implementation is situated by both traditional institutional frameworks as well as non-official or non-institutional platforms.

1.8.2 Data collection and analysis

This study draws its data from both primary and secondary sources.

1.8.2.1 Primary sources and methods of data collection

A combination of research methods or techniques is employed for data collection. As pointed out by Marshall (1996:522), “the choice between quantitative and qualitative research methods should be determined by the research question, not by the preference of the researcher”. For this reason and in line with the inductive and holistic philosophical foundation of the study, the primary sources for this research are drawn from purposive sampling method also known as *judgmental research method*. The choice of qualitative sampling methods adopted for this research therefore takes into account the “spatial, temporal and situational influences and context” of the study (Marshall 1996:524). These factors are important elements in ensuring the trustworthiness of the conclusions of the research. And as remarked by Alagoa (1985) and Afigbo (1990), primary sources are seen as reliable because the data generated present direct information from the participants or key witnesses thus limiting the possibility of distortion or exaggeration.

1.8.2.2 Secondary source and methods of data collection

The secondary sources for this study was derived from books, journal articles, magazines and newspaper articles, government gazettes, legislations, constitutions, official government reports, policy statements, reliable and verifiable internet

materials, related audio and video collections and other relevant internet sources. These sources of data are particularly crucial in their ability to strengthen and complement the quality of the primary data gathered. Aside the rich and extensive information that these secondary sources will provide, they will shed more light on, and validate, the substance of the primary data gathered.

1.8.2.3 Data analysis

Data obtained were all subjected to substantive and extensive qualitative analysis through the instrumentality of content analysis, descriptive-historical analysis method and textual criticism. Analysis will be situated within specific contexts of research questions and structured hypotheses for the study. According to Nueman (2000:292), “content analysis involves gathering and analyzing of the context of the text; language, words, phrases, themes and symbols”. Holsti (1969:23) defines it as “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages”. It involves the “examining of the presence of words or phrases in a text in order to identify the specified characteristics of messages and to make meaning of them”. Textual criticism on the other hand, is the study of literature works in order to determine their originality and authenticity. This involves the reading, critique and drawing of inferences from the discussion of every relevant information gathered from the category of sources mentioned above (Folarin 2010). In essence, the approach makes use of a critical reflection and analysis of the primary and secondary data collected. However, as Folarin (2010) suggests, the danger of content analysis is that interpreting human communication might prove a difficult task which may often lead to wrong conclusions and the interjection of values in the analysis. Hence, the imperative for cross-examination of evidence from a wide array of sources in order to avoid this common error becomes necessary.

Furthermore, the study employs the use of historical method of data analysis involving the descriptive-analytical and narrative approach. According to Gberevbie (2008) and Alagoa (1985), the historical method involves investigation, recording, analysis and interpretation of facts leading to the reconstruction of the past (See Folarin 2010:13). In the case of Nigeria, the study examines in a chronological order, five civilian administrations: Tafawa Balewa (1960-1966); Shehu Shagari (1979-1983); Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007); Yar Adua (2007-2010); and Goodluck

Jonathan, (2010-to date); and six military regimes of Yakubu Gowon (1966-1975); Murtala Mohammed/Obasanjo (1975-1979); Mohammed Buhari (1983-1985); Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993); Sani Abacha (1993-1998); and finally Abdulsalami Abubakar (1998-1999)⁴. For South Africa, the study examines histocumthematically and chronologically two distinct regime administrations of both the apartheid rule including Verwoerd, H.F., (1958-1966); Vorster, B.J. (1966-78); Botha, P.W. (1978-89); de Klerk, F.W. (1989-1994) and the post-apartheid administrations of Mandela, N. (1994-1999); Mbeki, T. (1999-2008) and Zuma, J. (2009-to date).

1.9 Justification for the study

The motivation for the choice of topic is driven by the fundamental argument that an exploration of existing literatures on regional power dynamics and comparative foreign policy in Africa reveal a dearth in comparative studies on regional powers particularly focusing on Africa. Often, analysis are reduced to single country case studies which in many instances are not sufficient in providing verifiable explanation of empirically locating hegemonic attributes or tendencies of regional powers within the African continent. The task of this study is therefore that of extrapolating the hegemonic stability theory at the regional level of analysis. What is not in doubt is that researches focusing on a comparative study of the foreign policy study of regional powers in Africa particularly on Nigeria and South Africa are still very much missing in existing literatures.

A comparative exploration of roles, capabilities and efficacies of these two ‘giants’ of Africa will add appropriate and anticipated value to academic discourse thus filling the intellectual lacuna on literatures regarding regional power conceptualization particularly in Africa, which hithetho have focused on a fractional, albeit restricted, single country studies of regional leadership status. In essence, the *leitmotif* of this study is fundamentally a comparative application of the hegemonic stability theory to selected regional cases in Africa (Nigeria and South Africa). The aim is to examine not only both countries’ foreign policy directions but also to extend this comparison to the implication of their leadership styles and the composition of different regimes

⁴ The military administration and civilian interregnum of both Aguiyi Ironsi (1966) and Ernest Shonekan (1993) respectively are intentionally omitted because of their short and brief tenure with each lasting barely six months.

to foreign policy disposition for the continent. In short, this study is thus justified in its attempts to fill a gap in comparative study of regional leadership.

1.10 Limitations of the study

A major limitation that the researcher encountered in the course of this study was that of inadequate primary sources of data particularly with respect to Nigeria's foreign policy in the post-military era compared to South Africa's. Here, the unwillingness and unavailability of Nigerian officials and diplomats to adequately give the expected attention and urgency is a snag to the study. To cushion this apprehension, the researcher has therefore had to rely on already granted interviews by these officials retrievable from such platforms as Youtube, Facebook and other social media platforms particularly in cases where interviewee proved difficult to reach. Also, as anticipated, the researcher in some cases was confronted with the attempt by some government officials to blow their trumpet for nationalistic patriotism given the perceptive and subjective nature of the subject matter. To guard against this, responses from respondents were subjected to a critical evaluation in line with general inductive and deductive logic in order to reduce the element of bias or subjectivity. This therefore informs the decision to concurrently interview other non-governmental personalities, scholar-technocrats, stakeholders or academics in order to attain a high level of precision and objectivity.

1.11 Conceptual clarifications

Any meaningful conceptualization of a concept must begin from a context based approach which cannot be independent of each other (Osaghae; 2009). It is therefore necessary to clarify the following concepts in this discourse in order to enable an in-depth understanding of the relationship between these concepts (Creswell: 1994). In the following, we attempt a conceptual discourse of some concepts central to this thesis: Sub-Saharan Africa; hegemony; hegemon; leadership; foreign policy with the intention to bring clarity to the researcher's use of the particular term.

1.11.1 Sub-Saharan Africa

A number of debates have surfaced in literature about what the term Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) exactly refers to. In general, the term SSA has got geographic and political connotations. In geographic terms, SSA is a term used to refer to that part of Africa's geographical landscape located south of the Sahara desert. Politically, it

includes all countries of Africa with the exception of North Africa (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Western Sahara and sometimes Sudan⁵) which are classified as part of the Arab world. For the purpose of clarity for this study, SSA is used in a political-economic, demographic and geographic sense to refer to Black Africa and all of the African continent and its people excluding North Africa (considered part of the Arab world) located to the South of Europe bordered to the East by the Indian and to the West by the South Atlantic Ocean⁶ (See appendix B).

1.11.2 Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is the deliberate and rational pursuit of a state's national objectives reflected in specific actions, steps, roles, that define the behaviour of that state in the conduct of its external relations (Folarin 2010:29). Holsti (1967) argues that foreign policy constitutes the intended and direct actions of a state toward its external environment and the domestic conditions under which such actions are constructed. As Goldstein (2001) puts it, foreign policy is similar to a wedding ring with which the domestic context of a nation solemnizes its union with the international community. In Folarin's (2010) argument, such political 'marriage' is underlined by the ambitions and desires of state. In essence, foreign policy can be regarded as means to achieve state the end of state objectives (see Folarin (2010:29). According to Akindele (1998:94), foreign policy can be construed as a set of; carefully articulated goals and objectives which a nation-state seeks to realize and actualize in the conduct of its relationships with other states. These according to him can be in form of decisions made and actions taken by a state in its interactions with other states or a series of demands which a nation-state makes on other states in the international system. It can also refer to a series of responses which nation-states offer to the demands which other states put before it, and continuously redefined attitudes and dispositions which a state brings to the external environment in which it has to operate.

⁵ Sudan is classified as North Africa by the United Nations

⁶ Countries of SSA include Angola, Benin, Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo (Brazzaville), Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mayotte, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Reunion; Sao Tome and Principe, Saint Helena, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, South Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Henderson (2005) submits that foreign policy is a pattern of behaviour that one state adopts in relating with other states while Waltz (2005) considers it as the strategy and tactics employed by the state in its relation with other states in the international system. Idang (1973) regards foreign policy as a plan or programme of actions of a state which determines the sum-total of the state's objectives in the international system. This seems to agree with Kissinger's (1994) often quoted submission that in foreign policy analysis, the domestic structure is taken as given; foreign policy begins where domestic policy ends. Simply, foreign policy could mean external attitude and activities of a state. The ultimate goal is to maximize greater advantage for the country. To this end, we agree with Nwolise's (1999) position that the foreign policy of a developing country like Nigeria should be geared towards national economic development so as to have a better leverage in international politics.

1.11.3 Power, Hegemony and Leadership

In the light of the thematic issues of this study, a need therefore exists to clarify three major relevant concepts that have repeatedly surfaced in major academic literatures on regional power— *power*, *leadership* and *hegemony*. These concepts are very much related and discussed in relation to regional power and have not only been subjected to extensive intellectual debates but have also been used interchangeably in literatures or loosely referred to mean the same thing. It is significant to therefore explore their meanings and how they relate with the idea or understanding of regional power. As Destradi (2010) rightly notes, power, hegemony and leadership are highly contested in IR literature and are often used in a confusing and often inconsistent manner. Raptin (1990), for instance, in discussing the concept of hegemony emphasized that there is no distinction between hegemony and leadership as both mean virtually the same thing. The word hegemony was also used synonymously with leadership by Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin.

1.11.3.1 Power

At the centre of international politics and interaction is the issue of power (Baldwin 2012). The concept of power has therefore received extensive attention from scholars of international relations about its form, nature and role in international relations albeit without any unanimity. According to Morgenthau (1964:27), the “concept of political power poses one of the most difficult and controversial problems of political

science”. There is a lack of scholarly unanimity regarding the nature and dimension of the role of power in international relations. Already we have pointed to this conceptual dilemma of power in relation with other concepts such as coercion, compellence, control, deterrence, force, inducement, influence, persuasion etc. (see Balwin 2012:1). In international politics, power is seen as the general capacity to influence the behavior of other actors in international interactions and essentially two variants exists; hard (command/relational/objective) or soft (ideational/co-optive/structural/subjective) power. Weber (1947:152) conceives power as “the probability that one actor within a social relationship will in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rest”.

For Dahl (1957:202-3): “A has power over B to the extent that we can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do”. Goldhamer and Shils (1939:103) contend that “[a] person may be said to have power to the extent that he influences the behaviour of others in accordance with his own intentions”. Power is thus the major ingredient of political relationships- defined in terms of *who* gets *what*, *when*, *where*, and *how* on the stage of world politics. In international consideration, Holsti (1983: 114-5) sees it as: “the general capacity of a state to control the bahaviour of others”. Power is seen as the ability to influence others to do what they otherwise would not do manifested in force, influence and authority.

1.11.3.1.1 Conceptualizing Hard and Soft Power

Traditionally, hard power is understood to mean the allusion to the mobilization of tangible instruments of a state’s resources like military and economic means. The importance of hard power in international politics cannot be underestimated. The power of individual states have continued to be measured in the context of well-defined factors such as population, territory, wealth, armies and navies often referred to as the ‘elements of national power’ or ‘power resources’ (Gulick 1955:24). At the minimum, states therefore seek to optimize their power coefficient relative to the power of other states and thus aspire to produce a 'balance of power' (Claude 1962; Gulick 1955; Haas 1953; Morgenthau 1948).

Conversely, the concept of soft power as different from the traditional meaning of hard power was propounded by US political scientist Joseph Nye in his conception of

soft power as the “ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment” (Nye 1990:2004). Soft power is conceived as a means of power that uses strategies such as diplomacy, culture and history. Soft power is used here to make reference to anything essentially antonymous in meaning to hard power. Nye (2004) explains that soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others. It is a state’s capacity to influence others through persuasion and attraction, instead of coercion.

According to him, it is the “ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment” (Nye 2008:94). Bates and Yanzhong (2006:17) added that it is a “directing, attracting and imitating force derived mainly from intangible resources such as national cohesion, culture, ideology and influence on international institutions”. Soft power therefore is deployed when other nations are inspired by certain values and civilization of another nation to the point that they are driven to imbibe such standards (Lam Pin Foo 1996). If power is the ability to influence the behavior of others to act in a way they would otherwise not have acted in order to obtain an intended outcome, then powerful states can affect the behavior of others either by coercion (with threats), inducement (with payments) or attraction and co-option (with attraction of ideas) (Hackbarth 2009; Nye 2004). Soft power hinges on the capacity to shape the preferences of others and in simple terms is getting others to willingly choose your own preference through co-option rather than coercion (Nye 2004). According to Nye (2008), it is “the ability to entice and attract” others without having to deploy hard power threats because “if I can get you to want to do what I want, then I do not have to force you to do what you do not want to do” (Nye 2002:549). It therefore requires being able to determine and shape the agenda and preferences of actors with the ultimate objective to make others see the sensibility in cooperation rather than confrontation thus reducing the requirement and necessity for the mobilization and cost of hard power (Hackbarth 2009).

States mobilize this non-physical, abstract, subjective and often intangible attribute of power in three dimensions which in Nye’s words include *culture* (in places where it is attractive to others), *political values* (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and *foreign policies* (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority) (Nye 2004:11; see table 1.4). To explain further, culture, in this sense are the values,

norms and practices that give meaning to a society coupled in such forms as literature, art, music, entertainment, tourism and hospitality, popular media, indigenous products etc. These articles more importantly represent the societal accomplishments, values and standards of a people as they “symbolize a greater society built on personal freedom” (Hackbarth 2009). Political values on the other hand are values and ideals such as respect for fundamental human rights, freedom of the press and popular participation in government. These values have the capacity to inspire confidence and build attraction from others (Nye; 2008). Thirdly, the projection of well-designed foreign policies also serves as an important aspect of a country’s soft power as it is able to use its foreign policy to set international moral standards for all to emulate.

Table 1.4: Dimensions of Soft Power

Attractive Culture	Political Values (ideology)	Foreign Policies (diplomacy)
Popular culture in literature, art, music, entertainment, education, tourism and hospitality, media, indigenous products etc.; hosting of media-attracting events; global sports competition; iconic universities; religious preference; education etc.	Liberal democratic ideals; international global reputation, constitutionalism; political goodwill and international status of political leaders; transition process and national struggle history; domestic policies; constitutionally enshrined values of human rights equality of all people etc.	Immigration; peace diplomacy (peacekeeping and peace making); environmental technology; influx of multinational corporations; poverty alleviation; bilateral and multilateral treaties; rule based multilateralism; good-neighborliness; norm entrepreneur; provision of public goods; post-conflict reconstruction; foreign aid; debt relief and forgiveness; armnesty etc.

Source: Author’s Compilation; See Smith 2012:73

By the same token, Honghua (2007:15-26) argues that there are five fundamental elements that makes up soft power. They are: culture, ideas, development model, international institutions and international image. Soft power may therefore include:

thoughts, ideas and principles, that may be advocated by the state, and that may also be accepted and identified by people [or] institutions, especially those that are engaged in the building of international regimes, but not confined to that because domestic institutions could be relevant as well [and] strategies and policies, that are apparently established and implemented by the state (Xintian 2007:114).

Chiroro (2012:2) on the other hand equally classifies soft power in terms of international sources (foreign policy and actions) and domestic sources (domestic policies and actions).

There are a number of ‘attractive’ tools which states can use to project these forms of power in what Nye (2008:95) termed as “assets that produce such attraction” as means to achieve certain strategic external objectives. In essence, soft or (ideational) power is centered on “resources such as the culture of a nation; its norms and values; and its foreign policy, which reflects these (Flemes and Nolte 2010). These may include movies, products, educational system, humanitarian aid, development assistance, bilateral or multi-lateral relations, as well as public diplomacy programs such as broadcasting, cultural exports, and putting together exchanges programs (Nye 2006:3). States thus needs to creatively find the means of converting these soft power resources into political advantages and influence. According to Chiroro (2012:2) “[a] positive image in world affairs that endears a nation to other nations generates respect and admiration, which in turn renders nations that have soft power more endearing to the eyes of other nations”.

There is a shared assumption that the power distribution of major powers can be possible by a calculation of the various elements of national power. We conceive power in this sense in its various dimensions as a resource; potential; relationship (overt or covert communication and process that evolves over time); an unintended effect, capacity (to mobilize physical or psychological resources including persuasion, threats, rewards, and punishment); quantity (in the sense that some states have more of it than other states); a means (used primarily in an instrumental fashion to secure desirable objectives) and an end (territory, prestige, honour, security) connected to the interaction among states and other actors in the international arena (Uzodike n:d). In the context of this study, it is therefore imperative to identify, account for and comparatively analyze the power capabilities and profiles of both Nigeria and South Africa in these distinct realms (see chapter 7).

1.11.3.2 Hegemony

As a concept, hegemony has enjoyed expansive scholarly interpretation by different authors although it commonly invokes negative images of a bully and domineering power that imposes its will on weaker states (Adebajo and Landsberg 2003:171,

Adebajo 2007:214). In the field of international relations, the concept of hegemony is perhaps one of the most extremely difficult to define. Destradi (2010:912) attributes this complexity of meaning to the fact that hegemony is often used interchangeably with both leadership and empire and secondly that it is “employed by authors belonging to extremely different schools of thought with sometimes radically divergent research interests”. He also notes the normative application of the term particularly in its application to the US as cooperative or benevolent hegemon.

On the origin of the concept, the most celebrated work on hegemony can be attributed to the works of Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1975) in his series on *Prison Notebooks* written between 1929 and 1935. His analysis of hegemony draws on the context of social relations. Gramsci opines that ideas that drive the world are so powerful as to render silent the agitation against power struggles. The core of his piece-meal prison notes, from which his adherents gathered his thought, is that the world is not marshaled by power alone; it is also led by ideas. The link that these ideas have with power is that any age has been dominated by the ideas of illustrious and powerful individuals. In the words of Karl Marx, “the ideas of any age have been the ideas of the powerful, the ruling class” (Marx 1959:26). The Marxist theory – as can be inferred from the previous sentence – was intimately linked to economic power; the rich decided what ideas are going to drive a particular epoch and ultimately have the power to even dictate what knowledge is. Another twentieth century figure to ever argue in this vein was the French philosopher Michel Foucault who toyed with Francis Bacon’s assertion that knowledge is power to state that power is knowledge (Lemert and Gillan 1982:35).

Gramsci divided society and *ipso facto* the world into two realms; civil society and political society. The latter is replete with apolitical sectors like churches, schools and academics. In the civil service are found intellectuals who mull over ideas that can promote better lives in society. These intellectuals then offer their ideas to the political individuals who can decide whether or not to implement these ideas. If intellectual ideas are espoused by the political sphere – which comprises government, courts, police and the army – then the political society employs its coercive power to solicit adherence from people. This inevitably led Gramsci to accept that hegemony and dictatorship or coercive leadership intersect on certain zones.

It was this potency of ideas that kept colonialism afloat for a long time even though it was patently classist and oppressive. Gramsci, in his build up to the hegemonic theory parted from Marx who was wont to say that every society is a tyrannical one with powerfully positioned individuals lording over those who are economically enfeebled. Gramsci concedes the fact that society can be transmuted into a dictatorship when threatened by fierce opposition from within or without. However, his contention was that despotism or tyranny was not the only mode of political leadership. At this stage, Gramsci introduces an alternative mode of political rule. This he calls *hegemony*. According to him, “[t]he concept of hegemony...means political leadership based on the consent of the led, a consent which is secured by the diffusion and popularization of the worldview of the ruling class” (Bates 1975:352). Therefore, as Gramsci notes, “hegemony implies the ability of the hegemon to let subordinates believe that power rests upon the consensus of the majority” (Destradi 2010:913; Gramsci 1975:1638). A hegemon can be endorsed (similar to Gramsci’ consent) because it proffers certain goods and services that benefit states that are less powerful (Gilpin 1981:145; Taylor 2011:1240).

Triepel on the other hand considers hegemony as a restrained form of power where the hegemon exercises a measure of self-restraint. In every sense, he views hegemony as a type of leadership and a continuum in power transition from influence to domination. He however is quick to note that such hegemon does not necessarily enjoy voluntary followership but rather on cost-benefit analysis of the weaker states as well as the acknowledgment of their weaknesses. Destradi (2010:913-914) summing up the hegemonic prescription of Gramsci and Triepel argues that the debate on hegemony in international relations are centered on both the nature of hegemony [benevolent or coercive] and the means adopted in the exercise of hegemony [material (sanctions, rewards, incentives) or persuasion (to accept norms and values)].

Nye (1990), on the other hand, viewed hegemony as being able to dictate or at least dominate the rules and arrangement by which international relations politics and economics are conducted. Because of their military and economic superiority, hegemons are in most cases able to control natural resources, markets, capital, technological advantage as well as prestige and moral supremacy. However, predominance of power does not necessarily imply simultaneous superiority (or

control) with respect to both military and non-military resources (Rapkin 1990). Therefore, to suggest that a preponderant power must necessarily be animated with moral credentials is quite a stretch since that only occurs when the hegemon's control is based on authority or influence rather than fear. This is often represented as the non-material bases (ideology and norm) usually referred to as *ideational* value by some scholars (see Pry 2010). The hegemon is thus strategically positioned to promote and inspire sets of principles, ideas and values that authenticate its status as a dominant power (see Gilpin 1987).

In the dictionary of World Politics published in 1990, Evans and Newnham described hegemony as “primacy or leadership. In an international system this leadership would be exercised by a ‘hegemon’, a state possessing sufficient capability to fulfill this role” (p.153). Again, Mansfield (1992:3-24) defined hegemony as “the holding by one state of a preponderance of power in the international system or a regional subsystem, so that it can single-handedly dominate the rules and arrangement by which international and regional political and economic relations are conducted”.

Kegley and Wittkoft (2001:256) define hegemony as the “ability of one state to dominate rules and arrangement governing international economics and politics”. To them a hegemon is a “single dominant military and economic state that uses its unrivalled power to create and enforce rules aimed at preserving the existing world order and its own position in that order (Kegley and Wittkoft 2001:432).

Habib and Selinyane (2006) offer a neutral understanding of a hegemon also called a ‘pivotal state’ in regionalism scope. Far from maintaining that a hegemon is impervious to the contribution of other countries in the region, they (Habib and Selinyane, 2006) aver that:

[e]very hegemon is a pivotal state. But it has to be more. Hegemons not only aspire to leadership, and are not only endowed with military, economic, and other resources. They also have—necessarily—a political and socio-economic vision of their transnational environments, and a political willingness to implement such a vision. If that vision is one of security, stability, and development, as is often the case, then the hegemon undertakes to underwrite the implementation of these goals. Again, that does not mean that a hegemon does not have partners in this enterprise. It often does, but it takes responsibility in the last instance to

ensure that the features of its vision are operationalized in the region it sees as its sphere of influence (Habib and Selinyane 2006:181)

Bach further notes that during the era of the ancient Greek states, “respect for the autonomy of coalition partners distinguished *hegemonia* from imperial domination based on the use of coercive method and, ultimately, territorial control...*Hegemonia* represents a system of leadership where power is based on domination as much as cooptation” (cited in Adebajo and Landsberg 2003:173). Daniel, Lutchman and Naidu (2005:564) also admit that hegemony refers to a “power relationship of domination and subordination between two or more parties; on which, if not intentionally crafted, is deliberately perpetuated”.

In his PhD thesis cited in Adebajo and Landsberg (2003), Patrick Stewards’ conceived hegemony as the “legitimate single-power domination and coordination of the foreign security, political, and economic relations of sovereign states international society”. Adebajo et al (2003:173) puts their argument thus “hegemony rests on a combination of preponderant power, a participatory ideology, and, very importantly, willing associates”. Thus in line with Gramscian original conception, hegemonic presence is hinged upon the ability to exercise power in subtle ways with the approval, accession or consent of other states coupled with the ability to pay calculated or uncalculated military and economic costs (Gramsci 1959; Adebajo *et al* 2003). Geldenhuis on the other hand notes the correlation between the original Greek meaning of hegemony and leader(ship) by pointing out that hegemony could mean “the national role conception of a leading power that has the resources and the will to influence the substance of international politics” (International Workshop 2007:3).

Daniel, Lutchman and Naidu (2005:564), conceptualizes hegemony as referring to “power relationship of domination and subordination between two or more parties; one which, if not intentionally crafted, is deliberately perpetuated”. Their argument presupposes that hegemony signifies a deliberate plan to perpetuate dominance by a superior power. In essence, economic and military superiority does not necessarily transpose into hegemony. The hegemon in this case seeks to exploit, protect and maintain its comparative superiority to its advantage.

Destradi (2010) in drawing a distinction between hegemony, empire and leadership argues that even though hegemony is in most times used synonymously with the two other concepts, it can nonetheless be differentiated on the context of the means through which power is exercised and the end result of the hegemonic behavior. He considers hegemony as “a form of power exercised through strategies which are more subtle than those employed by states behaving like imperial powers” (Destradi 2010:912). His distinction places emphasis on the means through which power is exercised and the end (objective) of this exercise of power. According to him, the means may vary from “the exertion of pressure to the provision of material incentives, up to the discursive propagation of the hegemon’s norms and values” while the “end of hegemonic behavior is primarily the realization of the hegemon’s own goals” (p.912-913).

1.11.3.3 Leadership

Like hegemony, the concept of leadership is equally contentious and hard to attach a particular meaning especially when theoretically or empirically applied from different disciplines and more specifically to international relations (Destradi 2010). Generally, literatures on leadership in international affairs are pitched within an interdisciplinary approach. In order to understand the concept of leadership one must first search for answers to the following: How is leadership differentiated from power and hegemony? What qualities does one (or a state) require to be a leader and what kind of relationship exists between leaders and followers? Generally, leadership could be seen as the art of “influencing people, organizations, and institutions to accomplish specific purposes, such as missions that serve public and national interests” (Cerami: n:d). The concept of leadership has been severally constructed and deconstructed particularly from a social psychology and political science perspective (Destradi 2010). Early studies on leadership were focused on identifying the attributes and character traits of great public personalities. For instance, Northouse (1997), drawing from a social psychological perspective on leadership advances four contexts in which leadership is conceptualized. He argues that leadership is a process that involves influence and occurs within a group context. More importantly, it also involves the attainment of a specific goal. On the basis of the above contexts, he defines leadership “a process whereby an individual influences a group of individual to achieve a

common goal”. Much of these definitions have focused on leadership as an interaction between the leader and follower to achieve commonly identified goals.

However, we would focus especially on the conceptualization of leadership within the discipline of international relations. Knorr underlines the basic features of leadership in international relations as the absence of coercion and the mutual or reciprocal flow of rewards or gains of this relationship where one “one actor gives something of value to another without condition, without stipulated payment, now or later”. He cites examples of mutual exchange of benefit such as the establishment of a common custom union in which all members of the economic union would mutually benefit from commonly shared values. Also, an actor acts to successfully mediate a conflict between two actors to a resolution that is acceptable to the conflict parties. According to Young (1991:285), leadership can be conceptualized as “the action of individuals who endeavor to solve or circumvent the collective action problems that plague the efforts of parties seeking to reap joint gains in a process of institutional bargaining”. Leadership in this circumstance can therefore be perceived from an institutional perspective focusing largely on commonality of goals and the calculated actions of individuals geared towards concerted engagements for finding common solutions to collective problems. Cole (1990:213) conceives leadership as a “dynamic process in a group, whereby one individual influences other to contribute voluntarily to the achievement of group tasks in a given situation”.

Again, in distinguishing between hegemony and leadership, Destradi (2010:921) argues that the leader “guides –‘leads’ – a group of states in order to realize or facilitate the realization of their common objectives”. Destradi further attempts to draw a distinction between ‘transactional’ and transformational leadership’ by arguing that leadership is “characterized by the pursuit of common objectives and therefore, by a commonality of interest between leader and followers”. He argues [in line with Ikenberry and Kupchan’s (1990) models of hegemonic order] that two kinds of leadership are exercised in the international system depending largely on the initiator of the relationship; ‘*normative persuasion*’ and ‘*emulation*’ models. In the case of the former, the legitimacy of power (leadership) emerges through a strategy of socialization and ideological persuasion where the endogenous and commonly shared norms and values are diffused to inspire the voluntary participation and genuine

acceptance of followers. This kind of leadership is leader-initiated where leadership is activated as a direct initiative of the leader. Lake (2006; 2007) argues that such relationships are motivated by legitimacy and moral obligation on the part of the follower. On the other hand, emulation model focuses on leadership initiated by the followers through the adoption of the dominant state's norms, policies and standards in a bid to reproduce or recalibrate its success. In this case, there is no deliberate attempt by the leader to influence this orientation and decision by others.

Ikenberry and Kupchan (1990:285) identify two distinct ways in which leadership is exercised; through external inducement of material incentives⁷ and the modification of the beliefs of leaders in other nations. They argue that these two strands for the exercise of leadership are interrelated, interwoven and are reinforced by each other.

According to Kindleberger, leadership is a function of both material capabilities and the willingness. What is certain is that over the years, the assumption of leadership role in the contemporary international system has often been conditioned by a state's superior or greater military or economic strength (GIGA 2010). Material power preponderance is therefore seen as a major precondition for leadership and this is echoed in such theories like the hegemonic stability theory which holds a materialist perception of leadership driven by the leader's capacity to provide public goods and mutual benefits in the exercise of leadership.

Cooper, Higgott, and Nossal (2007) in contrast however submit that at the heart of any meaningful conceptualization of leadership is the centrality of the interest and enthusiasm of followers and any attempt to overlook this may prove misleading. In this sense therefore, leadership has little to do with the strict exercise of power by the leader since the "followers' participation is voluntary and in their own interest" (Destradi 2010:923). Hence, for leadership to have any clear meaning, a leader exist where there is the presence of willing followers who accept the broader mandate of collective goals articulated by the leader. It is on the basis of this that the leader derives his legitimacy and acceptance of leadership:

⁷ This may include such means as economic incentives or sanctions, military pact or strikes aimed at compelling potential followers to rationally calculate the potential cost-benefit outcomes of alternative policies of.

[t]he leader may have to consult, explain, to persuade, even on occasion to cajole. But because followership involves followers intertwining their own interests with those of a leader in whom they place confidence and trust, these followers are likely not simply to defer and acquiesce to the leader, but to willingly follow that leader (Cooper, Higgott, and Nossal [2007] cited in Destradi 2010:924).

Burns (1978:18) conceptualizes leadership as a form of power relationship with mutual benefits between leaders and followers involving persuasion, exchange and transformation:

[l]eadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers. This is done in order to realize goals mutually held by both leaders and followers.

Nabers (2010:56) in line with Burns' argument makes a distinction of leadership from power (coercion and domination) by viewing leadership as competitive where "potential leaders have to appeal to the motives of potential followers".

Table 1.5 Main features of hegemony and leadership (See Destradi 2010:926-927)

	Hegemony Hard	Intermediate	Soft	Leadership Leader-initiated	Follower-initiated
Brief Definition	Establishment of an order for the realization of the hegemon's goals through coercion, but without recourse to military power	Establishment of an order for the realization of the hegemon's goals through the provision of material benefits	Establishment of an order for the realization of the hegemon's goals through normative persuasion and socialization	Pursuit of common goals through a socialization process launched by the leader	Pursuit of already existing common goals through the conferring upon the leader of a directive or managerial function
Ends Means	Self-interested sanctions, threats, political pressure	Self-interested material benefits/inducement s: economic side-payments, military support	Self-interested normative persuasion, socialization (for example, through joint working groups or committees on contentious issues)	Common persuasion, socialization process	Common acceptance of directive or managerial function
Self-representation	Cooperative	Cooperative	Cooperative	Cooperative	Cooperative
Discrepancy between self-representation and actual behavior	High	Middle	Low	Low	Low
Legitimacy	Pseudo-legitimation	Partial legitimation	Legitimation	Legitimation	Legitimation
Subordinate states' strategies	Resistance. If hegemonic strategy successful: compliance based on rational calculations about the costs of non-compliance	(Resistance). If hegemonic strategy successful: compliance based on rational cost-benefit calculations	Compliance based on redefinition of norms and values	Willing followership	Initiation of leadership as reaction to a threat/crisis or because of lack of coordination.
Change in subordinate states' normative orientation due to dominant state's policy	No	No	Yes	Yes	(No)

1.12 Structure of the dissertation

The study is divided into nine chapters. The current chapter introduces the main essence of the work, identifying the problem and enunciating the objectives. It also identifies the methodology of investigation and report/analysis of findings, and justifies the study by clearly stating its importance/contributions to the knowledge. Chapter two situates the study within contemporary literature and proposes the theoretical framework that foregrounds the study. The third chapter attempts an account of the fundamental and ideological principles that foreground Nigeria's foreign policy towards Africa while chapter four discusses and explores the trajectories of Nigeria's foreign policy incursion in Africa since its independence.

Similarly, chapters five and six attempt to review the principles and foundations of South Africa's foreign policy under the two political dispensations of apartheid and post-apartheid periods while also unearthing the foreign policy ambitions and efforts of the country within the continent respectively. Chapters seven and eight both constitute major and critical components of the study as they report and analyse the data gathered from both primary and secondary sources in relation to the study. While chapter seven examines the elements of national power of both Nigeria and South Africa in the context of its role in Africa, chapter eight considers the paradox of hegemonic influence of Nigeria and South Africa within sub-Saharan Africa. Both chapters complement the earlier chapters in that they allow for the examination of the role types and role challenges Nigeria and South Africa encountered in the course of the assumption of its conceived African leadership roles. Hence, while the other chapters examine the theoretical aspects of hegemonic stability and explore the foreign policy experiences of both countries in relation to their involvement and influence in Africa, these two chapters deal particularly with the practical dimension of Nigeria and South Africa's influence in Africa.

Of course, chapter nine offers a summation of the study and goes on to lay bare the conclusion arising from the thesis. It ends the study by proffering certain recommendations and makes a number of suggestions for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURES AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section is a review of relevant literatures and contributions from scholars related directly to the study. It aims to summarise key points already covered and to identify the existing gaps which this thesis intends to fill. The review of literature covers the works of scholars on the following issue areas: What makes a regional power?; conceptualizing regional powers; regional power and foreign policy; comparing regional powers; sources of regional leadership/power; regional power and (in)stability; role of regional powers; hegemonic order and international stability; regional powers and secondary powers and external influences on regional powers/leadership. The chapter also reviews existing trends of literatures on Nigeria and South Africa's foreign policy while also reviewing a number of literatures on the hegemonic status of both countries. The second section explores the theoretical framework underpinning this thesis; Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST) and articulates the justification for the choice of the theory as a framework for the analysis of this study.

2.2 Review of the literature

2.2.1 What makes a regional power?

The attention on regional power has provoked debates on the categorization and merit for the appellation of states as regional powers. Scholars have therefore attempted to make a distinction between regional powers and other classifications of international power status such as global powers, super powers, middle powers, pivotal powers, pivotal-regional powers etc. (Prys 2008). There are also a considerable number of intellectual debates as to the geographic context in which the concept of regional powers or regional hegemons is used in contemporary analysis of regional interactions and for any meaningful theoretical explanation (Prys 2008; 2010; Destradi 2010). Going through relevant literature, it is clear that there is no general consensus about what makes a regional power as there are numerous approaches to describing the empirical relationship between power and leadership. This is because

the term regional power has been used in several contexts and explained in as many ways leading to a confusion and misuse of the term. Nolte points out the inherent confusion and intersections between countries deemed as regional, middle or emergent powers. There has been a paucity of uniformly applicable criteria to succinctly categorize countries as belonging to these classes. Nolte states that the difficulty in coming up with a clear classification of regional power resides in the fact that it combines two concepts – region (a geographic concept) and power – a basic concept in international relations studies (Nolte 2010:883-884).

Nolte (2007:883) in his publication in the *Review of International Studies* for instance acknowledges the “general lack of analytical instruments to identify and to compare regional powers, and to differentiate regional powers from great powers and middle powers”. Destradi (2010:904) while conceding that there are a number of uncontested assumptions on regional powers however agrees with Nolte that the salient features of what constitute a regional power are still largely contested and under scrutiny by many scholars (see Flemes and Nolte 2010).

One of the very first attempts to define regional powers was made by Osterud (1992:12) who referred to the notion of ‘ regional *great* power’ defined as a state which according to him is (1) geographically part of a delineated region; (2) able to stand up against any coalition of other states in the region; (3) is highly influential in regional affairs and (4) contrary to a middle power, might also be a great power on the world scale in addition to its regional standing (see GIGA 2010:1). Neumann (1992) in his edited publication defined regional power as: a state which is geographically part of the delineated region; a state which is able to stand up against any coalition of other states in the region; a state which is highly influential in regional affairs; and a state, which is contrary to a “middle power”, might also be a great power on a world scale in addition to its regional standing.

Lemke (2002:49) in applying the power transition theory at the regional level of analysis equally conceptualizes regional powers as “local dominant states supervising local relations by establishing and striving to preserve a local status quo”. Schoeman (2003:352-353) in her application of regional power to South Africa adds that regional powers can be identified by the assumption of a stabilizing and leading and the acceptance of this role by neighboring states (see Destradi 2010:906). Regional

powers can also be considered as role models and leaders within a particular region by carrying out leading activities which are generally accepted by neighbouring states (Schirm 2005:110-112).

Nolte (2006) conceives regional powers or what he termed ‘regional *leading* powers’ as states which are influential and powerful enough in certain geographic regions or sub-regions (especially in Asia, Africa, Latin America and in the Middle East) (see also Destradi 2010). He goes on to mention the following criteria for the identification of a regional power. According to him, a regional power is a state that is (1) part of a region, which is geographically, economically and political-ideationally delimited; (2) articulates the pretension of a leading position in the region; (3) influences the geopolitical delimitation and the political-ideational construction of the region; (4) displays the material, organizational and ideological resources for regional power projection; (5) is economically, politically and culturally interconnected within the region; (6) truly has the great influence on regional affairs; (7) exerts this influence by means of regional governance structures; (8) defines the regional security agenda in a significant way; (9) is recognized as a leading state or at least respected by other states inside and outside of the region; and (10) is integrated in international and global forums and institutions where it acts, at least rudimentary, as a representative of regional interests (Nolte 2007:15; 2010:893). In his estimation therefore, regional *leading* powers are not only possessing of superior power capabilities and exercising leadership within the region but are also able to convince other states both within and outside the region to accept their leadership (Destradi 2010:906).

Flemes (2007:11) equally submits that regional power can be recognized through the following indicators; their claim to leadership; possession of the necessary power resources; employment of foreign policy instruments, and the acceptance of its leadership by third states. He distinguishes regional powers by using four vital gauges: “claim to leadership, power resources, employment of foreign policy instruments and acceptance of leadership” (Flemes 2007:3). Accepting the role of regional leadership means that the state in question has taken upon itself the responsibility of entrenching peace and stability and crafting policies for economic initiatives (Flemes 2007:12). The constructivist paradigm for global or in this case regional power entails that fellow nations in the international system accept one of

their own as a fitting leading power (Flemes 2007:8). This is also in consonance with Gramsci's idea of hegemony discussed previously.

Borrowing from the conceptualizations of Chase, Hill & Kennedy (1996), Schoeman (2003), Ozkan (2006), Flemes (2007) and Prys (2008), Geldenhuys (2008:2-3) draws a list of the features of a regional power: material preponderance (based mainly on its economic, military and demographic weight) makes it a giant in its region; close interconnectivity with other states in the region in political, economic and cultural terms; decisive impact of its economic development on the economic fortunes of other countries in the region; having various instruments of foreign policy (both material, institutional and discursive) at their disposal to assert their interests and equip it for a pre-eminent role in and on behalf of its region; expresses an ambition, claim or willingness to play these dual leadership roles; has predominant influence in regional affairs, *inter alia* in setting security, political and economic agendas; recognition and respect of the regional power by other states within and beyond as a leading state in and on behalf of the region. According to him, the leadership role others expect of regional powers typically includes such tasks as making and keeping peace in the region, promoting rules of acceptable conduct in the area, exercising moral authority and promoting regional interests at the global level and finally multilateral institutions within the region and globally serve as major forums within which a regional power exercises its leadership role.

Geldenhuys (2010:151) describes a regional power as a giant and paramount state possessing material preponderance and non-material resources⁸ (economic and military) within a region defined in geographical, political or economic terms. According to him, the state in question also expresses claim, ambition and willingness to assume responsibilities for regional leadership within the region, while other countries in the same region equally acknowledges and accepts the regional power's leading role. He further adds that a number of regional powers also qualify to be ranked as middle power in the international state system in general because the regional power is able to "use the region as a springboard for a global role by, for example, portraying itself as the representative of its particular region in global

⁸ According to him, non-material resources may include exemplary political and social values, cultural attraction, quality of domestic political leadership, sound diplomatic reputation.

forums, including the UN Security Council” (Geldenhuis; 2008:3; Flemes 2007:7-18).

Lake predicts that having a single country as a regional power often foments conflict. His reasoning is that the only way a regional power can maintain its status is through domineering means. This also resonates with Mares’ idea of ‘intra-alliance’ (exclusive agreement) hegemony where a dominant power arbitrates security measures causing non-hegemony to pugnaciously oppose this authoritative move (Mares 1988:454). Lake also argues against multipolar powers as they are also conflict prone through the struggle to balance power and the lack of effective and uniform conflict resolutions methods. Instead, he argues for the establishment of regional order where responsibilities are shared by different states according to their different potentials and capabilities (Lake 2009:2; Mares 1988:456).

Flemes claims that a nation can be a regional power if it passes four benchmarks: “claim to leadership, power resources, employment of foreign policy instruments, and acceptance of leadership” (Flemes 2009:135). Destradi (2010) asserts that among the uncontested qualifications of regional power in literature is the fact that the country under discussion should belong to the region it is thought to lead. She also mentions that such a country should indubitably possess the highest power in the region and should exert its influence (Destradi 2010:905). Prys (2010:1-2) adds that in many cases, regional powers have been increasingly depended upon their capacity to “take care of conflicts, economic deprivation and political instabilities in their regions”. To give an example of Africa, natural resources like rivers run from one country to another and so tempering with these can affect more than one country and threaten conflict. Regional leaders ought to initiate regional integration and security mechanisms that could foil the threat of these probable conflicts (Amoako 2005:3). Furthermore, Destradi pokes holes in what has come to be taken as traditional understandings of regionalism which have enjoyed unquestioned and unwarranted adherence and are not rigid or predetermined.

In an attempt to distinguish regional powers from other states, Nolte defines regional power as a “state generally displaying large population in the regional context and high GDP... possess’ strong conventional armed forces and in some cases nuclear weapons” (Nolte 2010: 889). He went on to develop a set of theoretical approaches to

the study of power hierarchies in international politics pointing to the absence of consensus regarding the defining characteristics of a regional power. Again, Flesch and Nolte (2010) conceptualized regional powers by the following characteristics: (1) states that exist within a geographically delimited region with cultural, economic and political links; (2) willing and prepared to undertake the role regional leadership; (3) armed with the necessary material and ideational capacities and as a result highly influential in their region; (4) the provision of collective public goods for the region, (5) the acceptance of its leadership by other states in the region.

Schirm (2010: 197-221) on the other hand advances the following criteria for the classification of a state as a regional power: (1) The articulated claim for leadership as a rule maker which is part of the state's own definition and is communicated to other actors/states; (2) the material and organizational resources for regional and international power projection (power over resources); (3) activities to honor the claim of leadership and to mobilize power resources; (4) the recognition and acceptance of leadership status by other actors/states in the region and outside of the region; and (5) real political influence in the region (power over outcomes).

Similarly, in a related article on the *variability of regional power* published in 2010, Prys, in recognizing the lack of comparative studies of regional systems (leading to what she termed a "conceptualization" problem) identifies three P's of a regional power as fundamental criteria peculiar to a regional hegemonic system or regional power namely; *Provision, Projection and Perception*. In her explanation, she summarizes these triad dimensions as: firstly, the *provision* of public good; secondly, the *projection* of the regional power's values and interests; and lastly, the *perception* of the regional power as a state both internally and externally with a special responsibility and capacity to impact on behavior and outcomes in its sphere of influence. Prys (2010:4) argues that regional powers operate within a regional hegemonic system as an outcome of a "certain foreign policy strategy". Her main thesis is that these three criteria must necessarily be blended with a fourth factor (*material preponderance*) for a regional power to be recognized as one. The leadership and preponderant power status occupied by a regional power can be depicted as regional hegemony (Prys 2008:8). Furthermore, she notes that a "regional hegemony is partially the outcome of a certain foreign policy strategy and the analysis

of strategies and motivation rather than outcomes only as regional hegemon do not by definition always get their way” (Morten 1988).

In another related article, Prys argued that in explaining regional power dynamics, empirical evidence challenges fundamental theoretical and empirical literatures on regional powers. This is because the presence of material preponderance does not necessarily translate to “hegemonic behaviour” or outcomes such as public good provision or a relative absence of conflict as claimed by such scholars as Buzan and Weaver (2003) and Lemke 2002 (Prys 2010:2-7). This aligns with Flesmes and Nolte’s (2010:6) argument that regional powers combine both leadership and power over resources and “have to bear a special responsibility for regional security and for the maintenance of regional order”.

Destradi (2010:929) attempts a broader conceptualization of regional power when he notes that regional powers are states which “belongs to a region, disposes of superior power capabilities, and exercises an influence on regional neighbours”. He stresses further that, a regional power is a “regionally predominant state exercising an influence on the region to which it belongs by pursuing, in relation to its neighbours, strategies which can be imperial, hegemonic, or leading.”

Kappel (2011:275) drawing from an analysis of the economies of regional powers conceptualizes the term as:

an economic power (in a given region) that has influence and possesses the capacity for regional and global action. It has a relatively large population and covers a relatively large area. The regional power achieves high economic growth, above the regional average, over a long period of time and thus provides a growing market for the region. It plays an important role in trade within the region. It develops industrially and technologically; the state expenditure for R&D increases and come close to the level in the OECD world. The regional power has regionally and globally active businesses that are getting stronger and will lead to fierce competition for business from the OECD world within the regional-global value chains. The regional power increasingly provides public goods in the form of a stable currency, a reliable monetary policy and development aid. It takes on growing role in the governance of the region, particularly with respect to regional cooperation agreements.

And it uses economic network power to influence development on a global and regional scale.

Kappel (2011) describes a regional power as a country that has unrivalled economic strength 'in a given region' and has influence extending from regional to global proportions. This country should also have a 'a relatively large population...', covers a relatively large area (and) achieves high economic growth, above the regional average, over a longer period of time and thus provides a growing market for the region. It plays an important role in trade within the region' (Kappel 2011:275).

What strategies do regional powers adopt in their engagement with their neighbours or regional followers/neighbours? Scholars on the study of regional powers have attempted to gain an understanding of the strategies 'leading' regional powers adopt in dealing with their neighbours in the region. Pedersen for instance points to four different strategies that regional powers adopt; unilateral hegemony; cooperative hegemony; empire and concert. Regional powers employ foreign policy instrument, deploy material and ideational resources particularly with reference to its military and economic advantages. What is the foreign policy character of regional power?

In a nutshell, at the basic level, it is possible to intellectually distil a clearer meaning of regional powers as states belonging to a region having superior power advantages and capabilities and being able to exercise considerable influence on its regional neighbours and enjoy a form of acceptance of regional leadership (Destradi 2010:908). Regional powers therefore are conceptualized on the basis of their superior power capabilities, political, economic and ideational membership of a particular region and the exercise of a measure of influence within the same region. A regional power therefore exist in a regional hegemonic system where it is considered as powerful actors that wield a superior level of influence within a delimited region which they belong to.

2.2.2 Regionalism and regional power dynamics

Regions are socially and politically constructed, according to Prys (2010), and within what are taken as regions, further regions can be further deduced. A region is taken as conglomeration of two or more states that share geographic proximity and whose political, social and economic policies easily impinge on one another (Prys 2010:7). Geographic placement, economic, political and security strength and prowess are

obvious cases for regionalism. To these obvious requirements, regional powers do not only claim to be authoritative in their regions but are also able to attract acknowledgement of their leadership from within and without their region. Furthermore regional powers should be conduits through which their regions can be represented on a global scale. Conversely, a regional power can also be a channel through which world decisions percolate to less powerful states (Destradi 2010:906). These conditions, as echoed earlier, implicitly mean that a regional power or leader should have a voice that can command global attention.

While the global system has historically been dominated by world-renowned powers, there has been a gradual shift and attention of international power configuration to an emphasis on regionalism. In 1999, Huntington for instance described the international system as uni-multipolar arguing that with the ebb of US provision of public goods and the end of the Cold War, there was a realization of the importance of regional auxiliaries in taking up this role of provision of public goods. The idea behind a uni-multipolar typology as prescribed by Huntington is that the US will continue to dominate global politics but with the increasing help of regional powers before the world is completely overtaken by twenty-first century multipolar systems. The cessation of the Cold War is seen as the main springboard in these refocus on regionalism (Destradi 2010:903; Lehmann and Steinhilber 2006:2). This aftermath gave birth to new globalization (Amoako 2005:2). The protracted rivalry between the capitalist Western Bloc and the Communist Eastern Bloc (Soviet Union or USSR) precluded the development of less powers, middle powers and regional powers (Essuman-Johnson 2009:409; Prys 2010:1). The end of this rivalry beckoned a chance for regionalism to take root.

In essence, the global preponderance and dominance of the US particularly in the 1990s has regressed sharply and an attempt to fill the power vacuum has resulted in the emphasis on regionalism. This has come with high expectations invoked on regional powers to show effective and dynamic leadership within their regional (sphere) of influence. This has invariably inspired an avalanche of reciprocal studies focusing on regional powers/politics or blocs like the EU, BRICS, China, Russia, Canada, Brazil, India, Nigeria, South Africa etc. Studies have also been conducted attempting to examine the impact and influences of regional powers on global power

configuration (Archaya 2007; Breslin et al. 2002; Fawn 2009; Hurrell 2007; Fledes 2009; Habib 2009).

By extension therefore, in investigating the nature of the current post Cold-War global order, there is a mix blend of great powers; middle powers; regional powers as well as pivotal powers who wield significant influence within the international system. Huntington (1999), for instance postulates that a multipolar twenty-first century will not unfold until global politics had passed through one or two uni-multipolar decades (see Nolte 2010). By implication, the world is witnessing a shift of power and a reconfiguration of global order to reflect the increasing significance of regional power actors in the international system.

More importantly, within the African continent, regional powers face multiple challenges at the global, regional and domestic levels ranging from internal conflicts and domestic instability in neighboring states; the resistance and lack of acceptance of small countries to the ‘perceived’ hegemonic policies of the regional powers; the difficulties in managing security and building peace at the regional level and gaining acceptance for their status as emerging powers at the regional level (GIGA 2012).

The European Union (EU) serves as the most successful attempt at regionalism to spring up in the post-Cold War era. After the Maastricht Treaty was formally adopted on 1 November 1993, the EU was formally instituted and has gradually grown from strength to strength. Because of its success, the EU template has usually been taken as a prototype for emerging efforts at regionalisms. Using the European Commission (EC), the EU has prescribed certain economic policies and modes of integration as better drivers for growth. To other regions, the EU has promoted neo-liberal reforms (Taylor 2011:1233-1234).

During the reign of the Cold War, the rest of the world was either conscripted in either one of the ideologies; communism or capitalism, or confined to the oblivion of global politics. The world was sharply divided into the core and the periphery – and to some it still is. However, with the passage of time, the cliché of the division of the world into the core and the periphery or the developed and the underdeveloped has become scarcely applicable “because many developing countries are catching up” (Kappel 2011:275). Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa sometimes referred

to as emerging powers or regional unipolar leaders have been gradually increasing their influence on world affairs (Flemes 2007:6). These countries do not only challenge unipolar political outcomes, they also participate in conjuring new initiatives and alternative platform for global discourse. The countries mentioned form the BRICS; an association of newly industrializing nations (with the exception of Russia). The concept of BRIC was mooted at the turn of this (twenty-first) century by investment bankers who saw in Brazil, Russia, India and China the latent potential of future investors. This concept materialized when in 2009 BRIC held its maiden presidential election and the following year added South Africa as its latest member thus forming BRICS (Nolte 2010:881). Much research by investment banks had forecasted that in the fourth decade of this century, China will outstrip the “US as the largest economy, and India may follow suit in the second half of the century” (Nolte 2010:881).

Scholars who approach regionalism from a structuralist perspective are concerned with how the region is structured in terms of the economy, security and politics. They also consider the Regional Security Complex (RSC) and how this brings out the underlying collaborations and coalition nations encounter by sharing the same geographic region (Buzan and Wæver in Destradi 2010:905). Among the members of a specific RSC, their security concerns are so intimately connected in which case tinkering with the security of one member will inevitably have an implication on other members within that region. If there is a major security concern there ought to be swift response before the whole region becomes overwhelmed (Lake 2009:35-36). In this vein, a regional power is judged on which country holds sway in these regions and has its authority adhered to. This is akin to the realist argument which maintains that regional leadership should be claimed by a state whose military power is unchallenged in a given region (Flemes 2007:12).

Mares (1988), for instance argues that when countries form a security alliance among themselves, they automatically relinquish any possibility of a regional hegemon. His rationale is that the concept of a hegemon usurps the possibility of input from less powerful states. In other words, Mares seems to conclude that having a power— not a hegemon - is useful and realistic in that it is improbable for countries in a given region to have the same level of security. A country with more security apparatus can be

called a regional power. A hegemon, on the other hand, implies authoritarian inclination, whereby one power can guide security without paying attention to the concerns and contributions of its regional neighbours. In this case, a regional hegemon constitutes a menace to the sovereignty and security of other states (Mares 1988:453-454).

Mares, as explained above, argues that a regional power is a state whose strength is recognized, but is not authoritarian. A hegemon, on the other hand, is loathed by its neighbours for its despotic demeanour. In his *Middle Powers Under Regional Hegemon*, Mares sets for himself the task to explain the dynamics of regionalism by using what he calls the 'game-theoretic model'. With this model- and the use of structural realist theory- he answers the question: "when will a middle power acquiesce in or challenge the policing actions of the regional hegemon?" (Mares 1988:454). This argument thus presupposes that there is a difference between middle powers and regional powers.

Apart from those who use RSC to theorize about regional power dynamics, other writers are nonchalant about the security signature of regionalism. To these writers, regional consensus is motivated by economic advancement rather than security concerns. Taylor (2011) – using the demand and supply framework of Mattli (1999), claims that regionalism is supported by non-state economic actors who are convinced that they could salvage tangible dividends or economic advantages from interstate or regional markets. This demand is thus gorged by influential politicians who supply institutional support with the hope that they too may gain from regional economies (Taylor 2011:1235). Taking cognizance of this propensity for economics, it remains questionable whether or not regional bodies would have ample security muscle and prowess to foil the many challenges that bedevil them (Lehmann and Steinhilber 2006:3). In West Africa for example, ECOWAS started as an economic coalition, but had to venture into security enforcement because of *coup d'état*, illicit arms trade and electoral malpractice which threatened West Africa and the realization that these are inimical to economic integration, the innate motive of ECOWAS (Lehmann and Steinhilber 2006:3).

As will be seen in the ensuing arguments, classification of powers is not an easy exercise. Perhaps Mares (1988) and Flemes (2007) offer a more reasonable division.

The international system is headed by a super power which enjoys both material and soft power and can intervene anywhere on the planet where stability is in peril (Flemes 2007:7). The United Kingdom— with its numerable colonies scattered on the globe- was a superpower before being supplanted by the Soviet Union and the United States during the period of the Cold War. Presently the United States fits this frame. Flemes considers this superpower to be greater than a global power. Mares use global power and superpower synonymously. According to him, global powers are so influential that global stability orbits around them. They have the power to change the international system. These can be multipolar, bipolar powers or hegemonic powers as was the case with the United States America. Flemes (2007:8) adds Germany and Japan to the list of the United Nations five permanent members as global or major powers.

The other type of power is a secondary power which has the sufficient muscle to disrupt the rhythm of international system but not enough to provoke its transformation. Secondary powers can cause some influence even when acting in isolation. Secondary powers are middle powers endowed with ample resources that only require the collaboration of a few other states to influence the international system. Despite ranking below super powers and global powers, middle powers have military muscle which can cause considerable ruin in its foes. With its military strength and prowess, middle powers easily capture the admiration and invitations of support by great powers (Wright 1978:65). Obviously, middle powers enjoy unrivalled influence in their respective regions. Small powers on the other hand are so powerless that they need to merge with many other states in order to register their influence in the international system. This in turn means that a small power acting independently cannot influence this huge coalition (Mares 1988:456).

Regionalism has been necessitated because the world is experiencing threats of a transnational nature like environmental depletion, global terrorism, portable arms trade, drug and human trafficking (Shaw 2012:846; Wood 1988:1). The spread of communicable diseases, especially in Africa merits international contribution. HIV/AIDS, malaria and polio are diseases which are wont to affect many countries provided there are people crossing from one border to another (Amoako 2005:3). The proportion of these threats has made the need for multilateral leadership inarguable.

International institutions could be the ideal animators of this leadership, but most of them have not enjoyed widespread confidence while some are basically impotent. The next obvious option could be states which can pool resources and try to stem these global threats. However, not all countries have the reputation or the credentials needed to make any meaningful contribution to world problems (Solomon n:d: 1-2). Naturally, this eventuates into a situation where certain states that are more prominent and up to the task of making visible contribution to global threats come into play. These nations fall into the category called the middle power category. A global power would not be present to certain or particular needs because it looks at a general picture. To another extreme, a poor nation cannot afford to tackle big problems. In this case, “it is the middle powers... who occupy about the right position on the scale of influence” (Ward 1970:46). South Africa was deemed a middle power in that it represented a link between a “developing and [gradually] democratizing South and the developed and democratic North” (Bischoff 2009:1).

The need for the involvement of lesser powers in managing affairs at a regional level was implicitly encased in the *Agenda for Peace* (1992) delivered by the then UN General Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Boutros-Ghali explained in depth how the responsibility of quelling conflict can be devolved from global institutions like the United Nations to lesser ones like the ECOWAS and Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Lehmann and Steinhilber 2006:2). The advantages of regional responsibility as envisioned by Boutros-Ghali, especially *vis-à-vis* regional conflict is that regional states would be more committed to stifling conflict in their region because of “physical proximity to the conflicts, greater motivation to resolve them, and sometimes more legitimacy” (Lehmann and Steinhilber 2006:2). It is within these regions that certain nations emerge as regional leaders. Regional leaders have an edge over global institutions because they may have more profound knowledge of dynamics of the countries surrounding them. In the event of conflict resolution efforts, they may be privy to the ultimate causes of conflicts than would general or distant institutions not contiguous to the region. In any case, general bodies may not have vested interest in particular conflicts in certain regions that they deem of no consequence to global interest. Another reason could simply be that they are overwhelmed by the enormous resources needed to deal with problems that encumber certain regions (Essuman-Johnson 2009:409).

Some policy experts and academics assert that “regional organizations not only have a role to play but have emerged as a viable framework for the maintenance of regional peace and security” (Francis nd: 87). These regions have come to challenge the previous international system that was impervious to regional initiatives. In the aftermath of the 2008 global economic crisis, the surprising recovery made by countries outside of Europe and North America indicated that the global economy is no longer solely dependent on the US. According to Nolte (2010:882; UNECA in Shaw 2012:838), this favourable recovery by emerging powers gives them more clout in the emerging international political economy of the twenty-first century. In Shaw (2012) Africa’s ‘lion’ economies and Asia’s ‘tigers’ have proved their economic resilience through their awed performance during the episode of the economic crisis. Their performance lends credence to the opinion that regionalism seems to be the plausible way to go in contemporary geo-economic politics particularly for developing countries. The prominence of regionalism has therefore come as a response to the growing observation that the United States is incapable of providing international public goods to the world. From a neoliberal perspective, a true hegemon should be capable of proffering public goods like free trade, a steady flow of capital to offer financial and any necessary aid during crises (Kindleberger 1973:292). There has thus been an evident and gradual waning in US’s role as an international hegemon or provider.

Simultaneously, there has been a rising prominence of countries like Brazil, China and India as contenders for global economic and political power. Writing from an earlier context Okolo (1985), claims that regionalism paid dividends in the developed world but portrayed a lacklustre performance in the Third World. He gives a number of reasons that hampered regional progress in the Third World. First is the lack of a conducive climate on which a formidable regional edifice can be erected. Secondly, members of regions are usually unwilling to give custody of leadership to a transnational body. This sentiment was also shared by Mkandawire (2012) who posits that despite the new improvements in regionalism, there is a constant refusal by certain rulers to let a more superior power in a regional body to prescribe policies. This also borders on the third explanation for the unsuccessfulness on regionalism; Okolo mentions ‘bickering’ among regional countries based on the perceived or real inequality in distributing ‘economic gains’ (Okolo 1985:121). At the time when

Okolo was setting up his arguments, the spirit of nationalism especially in Africa was still at full throttle. Newly independent countries were indisposed to surrender their immediate priorities to another vanguard (Okolo 1985:122). With the passage of time, however, regionalism has gained considerable currency and in all regions. There has been certain nations which, by consent or otherwise, have emerged as *de facto* or *de jure* regional leaders or powers.

In Africa, the major impetus to regionalism was the Lagos Plan of Action (1980) at which African leaders prioritized the need for internal trade in Africa (Ndayi 2011:80-81). One of the rationales behind the Plan was the acknowledgement that global trade often leaves African states worse off. To this effect, African states had to develop trade links amongst themselves before they can launch their trade on a global platform. Apart from economic or trade concerns, Africans wanted to chart their own destiny, to construct their own values and policies. This was mostly vivid in Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance plan (Bohler-Muller 2012:8; Kagwanja 2009:2). This aspiration needed motivation from countries of influence among African states. Nigeria and South Africa have been tipped as the leading powerhouses of West Africa and Southern Africa respectively and Africa at large. This opinion has been backed and challenged according to historical factors and the current state of these two countries.

Needless to say, the mere mention of these countries as leaders corroborates the fact that there has been wide acceptance of how Nigeria and South Africa have emerged somewhat above other African nations. These countries have thus been expected to be frontrunners in promoting African agendas. In a continent that has been awash with conflict, Nigeria and South Africa have been expected to deal with intractable and protracted African conflicts. This means that these countries ought to have remedial foreign policies which would guarantee peace and integration at the national and regional levels. In terms of defusing conflict, however, Dokubo and Joseph argue that African efforts of "conflict mitigation and resolution initiatives are at best yielding modest success" (Dokubo and Joseph 2011:554). African foreign policies that sponsor integration in the African region have come with the reiteration that African states have to devise "African solutions to African problems" (Arrieta 2011:2).

Many writers who offer what Brown (2006) calls ‘Africanist critique’ have stated that studies in international relations have been deliberately blind and deaf to the African situation. These writers have often decried the dictatorial way with which the Western world has applied IR concepts to Africa and the Third World in general even though it is axiomatic that these concepts are ill fitting in the targeted contexts. Neuman argues that ideas touted in international relations are Eurocentric and so inappropriate to Africa. Adeniji further criticizes the dominance of the United Nations against the Third World, not just Africa and opines:

a few powerful states which designed (the United Nations) *ab initio* have shown a determination to preserve the status quo, which historically has been in their favour, the vast majority of member-states, largely concentrated in the southern hemisphere, poor, underdeveloped and at the periphery of high global politics, would prefer the UN to metamorphose into an instrument of change; an instrument for bridging the economic and technological gap between the rich North and the poor South (Adeniji 2005:1).

In this case, Nigeria and South Africa – as emerging leaders of Africa - are expected to play a seminal role in ending the ‘pseudo absence’ of Africa from mainstream international relations (Brown 2006). These are the countries on whose shoulders rest the hope of Africa; a continent which despite its formal detachment from the stronghold of colonialism several decades ago has continued to clamour for economic independence and regrettably lag behind the rest of the world. It is the continent which holds no hope of meeting the Millennium Development Goals by 2015 (Amoako 2005:2). The dismal performance of regionalism in Africa put the countries perceived as regional leaders in a precarious situation. Poverty levels have soared to alarming levels, with half of Africans living on one dollar or less a day since the inception of the MDGs (48% in 2000 and 50% by 2005) (Amoako 2005:2). This is starkly contrasted by East Asia which – by 2005 - reached the target for poverty education with South Asia also makings considerable and swiftly progress (Amoako 2005:2). These staggering realities lend credibility to the opinion that by 2015, the other parts of the world would have deepened development gaps with Africa.

Shaw (2012) argues that Africa is developing, as evidenced after the global decline of 2008. The increase in poverty levels could only be explained, then, by the commandeering of economic apparatus by a few politically connected individuals at

the expense of the poor majority. Despite the distribution of wealth within regions, regional integration and benefits seem to receive more support. Amoako (2005:2) argues that regional integration is the only viable option that Africa has if it is to keep up with the more advanced regions. The call by Kwame Nkrumah in his 1960 speech at the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) – for a consolidated African approach to the challenges of economic development and political unity, is more applicable today. Countries that are viewed as Africa’s leaders should be the linchpin of this endeavour.

More importantly, within the African continent, regional powers face multiple challenges at the global, regional and domestic levels ranging from internal conflicts and domestic instability in neighbouring states; the resistance and lack of acceptance of small countries to the ‘perceived’ hegemonic policies of the regional powers; the difficulties in managing security and building peace at the regional level and gaining acceptance for their status as emerging powers at the regional level (GIGA 2012).

More than a decade after the 21st century was declared as Africa’s century, the African continent is still plagued with massive poverty, epidemic diseases, unemployment, incessant military intervention, intra-state conflict, debt crisis, economic downturn, infrastructural decay, and increasing retrogressive authoritarian and undemocratic institutions to name but a few. As aptly captured by Fawole (2003:297), “the history of post colonial Africa has been characterized by intra-state conflicts, violent crises, political instability and state failure”. All of these factors have collectively helped to swing backwards the wheel of progress of the African continent. For instance, while some other countries that were equally colonized like South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, India, Indonesia etc. as well as many of the former colonies in Asia have moved towards development, Africa is still stuck with the dilemma of trying to grapple with many issues that these countries have long conquered. To be sure, more than 80% of the world’s poorest countries in the world are found in Africa. Regrettably, many of the countries in Africa have not been able to maintain the strides of economic progress made during the first two decades of independence (1960s and 1970s). In the next section we explore the theoretical debates about the role and strategies that regional powers adopt within their region.

2.2.3 Theoretical debates on the role, status and strategies of regional powers

Literatures on the role and status of regional, pivotal or middle power status have continually surfaced within academic works, particularly since the end of the Cold War. On the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, scholars envisaged a collapse of the bipolar power arrangement that had hitherto existed and an inevitable unipolar world with US in full swing (Huntington 1996; Walt 2009). However, slightly over two decades and contrary to much anticipation, there has been a reconfiguration of the distribution of power or international power arrangement and an increasing shift toward multi-polarity. This new international orientation was reinforced by the event sequel to the terror attacks on US soil in September 11, 2001 and further cemented by the recent global economic meltdown witnessed in US and many parts of Europe in 2008. Another reason for this shift can also be attributed to the high cost of preserving hegemony and the eventual spread of economic capabilities to rival core states (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff 1990). In essence, regionalism in global affairs has emerged with high expectations invoked on regional powers to show effective and dynamic leadership within their regional (sphere) of influence.

There has therefore been a gamut of reciprocal study focusing on regional powers/politics or blocs like the EU, Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa (BRICS), Canada, Nigeria etc. (Archaya 2007; Breslin et al. 2002; Fawn 2009; Hurrell 2007; Flemes 2009; Habib 2009). Many of these studies have attempted to examine the impact and influences of regional powers on global power configuration.

Much has been talked about regarding the potentialities of regional powers in Africa to effectively arrest conflict and the retrogressive wheels of underdevelopment by leading the path towards regional and continental rebirth and growth in an atmosphere of stability. A number of states in Africa have been identified as critical to stimulating African development initiative across different regions. In other words, there is an expectation on states like Nigeria and South Africa to play key roles in the process of regional integration and economic rejuvenation of the region they belong to. Partly due to their superior economic and military strength within their, it is anticipated their prosperity would have a spill-over effect and thereby inspiring the cause of regional prosperity. Conversely, any kind of downward trend or recession in these countries

also has the capacity to cause a reciprocal period of recession for the region. Regional security, peace, cooperation and stability are therefore possible through the leadership initiatives of regional powers (Barnett 2005; Huntington 1996).

However, while regional powers can be catalysts for regional political-economic integration within a region, they can also be sources and agents for further escalation of conflict and confrontation. The institutionalist and constructivist theorists point to a positive correlation between regional power and the regional cooperation. However, classical and structural realist theorists suggest the opposite seeing regional powers as sources of confrontation (Scholvin 2012). Theoretically, and empirically, regional powers can therefore impact on their regions in both cooperative and confrontational ways.

No doubt, several other studies have been conducted on the context of Nigeria and South Africa's roles and responsibilities particularly in their sub-regions and generally in the rest of Africa. However, very few have gone beyond the rigour of a thorough evaluation of the effectiveness of this role in terms of actual engagement, and the comparative approach that this study seeks to introduce. This section will bring to the fore some of the literatures related to the subject matter and point out the deficiencies.

However, while regional powers can be catalysts for regional political-economic integration within their region, they can also be sources and agents for further escalation of conflict and confrontation. The institutionalist and constructivist theorists point to a positive correlation between regional power and regional cooperation; classical and structural realist theorists however suggest the opposite seeing regional powers as sources of confrontation (Scholvin 2012). Theoretically, and empirically, following from the above discussion, regional powers can therefore impact on their regions in both cooperative and confrontational ways. And in the context of this study, it is necessary to examine the power elements (hard and soft) that make for the regional power status of both Nigeria and South Africa (see ensuing chapter).

2.2.4 Literatures on the foreign policy of regional powers in Sub-Saharan Africa (Nigeria and South Africa)

No doubt, several studies have been conducted on the context of the leadership roles and responsibilities of regional powers (particularly of Nigeria and South Africa) in their sub-regions and generally in the rest of Africa. However, very few have gone beyond the rigour of a thorough analysis of the effectiveness of this role in terms of actual engagement and the comparative approach that this study seeks to introduce. This section reviews some of the literatures in the past decade on the subject matter and further points out the deficiencies in existing literatures.

A number of states in Africa have been identified as critical to stimulating African development initiative across different regions. In other words, there is an expectation on states like Nigeria and South Africa to play key roles in the process of regional integration and economic rejuvenation of the region they belong to. Partly due to their superior economic and military strength, it is anticipated their prosperity would have a spill-over effect across the region and thereby inspiring the cause of regional prosperity. Conversely, any kind of downward trend or recession in these countries also has the capacity to cause a reciprocal period of recession for the region. Regional security, peace, cooperation and stability are therefore possible through the leadership initiatives of these regional powers (Barnett 2005; Huntington 1996). Attempts would now be focused on a critical review of literatures on the regional power conception of Nigeria and South Africa with the aim to foreground a thorough context for this study and establish gaps in existing literatures.

The reference to Nigeria and South Africa in the literature as an ‘axis of virtue’ is no doubt in reflection of their comparative power advantage and huge potential to use this advantage to play leadership roles within the African continent (see Adebajo 2007). This is discussed further in the following chapter. Generally, within the African continent, literature recognizes five sub-regions and an equal number of pivotal states including Nigeria in West Africa and South Africa in Southern Africa. Others are Egypt in North Africa, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in Central Africa and Kenya for East Africa (even though this is contested) (Mazrui; 2006). As explained earlier, in this study and hence the chapter, we focus especially on Nigeria and South Africa for many reasons. First, both countries have the largest economies in

Africa and thus share a huge chunk of the African economic market. (Adebajo 2007). Secondly, both countries are perceived internationally as major African leaders with their extensive and robust foreign policy involvement in Africa coupled with their desire towards finding African solutions to African problems (Smith 2012; Schoeman 2007; Landsberg 2012).

To be sure, the population of Nigeria is an equivalent of the entire population of four European countries including Belgium, France, Portugal and the United Kingdom. Nigeria's Muslim population is also more than any Arab state in the world including Egypt⁹. South Africa on the other hand is undoubtedly the most industrialized African country. In fact, prior to the end of apartheid, South Africa was the only African country with nuclear warheads (Fischer 1994; Mazrui 2006; Peters 1992; Joseph 1988). Similarly, while Nigeria is often referred to as Africa's human resources hub, South Africa on the other hand is reputed as the mineral and material resources repository of (chrome, diamonds, gold, iron ore, manganese, platinum, etc.) in the continent. Again, South Africa profiles the largest concentration of diaspora Whites outside Europe and America (Mazrui 2006).

Nigeria's Wole Soyinka was also the first Black and African to be awarded the Noble Prize for Literature although South African(s) have won more Noble laureates than any/all African countries put together with four Noble Prizes for peace and two other for literature (see table 2.1). Sparks (2003) in Kagwanja (2009:2), claims that South Africa is "a regional superpower in the world's most marginalized continent, the one country that could perhaps provide the engine to pull African out of its mire of poverty and desperation". It is for these reasons that Mazrui (2005) rightly notes that "Nigeria and South Africa are truly exceptional societies of the postcolonial era...and have revealed comparative destinies of the African experience and contrasting visions of the African condition".

⁹ The 2005 Census in Nigeria accounts for over 68 million Muslims compared to 55 million Muslims in Egypt which of course is the most populous Arab country.

Table 2.1: Nigeria and South Africa's Nobel laureate winners

S/N	Nigeria	Category	South Africa	Category
1.	Wole Soyinka (1986)	Literature	Albert John Luthuli (1960)	Peace
2.			Tutu, Desmond (1984)	Peace
3.			Nadine Gordimer (1991)	Literature
4.			Nelson Mandela (1993)	Peace
5.			Frederik Willem de Klerk (1993)	Peace
6.			John M. Coetzee (2003)	Literature

Source: Compiled by author

We move on to review key literatures on both countries' foreign policy.

2.2.4.1 Overview of the literature on Nigeria's foreign policy

Much of the literatures on Nigeria's foreign policy revolve around four concentric circles of Nigeria's immediate neighbours (Benin, Chad, Niger, Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea); its West African neighbours (regional); the African continent and finally its relations with the world and international organizations (Folarin 2010). This aligns partially with Adebajo and Mustapha's (2008) apt narrative of Nigeria's post-Cold War foreign policy dealing largely within the broader framework of three contexts; domestic, regional, and external (or global). Mustapha especially provides an analysis of three inter-connected determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy process. According to him, "The first...is the arena of formal diplomatic negotiations and agreements and the pursuit of sub-regional hegemonic ambitions (*diplomatic apparatus*). The second...is the way in which its 'fractured' nationhood impinges on the foreign policy process (*nationality*) [while] the third is the impact of Nigeria's global reputation or 'identity' on the foreign policy process (*identity*)" (p.41). The concentric circles theory mentioned above correctly captures the distinctiveness of Africa in Nigeria's foreign policy as a pattern of concentric circles may be discernible in the foreign policy behaviour and attitude of Nigeria to issues within the African continent and the world at large (Adigbuo 2005; Gambari 1986; Folarin 2010; Akpotor and Nwolise 1999).

By corollary, a major theme in most literatures on Nigeria's foreign policy is the focus on the Afrocentric nature of Nigeria's foreign policy with the central argument that Nigeria's foreign policy (notwithstanding military or civilian rule) has not

particularly deviated from its African focus since it was first articulated on October 7, 1960 by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (see Adeyemo 2002; Folarin 2010; Saliu 2006; Uzodike *et al* 2013; Fawole 2013).

Okpokpo (1999) makes a useful point on the content and context of Nigeria's foreign policy in the new millennium by arguing that even though the country's foreign policy thrust has since independence been focused on Africa, it nevertheless needs to begin to endeavour to take a more assertive global disposition particularly on issues as globalization, human rights and democracy. Hence, if Nigeria is to play a key role in current high level diplomatic circles, it must begin to build its foreign policy on more than only one pillar. Okpokpo further explained the impact internal political events have on the dimension of foreign policy particularly in Nigeria. Consequently, Nigeria's image abroad has been badly configured by the recklessness of its previous leadership as exhibited in gross human right abuses, financial waste, democratic truncation and abortion. He argues further that these negative realities largely accounted for Nigeria's sour relationship with the international community chief among them are Commonwealth countries, Canada, the European Union (EU) and of course the United States of America (USA). He contended that Nigeria's claim to the status of 'giant of Africa' is nothing but a 'fictional' title and as such countries like South Africa and Egypt often regarded as true 'giants' "work hard to get a name and maintain their place within the intentional arena" (p. 35). His main thesis was that the main foreign policy priority and focus of Nigeria should be that which emphasizes economic development and the general well-being of Nigerian people. According to him, "though Africa should not be forgotten, Nigeria's interest should come first in all our foreign policy analysis and decisions...geared towards the promotion of our cultural heritage and scientific, economic and technical cooperation with viable partners".

As argued in some quarters, Nigeria's foreign policy should be aimed at attracting benefits for the improvement of the lives of its people. Adeniji however disagrees with this position by asserting that Nigeria's foreign policy needs to begin to reflect the nuances of a new African agenda that takes into account the fundamental changes in the international system as it affects Africa. According to him, Africa must continue to be the chief focus of Nigeria's foreign policy and must strive to remain

one of the major powers, if not the major power in Africa (Adeniji 2000:21-22).

Scholars have also attempted to establish the centrality of Nigeria's foreign policy to West African sub-region in particular and Africa in general in such issues as transnational security challenges (Obi 2008; Badmus & Ogunmola 2003; IPA 2003); neo-colonialism (Akindele 1998); democratization (Asobie 2002); poverty, diseases and underdevelopment (Akinbobola 2000; Nweke 2000); massive debt to the West (Saliu 1999, Olusanya *et al*, 1989) etc. Omotola (2008:46) for instance writing on the changing role of Nigeria in promoting democratic values in Africa suggests that:

Nigeria has fared relatively well in promoting democracy in Africa, given the number of cases and issues in which it has intervened to condemn unconstitutional change of government, contribute to the restoration of democracy, support electoral processes and institutions of African states, and/or give appreciable support to regional and sub-regional frameworks for the promotion of sustainable peace, democracy and development.

Obi (2008) for his part also comments on Nigeria's response to transnational challenges within the West African region. He notes unequivocally that Nigeria's consistent pursuit for leadership role in ECOWAS and its quest for regional economic integration and development are premised on the acknowledgment by ECOWAS of Nigeria's capacity to exercise sub-regional leadership. His emphasis therefore is that although Nigeria acknowledges the centrality of ECOWAS to transnational security, it is however handicapped by its failure to match rhetoric with comprehensive concrete achievement through the ECOWAS framework. This, according to him, is evidenced in the absence of a "systematic and coherent approach in addressing from Nigeria's strategic foreign policy perspective" (Obi 2008:193). Added to this is its failure to clearly articulate a specific policy for the sub-region beyond the vague and incoherent foreign policy thrust in which Africa and West Africa is broadly conceived as the cornerstone of her foreign policy.

Eze (2009) equally provides a cursory analysis of Nigeria's engagement in Peace Support Operations (PSOs) as an enduring signature and landmark of the country's foreign policy since independence in 1960. His argument is that although its involvement has given it a reputable position among the comity of nations, it is

however restrained by uninspiring economy and a new international order informed by the end of the Cold War.

In another excellent review of Nigeria's power status particularly in the West African sub-region, Saliu (2006) argues that for a long time to come Nigeria's dominance of the sub-region will remain unchallenged as the power configuration and climate within the region appear to remain tilted in favour of Nigeria due largely to its possession of the traditional elements of power such measured for instance in economic and military terms.

A number of literatures have also surfaced in Nigeria's foreign policy discourse underscoring the argument that Nigeria's dynamic and outstanding national role conception in the continent have been informed by a number of conditions including its natural endowments, demographic preponderance¹⁰ (Akinterinwa 2001; Ayam 2001; Aluko 1981; Mazrui 2006; Saliu 1996), mineral resources (Fawole 2003; Folarin 2010; Obadare 2001) and a formidable military (Folarin 2010; Shaw, 1987; Thomas 2001). Meierding (2010) for instance highlights the increasing significance of what he termed 'local' hegemony in international politics by attempting to apply mainstream international relations theories beyond the traditional realm of Great Powers with specific reference to Nigeria as a middle power. An essential core of his argument therefore is that Nigeria's foreign policy behaviour is highly consistent with the prescription and postulation of International Relations theories of liberalism, neo-realism, rational choice, liberalism, hegemonic stability as well as constructivism. According to him, despite the fact that Nigeria is not a global hegemon and is faced with numerous domestic constraints, it nevertheless exercises considerable influence in the West African sub-region as a result of its enormous oil wealth (see Herskovits 1978).

Scholars (Amusan 2006; Adeniji 2005; Gambari 1997; Ikhariale 2002; Saliu and Omotola (2008) have also assessed the chances of Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat in the proposed expanded United Nations Security Council (UNSC) while presenting a detailed account of Nigeria's credentials and antecedents for this position. Saliu and Omotola (2008:71) point to a number of factors that strengthen the country's

¹⁰ Nigeria is renowned as the most populous black nation in the world with a population of over 160 million. According to Mazrui (2006), it equally has most civil elite in the developing world.

candidacy for a UNSC permanent seat over the likes of South Africa and Egypt. This includes “its service as a non-permanent member of the Security Council for three terms, its impressive peacekeeping profile, not only under the aegis of the UN, but also under the OAU (now AU), ECOWAS (ECOMOG) and through bilateral channels; and its unparalleled African leadership role” (Saliu and Omotoal 2010:81). For instance Adeniji (2005) in his argument opines that among Nigeria’s credentials include: its diplomatic behaviour and awareness of special responsibility towards Africa influenced by the injuries inflicted by slave trade, colonialism and apartheid on the continent; being the country with the largest concentration of black people on earth; its contribution to unequalled peacekeeping globally. He further points to the impediments to this aspiration particularly from other interest African states especially South Africa and Egypt. In his view, Nigeria’s claim to the proposed seat is albeit genuine and legitimate arguing on the premise that the country has been magnanimous since its independence in advancing the course of Africa and its people as evidenced in its involvement in Angola, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Sierra Leone, Liberia and many others.

Kuna (n:d) further adds to this argument in his assessment of Nigeria’s role in conflict management particularly in the areas of peace-building, conflict resolution and peacekeeping efforts. He submits that given its contribution to the maintenance of regional peace and stability, “Nigeria stands in a good position to represent Africa and Black people all over the world in the Security Council” (p.10). Bach (2007) points to a manifest perception of Nigeria as a ‘natural’ leader in African continental affairs. He submits that Nigeria’s reputation in West Africa is one that is driven by a pattern of dominance or influence void of power. He argues that Nigeria has done very little to project its relational and structural power within the West African region and points to a disconnect between the regionalisation efforts within the region and the projection of the country’s (Nigeria) regional power ambition.

Most of the literatures reviewed so far no doubt provide sufficient intellectual background and historical foundation for this study and further points out a critique of the main issues in Nigeria’s foreign policy which this study would benefit from. What is clear is that very minimal literatures exist on comparative regional power assessment especially within the African region. Any meaningful understanding of

Nigeria's power capabilities and influence within the African continent must take into cognizance the contending power blocs within the continent. Again, barely any work exists that have made an elaborate comparative analysis across regimes types and regime change which is reflected in the choice of Nigeria under the military and civilian administrations and South Africa under the apartheid and post-apartheid democratic dispensation respectively.

It is for this reason that a comparative assessment which this study seeks to introduce becomes meaningful and significant in contributing to existing literatures. The current study takes a bold attempt to push further Adebajo's argument with relevant updates that go beyond 2008 when his study lapsed. No doubt, there is a dearth of literatures on regional power politics within the African region. Against the backdrop of the post-apartheid strained relationship between Nigeria and South Africa, a need exists for the comparative study of both countries at different levels to assess what value or otherwise these pattern of relationship or behaviour have on the African continent.

2.2.4.2 Overview of the literature on South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy

As a point of departure, it is important to note at this stage that etched in the foreign policy history of South Africa foreign policy relations since the apartheid era is the deliberate intention to dominate other states. Therefore, one cannot fully grasp the "significance of Pretoria's current Africa policy without examining its past destructive military and economic role" particularly within the Southern African sub-region (Naidoo 2010:84). Therefore, in exploring South Africa's foreign policy in the post-apartheid era, we shall take our discussion in line with Naidoo's (2010) categorization of literatures into three broad paths: the estimative/prescriptive¹¹; the new dispensation¹² and the ambiguity¹³. I add a fourth category focusing on South Africa's

¹¹ Some of the literatures related to this period include; Mills and Baynham (*Changing the Guard: South African Foreign Policy Into the 1990s: 1990*), Vale (*Starting Over: Some Early Questions on a Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy: 1990, Points of Re-entry: Prospects for a Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy: 1992*), Evans (*Continuity and Change in South Africa's Present; Future Foreign Policy; Myths and Realities in South Africa's Future Foreign Policy: 1991*), Geldenhuys (*Towards a New South Africa: The Foreign Policy Dimension: 1991*), Davies (*Integration or Cooperation in a Post-Apartheid Southern Africa: Some Reflections on an Emerging Debate: 1992*), Du Pisani (*Post-Settlement South Africa and the Future of Southern Africa: 1993*) and McGowan (*The 'New' South Africa: Ascent or Descent in the World System?: 1993*), Koos van Wyk (*Foreign policy options for a new South Africa: 1993*), Colin Legum (*South Africa's potential role in the organisation of African unity: 1993*).

¹² See Du Pisani (*South Africa and the Region: 1994*), Mills (*From Pariah to Participant: South Africa's Evolving Foreign Relations, 1990-1994: 1994*), Bischoff (*Democratic South Africa One Year After: Towards a New Foreign Policy: 1995*), Davies (*South African Foreign Policy Options in a Changing*

emerging and regional power status vis-à-vis the Global South and the African continent. Naidoo (2010) argues that these three broad patterns on South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy discussions are further reflected in four categories of writings foreign policy with regard to its regional foreign policy of (integration, cooperation and development); regional issues pertaining to trade and investment; regional issues centred on collective security through peacekeeping/brokering and finally on the role of South Africa in the post-apartheid period. As expected, there has generally been a surge of interest in the study of South African foreign policy since the dawn of the post-apartheid dispensation. A corollary effect of this is an avalanche of robust academic and scholarly works on the subject matter till date. Hence, our selective and in-exhaustive review of South Africa's foreign policy in the post-apartheid period follows along these same contexts identified by Naidoo (2010).

To begin with, the turn of the 1990s characterised by a massive change in the international position of South Africa at the time in what Mills (1990) described as a 'new' and 'pre-post-apartheid' period of South Africa's foreign policy, a number of scholarship began to emerge following the gradual removal of over forty years of isolation. Much of the literatures during this period focused on the possible foreign policy choices that South Africa could adopt in the emerging post-apartheid period. One of the early works in this 'estimative/prescriptive' chapter was by Mills (1990) who for instance historicized the country's foreign policy behaviour since 1945 and made projections about the possible pattern of foreign policy options available to President De Klerk moving forward. He mentioned that the dramatic transformation

Global Context: 1995), Carlsnaes and Muller (*Change and South African External Relations: 1997*), Landsberg (*Selling South Africa: New Foreign Policy and Strategic Ambiguity or Ambitious Strategy?, Foreign Policy Since the 1994 Election: 1995*), Le Pere and van Nieuwkerk (*Mission Imperfect: Redirecting South Africa's Foreign Policy: 1995*), Shubin (*Flinging the Doors Open: Foreign Policy of the New South Africa: 1995*), Vale (*Continuity Rather Than Change: South Africa's 'New' Foreign Policy: 1995*), Evans (*South Africa in Remission: The Foreign Policy of an Altered State: 1996*) and Spence (*The Debate over South Africa's Foreign Policy: 1996*), Van der Westhuizen (Can the giant be Gentle? Peacemaking as South African foreign policy: 1995).

¹³ Mills (*Leaning All Over the Place? The Not-So-New South African Foreign Policy: 1997*), Ryall (*Caught Between Two Worlds: Understanding South Africa's Foreign Policy Options: 1997*), Solomon (*In Search of a South African Foreign Policy: 1997*), Henwood (*South Africa's Foreign Policy: Principles and Problems: 1997*), Le Pere, Lambrechts and Van Nieuwkerk (*The Burden of the Future: South Africa's Foreign Policy Challenges in the New Millennium: 1999*), Vale and Taylor (*South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy Five Years on – From Pariah State to 'Just Another Country'?: 1999*), Taylor's (*Stuck in Middle Gear: South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Relations: 2001*), Sidiropoulos ed (*Apartheid Past, Renaissance Future: South Africa's Foreign Policy, 1994-2004; 2004*), Adebajo et al eds: (*South Africa in Africa: The Post-Apartheid Era; 2007*).

of the international system at the time cemented with the substitution of the US-Soviet Union conflict by new form of conflicts necessitated the need for a new kind of foreign policy to response to these pressing international changes. As Mills (1990) further confirms, these events rendered unlikely two historical foreign policy options available to South Africa; of a pro-Western and pro-Soviet stance. Accordingly to him, South Africa in this era would be left with no other foreign policy alternative but that of 'non-alignment neutrality' substituted for the policy of regionalism where military and economic alliances could be formed with its neighbours for mutual benefits (ibid:186-187).

Barratt (1991:1993) and Evans (1991a; 1991b) equally concede to this point in their emphasis that even though caution needs to be exercised in the crafting of South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy, its role in world politics both in the short and long term would go on to be conditioned by its commitment to bilateral, unilateral and multilateral commitments and its success at both domestic and regional levels. Their concern was more about the behaviour of South African foreign policy in the future in local, regional and global politics. According to Evans (1991), complex interdependence would perhaps become a guiding paradigm of South Africa's foreign policy rather than political realism which pervaded its external relations under apartheid. It was envisaged that "South Africa is likely to be a powerful regional player in sub-Saharan politics" and as a natural hegemon and protagonist within its sub-region while at the same time being able to aspire to a leadership role in South-South relations (Evans 1991:720).

Vale (1990:1992) however presents a slightly different argument on what shape South Africa's foreign policy should take. In his submission, the country's post-apartheid foreign policy should be one that takes into cognizance its preoccupation with the domestic reconstruction which especially prioritizes the economy. He argues that the economic philosophy and arrangements it is able to reach with international economic groupings like the European Commission (EC) would have serious implication for its foreign policy behaviour. If this happens, the region would be better placed to "take advantage of access to African markets through agreements and other such mechanisms". Du Pisani (1994) equally acknowledges that the birth of a more democratic South Africa is likely to usher in a pattern of relationship with Southern Africa. This would expectedly be configured by the primacy of domestic

socioeconomic reconstruction, economic relations and the need for foreign investment in which three possible scenarios (bi-lateral; regional integration and peripheralization and neo-regionalism) could emerge. Habib's extensive explanation of South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy also advances the argument that South Africa's contemporary foreign policy can only be understood within the context of its post-apartheid political transition. According to him, "its actors, the ideas they express, the interest they represent and the institutions they craft are all crucially influenced and impacted upon by the democratic transition and how it has evolved" (Habib 2009:1).

The second band of literatures (the new dispensation) on South Africa's foreign policy in the post-apartheid period surfaced at the dawn of democratization in 1994 with attention focusing on the evolving South African foreign policy according to Mills from "a pariah to a participant" in the global system (see Naidoo 2010). Mandela's paper 'South Africa's Future Foreign Policy' published in *Foreign Affairs* (1993) signalled the close of a chapter in South Africa's foreign policy and consequently foreshadowed this new phase of post-apartheid foreign policy literature. Mandela's seminal paper laid the foundation for what would later form a larger part of the fundamental principles of South Africa's foreign policy in the post-apartheid (to be discussed later) framed on the believe that human rights was to be the cornerstone of its international relations.

Clapham (1994) submits that the successful conclusion of the transfer of power in South Africa to a government inevitably dominated by the country's African majority carries major implication for the country's foreign policy. In his view, to all intents and purposes, South Africa has now become what it really is not only in diplomatic terms but also in geographical terms. In essence, the success of its foreign policy will then depend highly on its being part of Africa and the extent to which it is able to share the aspirations of African states as a whole.

In the wake of South Africa's post-apartheid democratic experience, van der Westhuizen's (1995) published an article making a case for the possible role South Africa could play in order to sustain its relative emerging prominence. His major argument dwelt on the premise that South Africa should comprehensively assume the position of a regional hegemon both in Southern Africa in particular and Africa in general since it possesses the significant 'soft' and 'hard' power to exert this kind of

its influence. The importance of the preservation of South Africa's international prominence was also echoed as a precondition to avoid the risk of losing its prestige. He contends that South Africa requires a dynamic foreign policy role of peacekeeping that is bold enough to project itself to the world as fundamentally one with the capacity to establish its hegemonic presence. His conclusion was therefore that the country can begin to effectively demonstrate that it can indeed be a 'gentle' giant within the African continent.

The third strand of literature which according to Naidoo (2010) started in 1997 focused on the ambiguous nature of South Africa's foreign policy in terms of the contrast between policy and practice¹⁴. According to Naidoo, four major contributions by Taylor's (2001), Sidiropoulos (2004), Adebajo *et al* (2007) and Carlsnaes and Nel (2006) are recognizable in this regard.

The fourth thread of literature on South Africa's foreign policy examines the regional influence of South African in Southern Africa in particular and the African continent in general¹⁵. For instance, Sidiropoulos (2007:22) submits that South Africa's regional power status can be justified on the following basis: being keen to shoulder the responsibilities that go with being a power in its region; its commitment to partnering with key emerging powers such as India, Brazil and China in boosting interdependence among these partners; does not want to upset the apple cart in Africa and wants to be admired and welcomed as part of the group and finally that is proud of its science and technology capacity, a developed private sector and a global rather than a parochial agenda.

¹⁴ Mills (Leaning All Over the Place? The Not-So-New South African Foreign Policy: 1997), Ryall (Caught Between Two Worlds: Understanding South Africa's Foreign Policy Options: 1997), Solomon (In Search of a South African Foreign Policy: 1997), Henwood (South Africa's Foreign Policy: Principles and Problems: 1997), Le Pere, Lambrechts and Van Nieuwkerk (The Burden of the Future: South Africa's Foreign Policy Challenges in the New Millennium: 1999), Vale and Taylor (South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy Five Years on – From Pariah State to 'Just Another Country'?: 1999), Taylor's (Stuck in Middle Gear: South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Relations: 2001), Sidiropoulos ed (Apartheid Past, Renaissance Future: South Africa's Foreign Policy, 1994 2004: 2004), Nathan (Consistency and inconsistencies in South African foreign policy: 2005), Adebajo et al eds (South Africa in Africa: The Post-Apartheid Era: 2007).

¹⁵ Solomon (South African Foreign Policy, Middle Power Leadership and Preventive Diplomacy), Bischoff (Foreign policy by changing balances of power? South Africa as a middle power at the United Nations: 2009), Flemes (Regional power South Africa: Co-operative hegemony constrained by historical legacy: 2009),

Again, Vines (2010:61) argues that “South Africa’s peace and security efforts have been driven by increasing external expectations and by its own ambitions”. He questions the capacity of the Zuma government to effectively take up such responsibility of regional security particularly in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) while pointing specifically to the inconsistent pattern of the South Africa’s mediation efforts as recorded in the cases of Zimbabwe, Angola, Lesotho and Cote d’Ivoire. His central argument is that even though Pretoria is encumbered with domestic issues which have remained the priority of the Zuma government, South Africa should not in any way turn a blind eye at regional issues around its neighbours such as Lesotho and Swaziland.

In *Regional Power South Africa: Co-operative Hegemony Constrained by Historical Legacy*, Daniel Flesmes (2009) makes a description of regional powers in terms of its distinguishing features while also applying these criteria to South Africa. He argued that even though South Africa seems to possess the capacity for regional hegemony, this capability is however hampered by its historical legacies and the unwillingness of some of its neighbours to accept this leadership role induced largely by its political and historical legacy. As a result of this position, he observed South Africa’s preference for using institutional instruments to assert its interest both regionally and globally via effective participation in regional and international institutions. He goes on to trace this commitment to regional institutionalization to the African National Congress’ (ANC) foreign policy posture and post-apartheid South Africa’s political culture. In addition, South Africa’s claim to leadership is more obvious at the global stage much more than the regional level leading to wide acceptance of its leadership at the global level.

Flesmes also notes the need for further studies to verify the positive correlation between leadership acceptance and the use of discursive and institutional foreign policy instruments with the negative correlation rejection of leadership and use of material instruments to assert interest. He further mentioned the pivotal significance of secondary powers like Nigeria for regional acceptance.

2.2.5 Review of the literature on Nigeria and South Africa’s hegemony

It is important for this study to also review some of the existing literatures on Nigeria and/or South Africa’s hegemonic ambition or status in Africa. This is important

because many of the literatures in this genre focus on a single country case analysis of Nigeria (Adebajo 1996; Shaw, Ihonvbere, Gray and Dickens 1996; Mabry 2000; Bach 2007; Adebajo and Mustapaha 2008; Omotola 2009) or South Africa (Pfister 2000; Nathan 2005; Gelb 2001; Alden and Soko 2005; Landsberg 2006; Landsberg and Kondlo 2007; Prys 2007; Fledes 2007, 2009; Sidiropoulos 2007; Habib 2008; Geldenhuys 2008; Kagwanja 2009; Bischoff 2009; Alden and le Pere 2009; Mandela 2010; Tjemolane 2011; CSS Report 2011; Bohler-Muller 2012; Scholvin 2012). In essence, while very few literatures exist dwelling on a comparative study of both countries (Adebajo 1995; Adebajo and Landsberg 1996; le Pere 1999; Ogwu 1999; Adedeji 1999; Adeniji 2000; Obasanjo 2001; Adebajo and Landsberg 2003; Games 2004; Akinboye 2003; 2005; Ogwu 2005; Daniel, Lutchman and Naidu 2005; Gumede, Nwanma and Smith 2006; Mazrui 2006; Landsberg 2008; Onuoha 2009; Fledes and Wojczewski 2010; Amusan 2011; Adebajo 2012; Zabadi and Onuoha 2012) often times, many of these analyses do not apply beyond sub-regional influence where both states are seen to be dominant or are limited to the context of relationship existing between both countries.

There is currently no specific PhD thesis that investigates the dynamics of power relationship between Nigeria and South Africa and the implication of this for the African continent. For the purpose of emphasis, we focus our literature survey on the post-apartheid era beginning from 1994 for three reasons. First, it was at this period that the balance of power equation in the African continent changed considerably following the re-inclusion of South Africa into the international comity of nations after decades of international isolation. Prior to this period, Nigeria had enjoyed unrivalled dominance and was at the forefront of continental issues in Africa. Secondly, this period also marked Nigeria's political transformation into a stable democracy having witnessed years of political-economic decay as a result of military authoritarian rule that invariably led to its isolation and further exclusion from many international membership.

Thirdly and perhaps more importantly, it is common knowledge that since South Africa's breakthrough from apartheid and the emergence of Nelson Mandela as the country's first black President, its relationship with Nigeria has not only been awkward but also negative, harsh and antagonistic (Akinadewo; *Premium Times*;

2012). In the wake of 20 years of South Africa's celebration of democracy, it becomes imperative to examine the impact of South Africa's democratic rule on its relations with Nigeria and also unearth the implication of this relationship for Africa. We turn to a review of some of the relevant literatures highlighted above.

In a chapter in the *State of the Nation*; Daniel, Lutchman and Naidu (2005) examine the issue of Nigeria and South Africa's hegemony by foregrounding their analysis on the importance of African markets for South Africa's corporate and parastatal economic involvement. They examine the increasing economic chemistry between Nigeria and South Africa in the light of the growing substantial economic stake of the latter on the former in the past couple of years. According to them, "South African capital appears to be the entity most willing and capable of breathing new life into the enfeebled body of the Nigerian economy" (p.558).

Onuoha (2005) studies the nature of power configuration between Nigeria and South Africa by examining bilateral relations since emergence of democratic rule in both states in 1999 and 1994 respectively. He attempts to situate how democratic rule and globalization impacts on Nigeria-South Africa relations by arguing that the relationship between both states is couched in an economic rivalry which appears tilted in South Africa's favour. His main thesis is that South Africa undoubtedly possess superior economy strength over and above Nigeria and this unarguably qualifies it as the African regional hegemon since according to him, "South Africa currently determines who gets what, how and when in Africa" (p.58). His submission is therefore that Nigeria can take full advantage of this opportunity provided by South Africa's domination of the former's economy by transforming its public enterprise and reduce corruption.

Landsberg's (2008:203-219) chapter in *Gulliver's Troubles: Nigeria's foreign policy after the Cold War* examines the success of Nigeria and South Africa's partnership since 1999 particularly in constructing an African 'concert of powers'¹⁶. His focus was on the formidable role played by both countries in the formation of NEPAD and the AU in 2001 and 2002 respectively. The author also sets for himself two main ambitious tasks of investigating whether the African 'concert of power' was a

¹⁶ The idea of a 'concert of power' was first coined by Rosecrance (1992) in his publication on "A new Concert of Power"; *Foreign Affairs*.

deliberate or coincidental policy of strategic partnership of both countries and also examining some of the tensions that have emerged as a result of this important bilateral 'special' relationship. Landsberg noted that NEPAD and the AU emerged as a result of the recognition of Nigeria and South Africa that Africa's marginalisation and under-development could only be reversed if both countries acted together as a 'concert of powers' in Africa (p.203). He points to two distinct periods of Nigeria-South Africa relations; first was between 1999 to 2004 accompanied by a strong bilateral relation between both countries while the second was the period between 2005 and 2007, characterized by a deterioration of bilateral ties due partly to the accusation of Obasanjo as playing second fiddle to Mbeki and the controversy over the contest for a permanent seat for Africa at the UN.

Focusing on the leaderships of Thabo Mbeki and Olusegun Obasanjo (both elected in 1999), Landsberg concludes that both Presidents had a synchronized foreign policy goal of bringing about stabilization and democratization to the Africa continent and this invariably made it easy for the synergy of partnership to exist. Again, despite the frail relationship between both countries and the domestic challenges that both Obasanjo and Mbeki were confronted with, "the partnership has shown itself to be versatile and adaptable, and has demonstrated that it is capable of dealing with the intricacies of African power politics and divisions" (Landsberg 2008:215).

Amusan and van Wyk's (2011) "[t]he complexities of bilateral relations: the Nigeria-South Africa relationship (2000-2006)" gives an elaborate analysis of the nature of the existing relationship between both countries which in their argument is embedded in the complex interdependence paradigm where the two states are dependent on each other. They explain that any attempt by the both states to 'do it all alone' would do nothing more than expose the sensitivity and vulnerability of the two states particularly in the economic and political sphere. The main thrust of their argument therefore is that both Nigeria and South Africa need each other for their own development and ultimately for the development of Africa since according to him; "[a]s long as both states are dominant powers in their respective sub-region, there is always a need for them to co-formulate some functional policy for African development" (Amusan and van Wyk 2011:37). The paper therefore foreshadows that given the increasing degree of interdependence between Nigeria and South Africa,

future relationships would likely be mutually inclusive and driven by collaboration, integration and conflict, but would nevertheless remain conditioned by more efforts towards cooperation.

Understandably, Amusan and van Wyk's (2011) paper limits its analysis of both countries' relationship to the context of the complex interdependence theory presuming that relationship between states are always cooperative while forgetting that states in seeking to further their self-interests enter into conflictual relationship with other states. Again, even when states behave cooperatively with other states, it is still within the ambits of trying to advance its own interest because states would not cooperate with other states if this relationship stands to disadvantage them in any way both in the short and long term. Simply put, South Africa would only relate with Nigeria if it stands to gain in this relationship and this ideology has perhaps influenced its economic relationship with Nigeria since the end of apartheid; a relationship it has benefited from immensely. By implication, this analysis falls short of balanced application of theory to the pattern and context of Nigeria's relationship with South Africa.

Adebajo (2012) attempts to historicise Nigeria and South Africa's relationship particularly since the 1960s through the periods of regime type and regime change in both countries. In his theatrical account of four 'Acts', he lays bare a sequence of the existing deep seated historical rivalries between both countries dating back to the 1960s and efforts towards mending broken diplomatic fences between the two particularly in the post-apartheid years. He does this by pointing to the contrast and similarities in both countries' continental ambition for African leadership. In his account, the first Act (1960-1993) opened with the birth of Nigeria in 1960 which brought anticipation of the coming of age of an African political and economic giant. It was at the period also that South Africa's political profile plummeted after its expulsion from the Commonwealth following the Sharpeville massacre. In other words, the over three decades of this period witnessed Nigeria's attempt at seeking greater sub-regional influence in West Africa through economic development although hampered for the most part by France support for francophone states.

On the other hand, South Africa's dominance in Southern Africa was unrivalled but its influence was restrained by the brunt of international sanction. By implication,

during this period, Nigeria was the prophet and South Africa the pariah. Nelson Mandela's release in 1990 from prison and his eventual emergence as president in 1994 set the stage for a second Act (1994-1998). Adebajo argues that this second epoch was typified by a dash of any possible hope of a 'special relationship' between Abuja and Pretoria highlighted by a row¹⁷ between Nigeria's Sani Abacha and South Africa's Nelson Mandela culminating in the latter's failed call for oil sanctions against Abacha's regime and its expulsion from the Commonwealth. According to Adebajo, this period, witnessed a reversal of international status of both countries with Nigeria becoming the pariah and South Africa the saint:

It was now Nigeria, and not South Africa, that was being considered for expulsion from the Commonwealth. It was Nigeria under a repressive military regime, that was facing mounting criticism over its human rights record; it was Nigeria that was becoming increasingly isolated in international society; and it was Nigeria that was considered to be possibly heading towards civil war (Adebajo 2007:4-5).

However, the relationship between both countries was resuscitated by Mbeki's concerted efforts to restore cooperative engagement between both states.

The third scene spanning between 1999 and 2008 opened with the induction of Obasanjo and Mbeki as heads of state of Nigeria and South Africa respectively in the same year (1999). This period ushered in a new wave of political and economic collaborative efforts between both states even interjected by a few hiccups occurred. The fourth Act (2009-2012) witnessed by the tenures of two former vice presidents (Goodluck Jonathan and Jacob Zuma) who went on to become presidents of their respective countries. Diplomatic rivalry during this period took another sour turn with South Africa's increasing romance with other allies like Angola and further exacerbated by its ascendancy as a result of its membership of G20 and BRICS. The conflicting stands of both countries in international issues relating for instance with Cote d'Ivoire and Libya in 2011. The highlight of this period however was South Africa's deportation of 125 Nigerians on March 2nd, 2012 over fake yellow fever vaccination cards followed by Nigeria reciprocal deportation of 28, 56 and 42 South Africans on March 4, 6 and 7 in retaliation. Adebajo however, notes a measure of

¹⁷ The uneventful execution of environmental activist Ken Saro Wiwa was in deviance to Mandela's plea and sparked wide animosity between both leaders leading to an anti-climax of bilateral relations.

optimism in Nigeria-South Africa relations moving forward based on recent efforts at strengthening bilateral ties.

This thesis thus aims to fill an intellectual gap in exploring the nexus between the foreign policy posture of both Nigeria and South Africa for continental hegemony in the context of the hegemonic stability theory.

2.3 Theoretical framework (Hegemonic Stability Theory)

This thesis is based on hegemonic stability theory as propounded by Kindleberger (1973) and other scholars like Keohane (1984; 1989), Modelski (1987), Krasner (1989) Gilpin (1987), Gadzey (1994). The concept has not only gained special emphasis but also a distinctive connotation over the years.

The idea of hegemony as it developed in the twentieth century owes much of its propulsion from Antonio Gramsci, the General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party who was incarcerated for his political inclinations in 1926 and died in prison in 1937. As discussed earlier, though Gramsci's concept was tilted towards a Marxist approach, its close association with the concept of power renders it applicable to many other theories of hegemony.

However, the theory of hegemonic stability was originally formulated by Charles Kindleberger (1973, 1981, 1986a, 1986b) in his application of the term to the rise and decline of the US's influence in international affairs. His main argument is that since states are rational egoists seeking to maximize their own interests and welfare defined in material terms, there is the necessity of a single leader for the provision of the public good of international stability. In essence, international economic stability is only possible where there is a clearly identified preponderant power/state in terms of material capabilities and by implication, the stability of the international system rests on a single dominant state which is able to articulate and enforce the rules of interaction among the most important members of the system. He identifies a number of preconditions for a stable international economic system; provision of a market for distress goods, producing steady flow of capital, maintaining a rediscounted mechanism for providing liquidity when the monetary system is frozen, managing the structure of foreign exchange rates, and providing a degree of coordination of domestic monetary policies. For a state to be a hegemon it therefore must have the

will and capability (based on a large and growing economy; economic and technological dominance, massive political power with evidence of superior military strength) to enforce the rules of the system and a commitment to a system perceived to be mutually beneficial to major states.

A more familiar form of hegemony was the United States in the aftermath of the Bretton Woods conference¹⁸. At that caucus meeting, it was decided that the US currency would be the yardstick, a main denominator – through which the strength of other currencies could be ascertained. This was an understandable occurrence because the conference came during World War II. The US remained unscathed while Europe was reeling from the financial and physical apocalypse that the war engendered. This meant that the US was strong and intact enough to be the world leader. It fitted with a general understanding of a hegemon because a hegemon “must have access to crucial raw materials, control major sources of capital, maintain a large market for imports, and hold comparative advantages in goods with high value added, yielding relatively high wages and profits” (Keohane 2005:33-34). The US enjoyed hegemony because it had no formidable rivals. Caveats have to be made for the temptation to argue that the United States hegemony served American interests only. The US was very instrumental in promoting and maintaining world peace (Gilpin 1981:145; Shaw *et al* 1996:33). Consequently, the US and United Kingdom have been the leading recipients of flack when world affairs became adverse.

This is a summary of the unipolar paradigm through which the US as a single power has managed to dominate the rest of the world. Prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the USSR was a contender to the world hegemon but with its collapse the US maintained its dominance. To this day, hegemony stability survives on the weakness of prospective contenders. A hegemon prescribes ideas that should be employed in respective political spheres. Though the United States has not dominated the world in the way that colonialism did, some people argue that it has actually been driven by cupidity and has been intolerant to nations and ideologies that are at variance with the US preferences. These subtle ways of domination could be through aid – which can arguably be called economic blackmail. Countries that benefit from US largesse feel

¹⁸ Another way in which the US showed its power was through the Washington Consensus. The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and US Treasury Department, all based in Washington crafted reforms which they thought would remedy the financially moribund states of the Third World.

indebted to endorse its ideologies (Destradi 2010:912913). According to David Lake (2009) interstate stratification is founded on socially contracted authority between dominant states and members of outranked states. These two types of states enter into this contract with mutual exchange: the superior state provides values and other public goods within its means while the dominated state reciprocates through 'compliance and legitimacy' (Lake 2009:36).

Because of its close correlation with power, the hegemonic stability theory is partly a mutation of realism and structuralism. Consequently, realists would elect a hegemon from the 'asymmetrical distribution' of power among different states (Prys 2010:9). While the concept of power is still tightly attached to who qualifies to be a hegemon, types of power have changed over time. Using one form of power as the underlying measure would produce unrealistic results and would be deterministic in nature (Prys 2010:9). In the past, power was mostly attached to nations that enjoyed large population, military might, conquest, geographic positioning and raw materials. Flesmes maintains that to date, what has kept the United States fixed as a hegemon is its military power. This comes against the backdrop of the US spending more than any other country in the world on defense equipment (Flesmes 2007:6; 2009:135). According to Joseph Nye (1990:154), power in contemporary terms is related to the gradations of technology, education and economic stamina. However, Nye does not infer that the technological or educational advancement are the only *sine qua non* to render a nation hegemon. A nation contending for international power should exude the ability to influence global political decisions. In this sense, Nye, concludes, the United States has maintained its prime position and power on the global political landscape armed essentially by a combination of its hard power with with its vast soft power arsenals (Nye 1990:155).

Lake (1993) argues that the hegemonic stability theory is more or less a combination of two analytically distinct theories; leadership and hegemony theories. His argument is that the theory of leadership emphasizes the provision of public good and international economic infrastructure in an atmosphere of international stability while hegemonic theory on the other hand argues that "the politics of international economic relations arise from the different structurally derived preferences over trade policy possessed by competing states... and the assumption that states possess the objective of political power or security" (Lake 1993:469).

The hegemonic stability theory therefore theorizes on the relationship between the structure of the international system, based on the distribution of power (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff 1996). The theory is therefore anchored on the conviction that the international system can only be steady when there is one internationally recognized power or overriding state that does two things: first, it should have a bounty of resources that suffice for it to be an international leader. Second, it should be poised to plans of action that are indispensable in creating and liberal economic order. Similarly connected are the two deductions that emanate from this theory: the hegemonic power should produce the public goods for all participants in the international system. Another conclusion is that in the international system, less powerful nations generate more benefits than the hegemon. This is so because they do not participate in producing public goods, but they receive the public goods from the hegemonic power. This second assertion gives the hegemonic theory its novelty. It is taken as common sense that powerful nations would want a stable globe for their own benefit (Mares 1988:456).

Bohler-Muller (2012:5) discredits any false-charity arguments by arguing that '[d]espite all the peripheral rhetoric, it is no secret that in the world of realpolitik, international relations are driven primarily by national interests'. Robert Gilpin (1981:29) explains the word hegemony from its etymology which suggests one state supplanting other states in the international system. He further argues that hegemons extend their power to other states with the hope and certainty that this extension will be beneficial to the hegemon. In this case, it is not a negligible matter for to claim that in the international system the "small exploit the large". A crude explanation of the hegemonic stability theory is that the presence of single strong power in the international system is beneficial to the whole international system. On the other hand, turmoil reigns supreme when the international system lacks the presence of a hegemonic power (Snidal 1985:579; Nye 1990:153). This claim has been challenged for its sweeping assertion that there can never be order in the world devoid a single super power. Snidal (1985) tries to prove that international co-operation and order can be maintained and even grow in a world bereft of a hegemon.

In literature, there is the general categorization of hegemons into three types; *benevolent*, *mixed-motives (strategic)* and *exploitative* hegemons. The benevolent hegemon promotes the general welfare of states rather than self-interest. Benevolent

hegemons thus use rewards rather than force to earn the allegiance of other states. The mixed-motives and strategic hegemon has a fair measure of general as well as self-centred interests in its leadership position. When there is necessity, mixed motive hegemons exploit the contingency of coercion to realize their motives. The exploitative hegemon is concerned with relative gains and uses coercion to win compliance and attain its ends (Universitat Bern, pg 2-3). Destradi (2010:909-910) calls this type of leadership as 'imperial' and also notes that it has a realist inclination or bent. Exploitative hegemon is undoubtedly the type of hegemon that has provoked the struggle against having "super powers". It causes – in the international political economy – an unfair brand of influence and adoption of ideas, akin to the Marxist understanding of oppressive power. Some writers have actually reserved the term hegemony to this coercive type of power. This conception of hegemon does not brook the possibility of benevolent hegemons (Destradi 2010:910).

Hegemonic stability theory posits that an open and liberal world economy requires the necessary and compulsory existence of a hegemonic and dominant power (Gilpin 1997:72). According to Gilpin, four fundamental set of resources are particularly crucial for the recognition of a hegemon. They include: *control over raw materials, sources of capital, market and competitive advantage in the production of highly valued goods*. Keohane (1996:287) conceived of the theory as the preponderance of material resources. His view was that the concentration of power in one dominant state facilitates the development of strong regimes and the fragmentation of power is associated with regime collapse.

Mares (1988) points to what he calls the 'stable alliance' which is similar to Gramsci's comprehension of hegemony. Mares points out that in the international relations, many states would prefer to have balance than to bandwagon (to merely acquiesce in the dictates of one power). The fact that they prefer balance means that the states involved voluntarily enter into interstate agreements irrespective of the level of their strength (Mares 1988:453). The theory therefore recognizes the fact that the hegemonic state is comparable to the attainment and maintenance of an epoch of stability and prosperity while its decline is conterminous with international insecurity and economic stagnation. The major requirement for a hegemonic condition therefore includes power, capabilities and influence and the provision of public good (Prys 2009).

To this end, scholars have made such categorization of varieties of hegemonic presence to include benevolent, selfish, pariah, liberal hegemon, co-operative, structural hegemon, pivotal hegemon etc. Two fundamental outcome of a hegemonic regime are stability and security. Consequently, the theory is based on the assumption that a dominant state assumes a hegemonic role within the international system with a period characterized by prevalent and visible economic growth and prosperity at the international scene. There is therefore a defining relationship between hegemonic periods and stability which Nye (1990:188) described as a period of resultant peace and economic stability inspired by the presence of a hegemon. To him, “economic stability historically has occurred when there has been a sole hegemonic power....Without a hegemonic power, conflict is the order of the day”.

Keohane (1980:17) further viewed the theory of hegemonic stability as the provision of “order in the international system (or regional) system, reducing anarchy and performing some functions similar to a central government – deterring aggression, promoting free trade, and backing hard currency that can be used as a world (or regional) standard” (See Adebajo and Landsberg 2003:174).

Adebajo et al (2003:174) similarly recapitulates this view by stating that a “hegemon needs to have effective tool at its disposal, such as the ability to dispense foreign assistance, forge alliances, and use various sticks and carrots to achieve its policy objective”. By implication, it must be able to communicate clearly to the “hegemonized”, its capacity to not only reward obedience and conformity with hegemonic norms and ideas but also to punish deviance or unacceptable behavior from belligerent states. A number of theoretical standpoints exist for the explanation of the hegemonic stability theory. The neo-liberal perspective of hegemonic stability theory posits that an open and liberal world economy requires the necessary and compulsory existence of a hegemonic and dominant power (Gilpin 1997:72). It argues that a materially advantaged state has a strong interest in providing leadership to its sphere of influence through the provision of public goods (GIGA 2010; Kindleberger 1981).

The theory therefore recognizes the fact that the hegemonic state is comparable to the attainment and maintenance of an epoch of stability and prosperity while its decline is conterminous with international insecurity and economic stagnation. In Pry’s view,

the major requirement for a hegemonic condition therefore includes *power*, *capabilities* and *influence* and the provision of *public good* (Prys 2009b).

Similarly, the critical theory perspective of hegemony aptly presented by Bieler and Morton (2004) outlines the historical context within which various diverse but related neo-Gramscian perspective emerge. This perspective expands the domain of hegemony beyond the familiar international relations dimension of economic and military capabilities of state. It highlights how capitalist economic conditions and forms of social power are “reproduced, mediated and contested” (p.1). The theory focuses on social relations of production between “social interests in the struggle for consensual leadership rather than concentrating solely on state dominance.... Using historical materialist and a critique of capitalism the theory focuses on social forces engendered by changes in the social relations of production, forms of state and world order” (Bieler and Morton 2004:97). The theory therefore deviates from a focus on state dominance rather than on an “appreciation of how ideas, institutions and material capabilities interact in the construction and contestation of hegemony”.

Adebajo et al (2003:174) similarly recapitulate this view by stating that a “hegemon needs to have effective tool at its disposal, such as the ability to dispense foreign assistance, forge alliances, and use various sticks and carrots to achieve its policy objective”. By implication, it must be able to communicate clearly to the ‘*hegemonized*’ its capacity to not only reward obedience and conformity with hegemonic norms and ideas but also to punish deviance or unacceptable behavior from belligerent states.

South Africa in recent times has been grossly referred to and celebrated as Africa’s hegemon (Alden and le Pere 2004) particularly since the erosion of the decades of apartheid rule. Nigeria, on the other hand, has also been widely regarded as the ‘*giant*’ of Africa or Africa’s *Gulliver* even though this cliché seems to have dwindled at an accelerated pace since the start of the post-apartheid era in 1994 coinciding also with Nigeria’s comparative economic decline around the same period (late 1980s). This no doubt implies an accession to both countries’ position as potential or definite regional hegemons in Africa. The literature is rife with the claim that both countries perhaps hold the key to unlocking Africa’s economic wealth and political recovery (le Pere 1998; Adeniji 2000).

While it is true that the hegemonic stability theory was originally conceived to explain global great-power behavior and may not explicitly capture regional power relations, this study attempts to extrapolate and apply its basic assumptions in its analysis of hegemonic order in Africa.¹⁹ This theory is evaluated in terms of its coherence and consistency, parsimony and explanatory power to capture regional power realities in the African region.

In the design and implementation of foreign policy of any state, there are multiple factors (domestic and external) that impact on its construction as well as foundational principles that often motivate such policy. A discussion of these issues forms the focus of the next chapter.

¹⁹ The researcher is grateful to Doug Lemke and Ayo Whetho for inspiring the confidence to undertake this study and also Sakiemi Idoniboye-Obu for his kind contributions in developing the preliminary scope for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND DETERMINANTS OF NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to establish the institutional and ideological underpinnings that inspire Nigeria's foreign policy rooted essentially in the country's historical experience since independence. These are the fundamental principles and guiding frameworks that invariably account for Nigeria's foreign policy incursion particularly in Africa over the past five decades. Since independence in 1960, Nigeria has considered it very pertinent to engage itself in the socio-political and economic affairs of Africa (Okpokpo 1999). On the political front, Nigeria is easily seen as the vanguard of leadership in the African continent earning itself perceptions and reputation of other African states as the 'big brother'. From the First Republic, the then Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa on October 7, 1960, set the tone for the underlying values of his government's foreign policy emphasizing amongst others, the promotion of African unity and development; what is widely regarded as 'Pan-Africanism' (Dudley 1982; Osaghae 1998).

Several decades since the articulation of the above foreign policy guideline, it has continued to remain the cornerstone and guiding principle of Nigeria's external relations with the rest of the African countries. The principle of Pan-Africanism has featured prominently in Nigeria's engagements with many countries within Africa and, to a large extent, remained virtually the same in spite of various regime changes and oscillation between military and civilian administration. Furthermore, it is often not unusual to find that in the design and implementation, the tenure and texture of the foreign policy of a nation directly flows from its past political experiences.

An acknowledgment of the huge political-economic status of Nigeria in Africa is critical to any estimation of the expected role of the country in African affairs. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a former president, for instance, strongly championed the idea that, Nigeria should play a frontline leadership role in Africa. In what he referred to as "the historic mission and manifest destiny in the continent", his argument was that the

nation should take up the task leading Africa through the path of recovery and development (Claude 1964; See Omotola 2008:15; Saliu 2005a).

The 1979 Constitution of the Second Republic further strengthened the legal basis of Nigeria's Afro-centric pre-occupation when it stated that

[t]he state shall promote African Unity as well as the total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and all other forms of international co-operation conducive to the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and states and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestation (Republic of Nigeria 1979).

Against this backdrop, this chapter assesses the pattern and context in which Nigeria's foreign policy towards Africa particularly since 1960 when it attained independence is shaped. Specifically, it examines the drivers and determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy (domestic and external) by unpacking the fundamental impetus behind the foreign policy initiatives during these five decades.

With respect to the theoretical and practical aspects of Nigeria's foreign policy relations in Africa, this chapter is concerned with providing answers to two particular questions:

- Under what foreign policy guidelines (if any) is Nigeria's external relations particularly with Africa rooted?
- What are the domestic (centrifugal) and external (centripetal) determinants that account for Nigeria's foreign policy and in what ways do these factors impinge on or shape the country's foreign policy?

3.2 Fundamental principles and ideologies of Nigeria's foreign policy

To begin with, Nigeria's foreign policy no doubt has been largely determined and conditioned by the prevailing circumstances (both domestic and external) within and outside of the country. Often, its foreign policy imperatives and actions are in reaction to these factors. Consequently, any serious intention to understand or analyze Nigeria's foreign policy must begin with an examination of the prevailing factors and circumstances within and outside the country at any given historical period. From

being a newly independent country in 1960, Nigeria opted to take on the status of an African ‘knight in shining armour’ in the face of the ruins of colonial and foreign domination (Adebajo 2007). With the back and forth oscillation from civilian to military dispensations, Nigeria’s commitment to Africa remained unalloyed. It is therefore imperative to examine these factors that have shaped the conception and articulation of Nigeria’s foreign policy in its strong pro-African context.

In discussing the characteristics of foreign policy relations prior to independence, the passionate concern for world peace; the nonalignment policy; cooperation, respect for the sovereign equality of all nations; non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states and decolonization are policy positions that predated the emergence of independent Nigeria. And as Otubanjo rightly notes, “the guiding principles of Nigeria’s foreign policy were first articulated by the Balewa government and find their most explicit form in the address of the Prime Minister to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the occasion of Nigeria’s admission as the ninety-ninth member of the organization on October 7, 1960. In discussing the fundamental principles of Nigeria’s foreign policy, we shall elucidate on some of these principles that can over the years be summarized as the core paradigms upon which Nigeria’s foreign policy thrust is built.

*i) **Respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of all states***

This tripartite principle originates from the backdrop that states are at the heart and the primary actors of the international system; and that Nigeria’s capacity to defend its own sovereignty is only justified on the moral obligation of its respect for other state’s territorial integrity (Folarin 2010). Categorically, the criterion of territory is sacrosanct to any definition of a state. Jennings and Watts (1992:563) rightly observes that, “a state without a territory is not possible”. Thus, the principle guaranteeing the protection of the territorial expression and integrity of sovereign and independent states within the international system is one that must not be contradicted. This is also aptly in line with the Charter of the United Nations (1945) which recognizes the principle of sovereign equality of all states while equally acknowledging that the respect for territorial integrity and independence of states are fundamental principles that must be guaranteed.

Furthermore, Nigeria recognizes that the territorial integrity of any state must be jealously guarded and not jeopardized and through the instrumentality of its foreign policy initiatives. It therefore strives to uphold these values by taking effective measures such as taking leading role either independently or through multilateral regional and international regimes to collectively prevent the suppression of these rights in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. The extent to which successive Nigerian government had adhered to these principles is however a subject of debate.

ii) Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states

Even though this principle has been abused several times by successive Nigerian administrations, it nonetheless remains an important element of Nigeria's foreign policy thrust. Nigeria has over the years grappled with the difficulty of determining the circumstances under which intervention becomes necessary and, more importantly, in understanding the dividing line between interference and intervention. Interference may be seen to mean an unsolicited involvement in the internal affairs of a sovereign state while conversely, intervention can be seen from the spectrum of an internationally acceptable and recognized action premised for instance on humanitarian concern or that of restoring peace and stability to a nation ravaged by an internal crisis which has the potency of escalating to neighboring states (Pogoson, 2006). Among the reasons often proposed for this trend is the protection of the nation's security interest. Nigeria's intervention in the Chadian internal crisis in the 1970s and 1980s, Liberia in the 1990s for example are justified under this platform. It was the hunch of the Nigerian government that conflict in Chad which is a neighboring country, poses security problem for Nigeria. On the other hand, Nigeria's intervention in the Liberian and Sierra-Leonean domestic crisis is essentially to justify her regional power status and perception of her leadership role in the sub-regions.

iii) Recognition of self-determination and sovereign equality of all African states

Nigeria since independence has been at the forefront of the struggle for the self-determination and recognition of other states (Fawole 2003; Folarin 2010; Abegunrin 2003; Bukarambe 2000; Adebayo & Mustapha 2008). To be sure, Nigeria's effective engagement with the international community in championing the cause towards the decolonization process and all forms of colonialism, racial discrimination and

apartheid across the world was noteworthy. For instance, in December 1960, Nigeria joined many other countries in adopting the resolution on “The Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People” (UNGA 1960). It also participated by playing an active role in the support for the liberation movement particularly in Southern Africa by extending strong financial support for political parties such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) (Fawole 2003). For these and many reasons, Nigeria was on several occasions dignified with the chairmanship of the United Nations Special Committee Against Anti-apartheid. These included Leslie Harriman, Ibarahim Gambari, Joseph Garba, Yussuf Maitama, Edwin Ogbu, Akporode Clark among others (UN Multimedia 2009).

iv) Collective promotion of the values of cooperation and peaceful co-existence in Africa (Multilateralism).

Nigeria since independence has committed itself to the membership of various international organizations like the United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Commonwealth of Nations etc. This is no doubt a reflection of its firm belief that the problems that the world faces in general and the crisis in Africa in particular can only be solved via collective efforts. It is for this reason that Nigeria proposes African solutions to African problems particularly through the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and other international regimes (Landsberg 2008). As a result of Nigeria’s strong belief and commitment to the Pan-African principle, she has participated in several collaborative arrangements and cooperative engagements with international governmental organizations and international non-governmental organizations alike across the continent and the world at large with a bid to collectively seek out corporate solutions to global issues (See Table 3.1).

For instance, following the attainment of independence in 1960, the country did not hesitate in joining the United Nations Organization (UNO) while also playing formidable and active role both in the formation of the Organization of Africa Unity and its eventual transformation into African Union (AU). In fact Nigeria contributed substantially to the drafting of the OAU charter and also its structural formation

birthed in Lagos as well as being the frontrunner in the establishment of the ECOWAS.

Table 3.1: Some international cooperative arrangements with Nigeria's participation

Type	Regional Cooperative Arrangements
Institutional framework for the resolution of disputes	The ECOWAS <i>Mechanism for Conflict Prevention</i> mentioned earlier, the <i>Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Programme for Coordination and Assistance for Security and Development</i> (PCASED, 2002), the <i>Protocol Relating to Mutual Assistance of Defence</i> (1981), and the <i>Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance</i> (2001)
Specialized institutions	The Mediation and Security Council, Defence and Security Commission, ECOMOG, the Council of Elders, and the Office of Political Affairs, Defence and Security (PADS)
Economic regimes	Treaty establishing the African Economic Community

Source: Author's compilation

iv) Principle of non-alignment

The period of the Cold War was fundamentally a period of subtle antagonism and competition between the two main socio-economic and political ideological positions at the time (socialism and capitalism). The rivalry that this period generated prompted Nigeria along with many African countries to adopt a neutralist position as response to pressure exerted by these rivalries. The principle of non-alignment was therefore a foreign policy posture of Nigeria that:

emphasized first, that Nigeria must avoid identifying with any of the power blocs in the then-prevailing world system, and second, that the country must maintain an independent posture and judgment on all issues which come before the United Nations and the world community, particularly, issues affecting human rights and freedoms (Okeke 1981:203-204).²⁰

²⁰ Prime Minister Balewa's address to Parliament (August and October 1960). See also Kalu Ezera, *Constitutional Developments of Nigeria* (2d ed. 1964).

However, the extent to which Nigeria was non-aligned remained a subject of debate as many concluded that Nigeria for instance in the early years of its independence under Balewa was particularly pro-West possibly as a result of its colonial ties (Anglin 1964; Philips 1964; Folarin 2010).

v) ***Principle of reciprocity***

As a long standing value and principle of international relations, reciprocity is inherent in every foreign policy behavior of every state. And by implication, Nigeria's foreign policy and external relations with other states is conditioned by the accurate calculation of the (good or bad) intentions of other states with which it interacts. Generally, the principle of reciprocity requires officials conducting foreign policies of nation-states to reciprocate gestures from other nation-states in their interactions in the international community. As such, it is possible for state A to determine its foreign policy towards other states by understanding the intentions of state B. By implication, reciprocity may be positive or negative when it is cooperative or retaliatory respectively.

Nigeria's new foreign policy slogan of "citizen diplomacy" as espoused by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ojo Maduekwe in 2007 is a good illustration of foreign policy based on reciprocity of the gesture of other states. The fundamental core of this principle is that Nigeria would relate with nationals from other states exactly in the same manner that these states relates with its citizens. (Onyearu 2008:2). A more recent example would be the diplomatic faceoff between Nigeria and South Africa over the deportation of over 185 Nigeria for allegedly possessing illegal vaccination cards. Nigeria informed by the principle of reciprocity acted promptly by deporting over 125 business executives thus denying them entry into Nigeria.

3.3 Determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy towards Africa

Since independence, Nigeria has overtly or covertly crafted a 'giant of Africa' image for itself with its Afro-centric foreign policy which is best contextualized within a regional and continental framework (Adebayo and Landsberg 2003). Its foreign policy has demonstrated a resolute conviction to be at the forefront of the struggle for Africa's redemption from the predicaments of underdevelopment and the

entanglement of poverty and neocolonialism. Its leaders have blazed the trail of a preordained 'leader and lender' of the African continent (Kolawole; 2004). This aspiration to continental leadership has been consistently expressed through the instrumentality of its foreign policy over its 50-year history and is significant to the understanding of the fundamental components of Nigeria's foreign policy (Adebajo and Mustapha 2008).

Examining both the centripetal and centrifugal constituents of Nigeria's foreign policy is therefore critical to our understanding of the country's external relations perspectives. Nigeria's foreign policy has often been conceived by scholars and academics in the context of four "concentric circles" of national interest that guide Nigeria's foreign policy priorities (Gambari 1989). The first circle represents the imperative of the survival and sustenance of Nigeria's security, independence and prosperity which is indirectly hinged upon its stability of its immediate neighbors - Niger, Benin, Chad and Cameroon. The second circle focuses on Nigeria's external relations with countries within the West-African sub-region while the third circle is extended to African issues of continental dimensions of peace, development and democratization. The fourth and final sphere encompasses Nigeria's relations with international organizations and institutions along with states outside the domain of the African continent (Gambari 1989).

Any attempt to understand Nigeria's foreign policy thrust must begin with an appreciation of the nexus of the domestic forces and external environment of the foreign policy formulation in the country. This is critical to understanding the myriad of factors that have influenced the country's foreign policy since independence. As Terhemba and Kasali (2007:45) appropriately notes, "It has become an axiomatic truth that the foreign policy of a country is to a large extent determined by its domestic structures". Generally, factors that determine the foreign policy thrust of any state can be broadly categorized into two categories. These include:

1. The domestic setting (Centripetal)
2. The external environment (Centrifugal)

Northedge (1968:15) accurately points out that the foreign policy of any country is a product of environmental factors both internal and external. While it is indeed true that these classifications are not in any way mutually exclusive, as in some cases,

domestic factors inspiring a nation's foreign policy could as well be a reflection of an external factor. More so, particularly in today's globalized age, the distinction between the domestic and external settings affecting foreign policy construction is one that is increasingly becoming blurred resulting in a conceptualization challenge that scholars of Nigeria's foreign policy have most often grappled with (See Otunbajo 1989; Gambari 1986).

Aluko (1977) made classification of the domestic and external factors that contribute to the shaping of the foreign policies of African states including Nigeria. In the case of the former they include the following: the nature of the economy; the internal political pressure; colonial heritage (historical traditions); and leadership character and the ideological orientation of the ruling elite. Other factors not listed here may include; the Nigerian Constitution, political parties, public opinion and the Nigerian Civil War. External factors are the geographical location of the state; the existence of colonialism and white supremacist regimes in the continent; Pan-Africanism and the continuing rivalry between the East and the West; non-alignment, international law and world opinion.

According to him, these themes guide the foreign policy convictions of many African states. The domestic and external factors are particularly relevant in understanding Nigeria's foreign policy making. We will now turn to a discussion of the domestic factors that guide the foreign policy shaping in Nigeria. We move on to attempt a thorough analysis of the internal factors that affect the formulation of Nigeria's foreign policy within the purview of the guiding perspective laid out by Aluko (1977).

3.3.1 Domestic setting influencing Nigeria's foreign policy

We shall begin our analysis by first establishing the setting and context in which post-independent Nigeria's foreign policy has been shaped. The over 50 years of Nigeria's independence has been characterized by phases of military, authoritarian rule and periods of democratic civilian rule (IPA 2013). As Idang (1973: 1) rightly points out:

Since a nation's foreign policy is not only a direct continuation of its domestic policy, but is also a reflection of its way of life, there are certain domestic inputs which define foreign policy goals and priorities, determine the choices open to the foreign policy elite, and shape major foreign policy decisions.

It is therefore particularly crucial to examine the nexus between domestic issues and foreign policy in understanding the construction of the latter in Nigeria. Alongside the domestic determinants mentioned above, we will also examine others including military capability, type of government, government institutions, officials and technocrats and religious heterogeneity and ethnic fragmentation.

a) *The Nigerian constitutions*

A major source of Nigeria’s foreign policy prerogatives which also serves as the guiding document for the conduct of its foreign policy especially under civilian democratic rule is the Constitution. As reflected in table 3.2 below, the successive Constitutions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria clearly articulate the principles that should direct the conduct of Nigeria’s foreign policy while also stating the roles each policy maker should occupy and play in the administration of these policies.

Table 3.2 Nigerian constitutional development and foreign policy changes

Year	Name	Relevant sections	Provisions
1979	2 nd Republican/Presidential Constitution	Chapter 2, section 19	The state shall promote African Unity, as well as total political, economic, social and cultural liberation of Africa and all other forms of international co-operation conducive to the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect and friendship among all peoples and State, and shall combat racial discrimination in all its manifestations.
1989	3 rd Aborted Republican Constitution	Chapter II, Article 20	The foreign policy objectives shall be - (a) promotion and protection of the national interest; (b) promotion of the total liberation of Africa and support of African unity; (c) promotion of international co-operation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect

			among all nations and elimination of racial discrimination in all its manifestations; (d) respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation conciliation, arbitration and adjudication; and (e) promotion of a just world economic order.
1999	4 th Republican Constitution	Chapter II, Section 19	The foreign policy objectives shall be - (a) promotion and protection of the national interest; (b) promotion of African integration and support for African unity; (c) promotion of international co-operation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations; (d) respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication; and (e) promotion of a just world economic order.

Source: Author's compilation (See respective Constitutions)

Currently, Nigeria's foreign policy is guided by the provisions of the constitution of 1999, which is apparently a slight amendment to its 1979 predecessor with the specific foreign policy provisions articulated in Chapter II, Section 19 as shown above.

b) *The nature of the economy*

The nature of Nigeria's economy has continued to shape its foreign policy context in both negative and positive terms. Since the 1960s, Nigeria's economic position particularly comparative to other African economies has afforded it the material resources to pursue a very broad and extensive foreign policy posture within Africa. Nigeria's economy is richly endowed particularly in the agricultural and mineral sectors. Prior to the discovery and exploration of oil, Nigeria's economy had thrived on the agricultural sector with vibrant export markets in groundnut, oil palm, cocoa, etc. Today, Nigeria's economy is one that is hugely dependent on oil revenue. Between 1974 and 2010, oil accounted for over ninety percent of Nigeria's overall earnings and has continued to be the dominant export product of the country even till date (Pham 2007). Oil revenue has over the years therefore been seen as a major foreign policy tool and a crucial determinant of Nigeria's foreign policy. Currently, oil income accounts for over 90% of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings and, more importantly, oil is critical in how other countries perceive and evaluate Nigeria strategic significance in the global calculus (Pham 2007). Aside the fact that oil has become a major propelling force of Nigeria's foreign policy today, it is also a critical factor in the foreign policies of many other states with or without oil in the international system today (Soremekun, 2003; Folarin 2010).

Again, armed by its membership of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Nigeria has been able to position itself at the centre of global politics using oil as its dominant foreign policy instrument. Kalu (2000) in his contributory text on 'Economic Development and Nigerian Foreign Policy' addresses the issue of internal economic contradiction and Nigerian foreign policy construction focusing on how the nation's foreign policy is affected and influenced by the national economy. In his theoretical assessment of the external constraints on Nigeria's economic policy, he draws the conclusion that a healthy and robust domestic economy is an important and crucial element in determining Nigeria's national interest. And ultimately the character of its foreign policy and a proper estimation of this is critical to nuanced understanding of the range of choices that political elites have at their disposal.

Udogu (2002:144) in his review captured Kalu's arguments succinctly by noting that "the centrality of a healthy economy in determining the range and scope of the foreign policy of a nation-state is a sine qua non" evidenced for example in the aggressive manner in which Nigeria pursued its foreign policy in the 1970s and late 1980s when the country's oil wealth increased greatly. According to him, Nigeria's bold and assertive foreign policy during these period was a testament of the influence of economic opulence and development on the foreign policy construction of any country It is on record that during this period Nigeria threatened to withhold the sale of its oil to some of the Western powers who had failed to retract their support for apartheid South Africa (Kalu 2000; Udogu 2002).

States that are endowed with oil have earned a respectable image as a result of the universal importance attached to petroleum. By corollary, states that are without oil need oil and thus their survival is hinged on their relationship with oil producing states. As Folarin (2010) notes, this circumstance affords the former with a lot of bargaining power and leverage to influence global political decisions. And ofcourse, Nigeria's is a privileged member of this group and coupled with its huge market potentials for the world, "Nigeria possesses the economic power to run an ambitious foreign policy" (Folarin 2010:189). Nevertheless, it has been argued that despite the vibrancy that oil exposed to the Nigerian foreign policy, it also poses serious dilemma and thus serve as a constraining factor to its foreign policy. There is the view that Nigeria's oil "is a divisive and disintegrating force particularly in throwing up centrifugal subnational forces and separatist groups within the country" (IPA 2003).

Another constraining factor of the nature of Nigeria's economy would be its economic dependence and susceptibility which limits its capacity to effectively call the shorts in an international economic system that is asymmetrically skewed to its disadvantage.

c) *The internal political pressure*

Aluko's (1977) reference to internal political pressure as a domestic factor affecting a nation's foreign policy appears apt especially in the case of Nigeria. According to him, the structure of the federation, the governmental setting, role of political parties, pressure groups and public opinion all add up to providing the contour and character of the internal or domestic setting of the Nigerian political space. For instance, in the context of the federal structure, it can be said that at some point in Nigeria's political

history since independence, regional governments enjoyed certain level of autonomy based on the federal structure that was practiced and this had serious implication for the country's foreign policy formulation.

The huge youth population of Nigeria consisting of university students, school leavers, professional people (lecturers and professors, lawyers, physicians, teachers), business provide a large pool of youth groups which when aggregated make an impact on the foreign policy construction in the country (Claudes 1964). Historically, youth associations such as the Nigerian Youth Movement, Zikist Movement etc. have played critical role in nation building. The clamor for the appointment of an ambassador to all independent African states; that a population census be held, the creation of a separate ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations; a republican form of government; sending of an ambassador to Russia and the lifting of the ban on Communist literature and the call for a stronger central government, the creation of more states and a more vigorous and neutral foreign policy are a number of the issues that have been put forward by different youth movements at different periods of Nigeria's history (Claudes 1964).

In the expression of their opinions, pressure groups such as the labour unions and students association go a long way in influencing the eventual outcome of certain foreign policy positions of the country. The influence that these groups command cannot be underestimated and there have been several instances where the Nigerian government had adopted some foreign policy positions on international issues as a result of campaigns mounted by the civil society representing the masses. For instance, the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) played a formidable role in reinforcing Nigeria's anti-apartheid foreign policy position in its fight against apartheid government in South Africa. Example of this includes the protest at Nsuka and Lagos of the ordinary Nigerian students following the 1976 Soweto uprising and also financial contribution to the anti-apartheid movement (SAIIA; 2010).

d) *The personality of the leader*

As evidenced in the case of Nigeria's foreign policy rhetoric, the ideological orientation of the ruling elites represents an important constraint and influence on Nigeria's foreign policy making. No doubt, the foreign policy capacity of a nation is usually affected by the decision making aptitude of its leader. It can therefore be

argued that foreign relations of a state is intrinsically tied to the preferences and prerogative of the serving President or Head of State. As such, a change in government would no doubt mean reciprocal change in the external behaviour of the state (Aluko, 1981). Therefore, foreign policy of a state is largely influence by the principles, ideology and convictions of the leader the ideology and as Adeyemo (2002:69) notes one can expect a radical foreign policy position from a militant styled leader. As exemplified in the leadership of Murtala Mohammed (see Folarin 2010:195).

This is because the perceptions, idiosyncrasies and personality of the leader at different points highlight pertinent discordant tunes of varied leadership particularly in the conduct of foreign policy. Practically, Nigeria's leadership models show to a certain degree how the personality feature attracts extensive influence on its foreign policy posture (Fawole 1999). Consequently, it is therefore not surprising that the moderate, conservative, religious and moralistic posture of Balewa, the quiet 'gentlemanly' attitude of Gowon, the timidity and lack of self-confidence of Shagari and the radical and 'aggressive' disposition of Murtala-Obasanjo (Gambari; 1989) were brought to bear on their approach to and pursuit of foreign policy issues. Babangida's courage and initiative ideas, as well as Abacha's recluse instinct and 'tit-for-tat' diplomacy and Abdulsalam's quiet diplomacy etc., all add up to influence the operation of Nigeria's foreign policy within the leadership posture (Ajetunmobi *et al* (2011; 308).

More recently is the comparative reference to the personality of the former Presidents of Nigeria (Obasanjo and Yar Adua). While Yar Adua is referred to as slow and incapable of a functional foreign policy, Obasanjo on the other hand is seen as assertive and bold in representing the foreign policy posture of the country during the period of his leadership. In the case of the former, there was a passive and general lack of interest in the foreign policy making of the country at the time thus impacting directly on the quality of Nigeria's diplomatic interactions during this period. On the contrary, Obasanjo's active role in the transformation of the OAU into the AU was largely instructed by his dominant and progressive personality profile. The implication of his personality influence needs no further elaboration (Onunaiju 2009; Ajetunmobi *et al* 2011).

To corroborate this position, Ajetunmobi *et al* (2011: 308) established that “while President Olusegun Obasanjo had his shortcomings in foreign policy implementation, the nation has achieved significant gains through the regime’s shuttle diplomacy”. Therefore, the background and idiosyncrasies coupled with the psychological qualities of a leader give certain coloration to their perception of world view and the ideology, values and principles they uphold of the role of state. Nigeria’s role in Africa and world affairs determine to a great extent the type of policies pursued and the strategy or posture adopted to achieve the policies. A typical example is to argue that in the analysis of the personality and leadership style of President Obasanjo, an appreciation of how Nigeria’s foreign policy posture can be contextualized. By implication, there have been a degree of inconsistencies and in-continuity in Nigeria's foreign policy construction and pattern due largely to the varied personality profile and traits of its different leaders. This reality has created a situation where each leader often implements his own ideas based on his understanding and nuances of the context of specific event thereby complicating a thorough definition of what is Nigeria's national interest. And as Ajetunmobi *et al* (2011: 308) rightly notes “the history of Nigerian foreign policy since 1960 has constantly been changing though, the principle guiding her foreign relations remain the same”.

On the impact of personality driven approach on Nigeria’s foreign policy, the International Peace Academy (2003), in their submission at its seminar on the domestic, regional and external dimensions of Nigeria’s foreign policy in the post-Cold War era, acknowledged the role of personalities on the foreign policy making process of Nigeria. They argue that the oscillation of leadership personalities have serious implication for the continuity of foreign policy because “each leader has implemented his own ideas, making it difficult to define Nigeria’s national interest” (IPA 2003:4). In essence, while the leadership personalities of respective leaders may convey a vibrant and buoyant foreign policy, it may also evince inconsistency and discontinuity in the foreign policy implementation of the country as a result of differences in the foreign policy values and expectation of these leaders.

e) Government agencies, officials and technocrats

According to Mustapha (2008:41) in one of his accounts of the domestic constraints on Nigeria’s foreign policy which he referred to as the first distinct ‘face’ that inspire Nigeria’s external relations, the formal official space of governance is “the arena of

formal and diplomatic negotiations and agreements, and the pursuit of sub-regional regional hegemonic ambitions” of Nigeria. A number of key institutions are directly or indirectly involved in Nigeria's foreign policy formulation and implementation. They include; the Presidency; Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA); Ministry of Defence; National Intelligence Agency (NIA); Ministry of Finance; Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA); National Assembly and its relevant committees; Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations etc.

Inamete (2001) in his examination of the ‘Foreign Policy Decision-Making process in Nigeria’ attempts to draw a linkage between the institutions, instruments, and processes and Nigeria's foreign policy formulations. He argues that institutions such as the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense, Finance, Agriculture, etc. have been very relevant and almost indispensable in the foreign policy making and construction of Nigerian foreign policy while also observing that the usefulness of these institutions have their direct linkage to the periodic significance that each leadership wishes to attach per time (Inamete 2001).

Constitutionally, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) under the leadership of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (as represented in Table 3.3) is responsible for conducting and managing external affairs of the country and staffed with highly trained officers with theoretical knowledge, practical expertise as well as a technical intelligence of foreign affairs. The MFA thus represents the core implementation organ of foreign policy with the Nigeria’s High Commissions, embassies, and other diplomatic missions under its jurisdiction. In essence, the force of the country’s foreign policy at any period in time has always been attributed to the command of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The table below shows a background of the various Ministers of foreign Affairs since 1960.

Table 3.3: Nigeria's Foreign Affairs Ministers since independence

S/N	Names	Period Served
1	Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	1960-1961
2	Dr. Jaja Anucha Wachukwu	1961-1965
3	Alhaji Nuhu Bamal	1965-1966
4	Dr. Akoi Arikpo	1967-1975
5	Major General Joseph Garba	1975-1978
6	Henry Adefope	1978-1979
7	Ishaya Audu	1979-1983
8	Chief Emeka Anyaoku	1983-1983
9	Prof. Ibrahim Gambari	1984-1985
10	Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi	1985-1987
11	General Ike Nwachukwu	1987-1989; 1990-1993
12	Dr. Rilwanu Lukman	1989-1990
13	Ambassador Matthew Mbu	1993-1993
14	Ambassador Babagana Kingibe	1993-1995
15	Chief Tom Ikimi	1995-1998
16	Ignatius Olisemeka	1998-1999
17	Alhaji Sule Lamido	1999-2003
18	Ambassador Oluyemi Adeniji	2003-2006
19	Dr. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala	2006-2006
20	Prof. U. Joy Ogwu	2006-2007
21	Chief Ojo Maduekwe	2007-2010
22	Martin Ihoeghian Uhomobhi (acting)	2010-2010
23	Henry Odein Ajumogobia (2010–2011)	2010–2011
22	Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru	2011-present

Source: Author's compilation

f) Religious heterogeneity and ethnic fragmentation

Historically, the heterogeneous Nigeria's ethnic and religious mix had often necessitated a guarded foreign policy perspective on sensitive issues that could trigger ethnic or religious tension across the country. Nigeria for instance severed diplomatic relations with Israel in 1973 following the Yom Kippur War as a result of its Muslim opposition and affinity with the rest of the Arab Muslim world. Diplomatic ties were only restored in September 1992. Despite that it is officially a secular state, it nevertheless is conditioned by a need to appeal to the sensitivities of its two major religious identity (Islam and Christianity).

g) Ideological orientation of the ruling elites

Ideology is defined as the belief system that explains and justifies a preferred political order for society, either existing or proposed and offers a strategy for its attainment.

Ideology engenders political unity and minimizes potential social incohesion. Ideologies “constructs a psychological and social bond that would make a nation unshakeable in the face of external threat or divisive influences” (Folarin 2010:154).

Closely related to the issue of personality of the leader discussed previously is also the ideology of the ruling elite. It is therefore possible to predict the behavioural pattern of state’s action, inactions or reactions as a result of its dominant ideology (Northedge 1976). By extension, this reflects on what is conceived as national roles or otherwise. King (1996:33) views ideology rather as “a major instrument for coping with the stranger element within and among nations”. According to Aluko (1981:10), the ruling elite in Africa wield enormous influence and power over the foreign relations of their countries and able to convert their personal or group interest into the national interest of those states (See Folarin 2010:192).

Nevertheless, it may be difficult to intelligently ascertain Nigeria’s specific guiding ideology of its foreign policy due partly to highly sensitive multi-ethnic and multi-faith identities and differences. In essence, Nigeria’s foreign policy ideology is rooted in its ethnic and religious heterogeneity and therefore evincing different dimension of ideological standpoint in its international posture in global affairs. These ideologies have combined to provide a focus to foreign policy posture (King 1996:33-51).

Nigerian foreign policy making has always been configured by the ideological and cultural orientations of policy makers or the political elites or group(s) in power per time. Idang (1973:48) in his contribution notes that the role of foreign policy elites as the “constitutionally designated individuals ‘who determine the political destiny of the nation’ and set foreign policy goals”. He submits further that an in-depth examination of Nigeria’s foreign policy formulation since independence suggests that it is elitist and government-driven and this has significantly been complicated by the phenomenon of prolonged military rule (Idang 1973). His argument follows therefore that the foreign policy decision making process in Nigeria cannot be divulged from the character and view perspective of its ruling elite per time.

h) National perception

Perhaps this determinant has more influence on Nigeria’s foreign policy than any other factor. Credited to be the most populous nation (both in Africa and the entire

black race), Nigeria and Nigerians have over the years built a perception of the ‘giant’, ‘redeemer’ and ‘natural leader’ of Africa and ‘leader’ of the black world. According to Metz (1991: nd), “Nigerian external relations have emphasized African issues, which have become the avowed cornerstone of foreign policy”. Since independence therefore, Nigeria has therefore sought to continue to play the role of a benevolent leader where its foreign policy is not particularly concerned about improving the quality of life of its people but more importantly tied to advancing the cause of other countries within the African continent

At the root of the above argument in what Uzodike *et al* 2013 termed the “Prestige school of thought” is the claim that Nigeria has an ancestrally ordained mandate to lead the quest for continental peace while at the same time championing Africa’s socio-economic and political development as:

Playing such a noble role in the economic construction and reconstruction of the region presents Nigeria with an opportunity to assert her dominant position in the region as a matter of prestige. Analysts argue that if Nigeria fails to do so, other credible and contending regional challengers such as Ghana, Egypt, Cote d’ Ivoire (formerly Ivory Coast) and South Africa would take on such responsibilities.

The implication of this is that the country’s over 50 years of foreign policy incursion has been cemented in an aspiration to continental leadership and hegemonic ambitions. Nigeria’s overwhelming human, financial and material contribution to Africa is clear evidence of its ambition to be recognized as a regional power since according to Folarin (2010:187) “its natural and historical endowments coupled with the intense contributions and sacrifices for Africa’s progress since independence have naturally earned Nigeria honour and its leadership position in the continent”.

3.3.2 External setting affecting Nigeria’s foreign policy

Foreign policy of any nation is deeply inspired and conditioned by a number of centrifugal (external) factors and Nigeria is not an exception. Since independence, Nigeria’s external relations has been motivated and guided by a variety of conditions and forces some of which are necessitated as a reason of its geographic location, the international political economic environment in which it is a state actor, its membership of international organization among other reasons. We now turn to an

articulation of some of these external determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy since independence while demonstrating how they significantly impact both positively and negative on Nigeria's foreign policy construction.

a) The existence of colonialism and white supremacist regimes in Africa

The existence of colonialism and white supremacist regimes in Africa has been a major inspiration of Nigeria's foreign policy since independence with the country and its leaders being consistent in their commitment to the total emancipation of the African people still under the bondage of colonial rule. Nigeria in its foreign policy construction and external relations had also sought to put an end to apartheid rule and all forms of racial discrimination. This thinking influenced the country's dominant leadership role in the African continent and has consequently brought her into the limelight of world politics, especially within the United Nations as well as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in her response to the desire for world peace and security Chinade (n:d); Abdurrahman (n:d). No doubt, this explains Nigeria's election into the non-permanent seat of the UN Security Council (UNSC) (1966-67, 1978-79 and 1994-95 and 2010-2011) while continuing its quest for the realization of the dream of a UNSC permanent seat for Africa. Nigeria therefore joined the OAU to "eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa" (OAU Charter). General Yakubu Gowon in his criticism of the strongholds of colonialism noted that colonialism was a "slur on the dignity of the black people everywhere, and that until colonialism and white supremacist rule are eliminated in Africa no black man could seriously be proud of being black" (see Aluko 1977:13).

During the period of struggle against colonial appearance in Africa, Nigeria therefore sought to establish bilateral assistance particularly to freedom fighters across the continent. It also took advantage of the platform created by the OAU Liberation Committee to facilitate the cause for nationalist struggle Aluko (1973). Nigeria's foreign policy position to ostracize and isolate the white minority regimes in Africa from international organizations across the world was in acknowledgment of the impact of the latter on the former. South Africa's eventual exclusion from the Commonwealth in 1961 and such other international organizations like International Labour Organization (ILO), World Health Organization (WHO), FAO, ECA, and

International Olympic Committee (ILO) was a crucial achievement of this cause (Austin 1966).

b) *The rivalry between the East and the West*

At the external level, the end of the Cold War typified by the continuing rivalry and competition between the superpowers resulted in a fundamental change in the undercurrents of international politics. Nigeria's independence in 1960 came at the period of the Cold War with developing countries like Nigeria with enormous oil wealth; a large army and equally reasonable spread of well-educated citizens now caught in the web of this super power quagmire. Nigeria found a safe haven in the foreign policy of nonalignment which was informed both by its refusal to take sides in the battle of supremacy and also by its membership of the OAU (Shaw and Aluko 1983). This period created the potential for developing countries like Nigeria to exercise power in the international system that has been hitherto dominated by the bi-polar conflict of the superpowers. For instance, Nigeria was able to play a leadership role in Africa as a result of the dwindled strategic significance of major external powers (Otubanjo 1989).

The foreign policy trajectories of Nigeria consequently can be highlighted from the influences of post-Cold War era. For the most of the first three decades of Nigeria's post-colonial and post-independent existence, its foreign policy perspective was therefore focused upon crushing the menace of all forms of colonialism and its agents. Nigeria was notably at the forefront of this fight along with the vast majority of African countries as "anti-colonialism became the 'most obvious and consistent, and all embracing common denominator of African foreign policy'" at the time (Otubanjo 1989).

In 1960, barely 17 of the 54 countries present in Africa today had been able to secure their independence from colonialism. Thus, the deep resentment generated as a result of political exclusion arising from colonialism crystalized into a foreign policy initiative which Nigeria among other nations occupied the front seat in the fight to put an end to the evils that has turned African into a dark continent.

c) *Geographical location*

The geographical location of a state is an important international determinant of its foreign policy. This is because the positioning of a country in the globe matter a great

deal for the nature and pattern of the external relations it establishes with other states. For instance, it is important to know the natural frontiers of the country; that is whether such country is land locked, bordered by the sea, mountainous or even within the desert. Whether a nation has a large territory, population, educated, rich, democratic and who its neighbours are all geographic location indices that have direct implication on the nation's foreign policy (Wanjohi; 2011). And as rightly observed by Aluko (1977:12), "It is truism that where a country is situated has some implications for its external behavior". The geographic location of Nigeria as country bordered by the Atlantic Ocean makes it possible for such other countries like Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso that are landlocked to depend on it for their economic survival. Nigeria therefore shares certain socio-cultural, political and economic ties with the peoples of the West-African sub-region in particular and Africa in general. According to Gambari (1984), the security of the region has to be strengthened collectively in order to "resist external aggression" and 'to check religious disturbances, armed robberies and the menace created by aliens illegally residing in our respective countries" (cited in Nwokedi 1985).

It is therefore without doubt that the pursuit of Nigeria's economic priorities can only be guaranteed in an atmosphere of relative stability and peaceful coexistence within the region that it finds itself. For instance, Nigeria's foreign policy decision to commit troops to war-torn political environments within the African region is a reflection of the influence that its geographical location has on its foreign policy construction. This decision is inspired by its understanding that political upheavals within a state have a spiral and domino effect on surrounding states. It is within this framework of a sub-regional and continental political and economic arrangement in which it is a member that Nigeria through its foreign policy initiative endeavors to maximize its national economic interests.

This is in line with Aluko's (1981) argument that Nigeria's efforts leading to the eventual establishment of the Chad Basin Commission, the River Niger Authority and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) are examples of the government's obligation to the consciousness of regarding the sub-region as occupying a place of significance and relevance pride in its external relations.

Furthermore, Nigeria's geopolitical location around Francophone countries also invokes a certain level of influence on its foreign policy construction. This is evidenced in the perceived threat of Nigeria to France and its interest in these countries. Nigeria has had to deal with the centrifugal pressures both from its Francophone neighbours and also from France in its leadership quest within the West-African sub-region. Thus, the argument of Aluko (1981) appears plausible that the heavy reliance for their political, economic and military survival by the small countries surrounding Nigeria on extra-continental powers, especially France constitutes a danger to Nigeria's security. And this is a dilemma that Nigeria's foreign policy makers have had to grapple with over the years (Cited in Nwokedi 1985). One of these challenges is one of finding a 'cautious' foreign policy and external relations balance between its Francophone neighbours on the one hand and France on the other; a term Nwokedi (1985) referred to as 'Franco-African differences'.

d) *Membership of international organizations*

By its membership of some international governmental organizations (i.e. OAU [AU], ECOWAS, UN, Commonwealth, OPEC etc.), Nigeria is obligated to abide by international codes of conduct. This means that since it is a signatory to the treaties establishing these organizations, it is bound by the rules that are jointly made by the members of the organizations. It is therefore able to participate in all UN or AU sponsored economic, social, financial conferences and debates. All through the period of OAU's existence unto its transformation into the Africa Union (AU), Nigeria has committed itself to the unification of the AU and the African continent and this motivation has been at the forefront of its external relations with the rest of the countries in Africa. It is therefore not in doubt that in the construction of Nigeria's foreign policy; its membership of the AU conveys a measurable and significant influence.

e) *Colonial heritage*

Like every colonized country, the strong influence of colonialism is one that has affected and continues to affect the conduct of Nigeria's foreign relations particularly since its acceptance into the comity of independent states in 1960. In the first analysis, Nigeria inherited at independence, historically common links with Britain, its colonial landlord. For instance, certain links like language (with English being mutual),

common administrative, educational, legal system and other tangible links such as the continuation of treaties under colonial rule after independence, concepts such as rule of law, democratic institutions, religion and the adoption of a capitalist economic system have their direct linkage to British colonial rule. All these colonial links collectively give a specific and defining character to Nigeria's foreign policy perspective. For instance, Nigeria colonial history as former British colony and a member of the Commonwealth invariably constrained Nigeria's predisposition to be pro-Western on most issues despite its nonaligned status to avoid neocolonialism (Folarin 2010).

Nigeria's colonial heritage has further played a fundamental role in its foreign policy behaviour toward other nations evidenced especially in its membership of the Commonwealth of Nations. For instance, a state arising from the doldrums of colonialism as in the case of Nigeria (or even apartheid with respect to South Africa) finds itself somewhat attached to the dominant perspective of its colonizer or previous leadership. The logical corollary of this is that the colonial experience of Nigeria from January, 1914 with the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorate leading to 1960 when she attained independence, suggests that this political and evolutionary background was largely instrumental to the foreign policy construction and perspective of the country. It therefore goes without saying that Nigeria in its external relations with the rest of the world and with Africa especially could invariably not have pursued a foreign policy which would have appeared contrary, different or separate from its former colonial master, Britain. Its decision to participate in the Commonwealth cannot be unconnected to its conviction that it considers itself as a strategic partner in using the multilateral platform as a potential avenue to "realize its national objective of economic post-colonial transformation and becoming a major voice in the global system, which have been attained over the years" (Folarin 2010:151).

Furthermore, the common experiences of the devastating effect of the colonial system in Africa also played a crucial role in shaping Nigeria's international behaviour, its disposition and the articulation of the roles it seeks to occupy in post independent Africa. These sore experiences unified African states across boundaries and thus broke any existent geographical restriction in the continent fight against the common

enemy of external oppression. Nigeria thus saw a need to step into a vacant leadership position using its foreign policy thrust. Nigeria after independence took up the mandate to purge Africa of all signatures of colonialism, “because of the legacies of division, disunity and conflict, which negate the principle of brotherhood, unity and collective progress that the founding fathers of Nigeria wished for the continent” (Folarin 2010).

3.4 Conclusion

A number of issues can be drawn from the above discussion. First is the evidence that the foreign policy of a country is ultimately shaped not only by a single factor but by a number of factors which could serve both a facilitating and constraining role in the foreign policy practice of that nation. In the case of Nigeria, its foreign policy is as well influenced by a host of factors, conditions and forces that collectively give form, focus and direction to its external relations while at the same time impinging on the achievement of its foreign policy goals. By implication, Nigeria’s foreign policy is influenced by both formal structures of foreign policy making- diplomats, technocrats, presidency, military, ministries, national institutions etc. as well as informal structure pressure groups, academics, its historical experiences etc.

Secondly, there is also the difficulty in accounting for the precise impact of these conditions or factors on the actual foreign policy of the country as it is sometimes problematic to effectively gauge or estimate the impact of some of the determinants (for example oil) on Nigeria’s foreign policy. For instance, the end of the Cold War dramatically changed the foreign policy dynamics and configurations particularly of developing countries like Nigeria. This reality is acknowledged in the IPA report (2003:4) that “the end of the Cold War resulted in a fundamental change in the dynamics of contemporary international relations”.

Furthermore, going from the above, it is also possible to draw a deep correlation between the roles that Nigeria plays in Africa and a number of factors that influence its foreign policy. There is thus a connection and significant relationship between the capacity of a country to play a leading or dominant role within its geopolitical sphere and the conditions that impact on its foreign policy aided by the factors that determine or constrain its foreign policy. Aided by the lack of interest and reduced strategic significance of Africa for major external powers as a result of the end of the Cold

War, Nigeria's massive oil wealth, large army strength has thus afforded it the opportunity to develop an Afrocentric foreign policy. For instance, flowing from this stream is its national perception of the country as the "natural leader" and "redeemer" of the African continent; a role it has continued to play since its independence in 1960 (see subsequent chapters for more details) (IPA 2003).

Domestic factors serve as major constraints to the effective articulation and implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy. This chapter examined the principles and foundations of Nigeria's foreign policy as guidelines that inspire its external relations particularly with Africa. It concludes that the country's foreign policy over the years has been rooted in such principles as: respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of all states, reciprocity, non-alignment, multilateralism, recognition of self-determination and sovereign equality of all African states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states etc. Furthermore, the chapter accounts for the motivation and determinants of Nigeria's foreign policy behavior and extrapolates how these factors have configured Nigeria's external relations as we would show later. The chapter to follow assesses in more detail the long years of Nigeria's foreign relations in Africa at the three concentric circles mentioned earlier. We examine Nigeria's African foreign policy character since independence under the military and civilian dispensations respectively.

CHAPTER FOUR

NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA: AN APPRAISAL

4.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights and reviews Nigeria's foreign policy perspectives since the period of its independence in 1960 to the most recent era of Goodluck Jonathan's civilian administration. The aim is to capture the nuances of changes, dynamics, oscillation, consistencies and inconsistencies of Nigeria's foreign policy as it straddles from one regime type to another. The chapter therefore presents an intellectual chronicle of foreign policy decision-making in Nigeria in the context of its relations with Africa since its emergence from British colonial rule. We are interested to know: in what manner has Nigeria conducted itself in terms of its external relations towards Africa in the past five decades in the light of its foreign policy principles and determining factors (discussed in previous chapters) and whether its foreign policy has demonstrated any measure of consistency or inconsistency in its construction and implementation since independence. There is also the imperative to understand whether Nigeria's foreign policy towards Africa has evinced any hegemonic ambition in its design and implementation.

4.2 Nigeria-Africa foreign policy from 1960-2012

4.2.1 Nigeria's foreign relations from 1960-1966 (Balewa Administration)

On the attainment of independence in 1960, Nigeria wasted no time in setting the contexts of its international engagement with Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in his first official pre-independent foreign policy statement delivered on the 20th August 1960. Crowder (1966:289) captured his speech aptly as "a brief but strongly worded policy statement". Balewa's speech attempted to set the tone for the fundamental principles that would guide the conduct of Nigeria's foreign relations by noting that "Nigeria would follow an independent policy, which would be founded on Nigeria's interest and would be consistent with moral and democratic principles on which the country's Constitution was based" (Gambari 2008). Sir Balewa further explicated the followings aims and principles of his government's foreign policy when he delivered a speech at the UN's General Assembly at Nigeria's admission to the United Nations as the organization's ninety-ninth member:

Respect for the territorial integrity of all nations, Promotion of African unity; The defence and promotion of Nigeria's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence; The creation of the necessary economic and political conditions to secure the government, territorial integrity and national independence of other African countries and their total liberation from imperialism and all forms of foreign domination; Non-partisanship in East-West ideological disputes and freedom of association and action in the international system; Promotion of world peace built on freedom, mutual respect and equality for all peoples of the world; and Promotion of the rights of all black and other colonial domination throughout the world etc. (See Gambari 1981).

It is instructive to note that these principles remain not only the guiding light and foundation of Nigeria's external relations but also serve as the underlying platform upon which the country's foreign policy and hence its external relations is constructed notwithstanding regime types or changes. However, despite the articulation of the above principles, the Balewa regime sometimes failed in acting in accordance with the spirit and letters of those principles. It would be recalled that the regime displayed unwavering preferences for pro-West relations and a clear antipathy towards the Eastern bloc (Gambari 2008). This was in spite of its widely acknowledged principle of non-alignment during the East-West cold war.

There was also evidence suggesting that Nigeria was yet to effectively detach itself from the apron string of its former colonial masters and was still to a large degree an appendage of the British. For instance, contrary to the Nigerian foreign policy principles of non-alignment and freedom of the African continent from all forms of colonialism, Kings (1996) notes that Balewa compromised these principles of Nigeria's foreign policy when in 1960, he signed an Anglo-Nigerian Defence Pact with Britain setting up a military base in Nigeria (see also Idang 1973:51; Folarin 2010:223), This ambivalence in foreign policy perspective made Gambari (2008) to conclude that Nigeria's record during this period was characterized by uncertainty and timidity under the Balewa regime.

To show its strong loyalty to its former colonial master, Nigeria displayed strong apathy towards the East bloc while communist-related literature was also proscribed from circulation in Nigeria. Equally, Nigerians trained in the Soviet Union were

refused employment into the Nigerian Civil Service at the time. It was these actions that inspired Amechi (1989:56) to assert that “prior to the civil war in Nigeria, the Soviet Union and Nigeria maintained what can be called a zero or minimal relationship”.

Again, in his contribution, Amechi (1989:56) writing on Pan-Africanism, observed that Balewa had made the assertion that “we belong to Africa and Africa must claim first attention in our external affairs”. Balewa’s conception of a Pan-African Union was based on the assumption that economic and cultural cooperation would serve the African purpose better than political union. He detested any boundary adjustment that could alter the existing one which grew out of the European creation following the 1884-85 Berlin Conference. Hence the resultant effect was an unswerving inconsistency, ambivalence and contradictions between the professed principles and actual practice of foreign relations (Arifalo and Ajayi 2003). This subject will be revisited later in this chapter.

Nigeria during this period was also at the forefront of the efforts towards the eradication of colonialism from the African continent evidenced in its support for liberation struggles particularly in Southern Africa. With respect to Nigeria’s engagement with Africa during this period, Balewa was instrumental to the formation of the OAU in May 1960 and further played a significant role during the Congolese crisis in 1960 with his active support in providing peacekeeping troops and relief materials. Nigeria also asserted its influence when she spearheaded South Africa’s expulsion from the Olympic and Commonwealth Games in protest of its apartheid policies. Also in a show of solidarity with the rest over of Africa, Nigeria severed diplomatic relations with France over the latter’s atomic bomb test in Western Sahara (Phillips 1964; Adeyemo 2002; Folarin 2010).

In all, Nigeria’s first civilian regime under Balewa has often been referred to in the literature as largely conservative, cautious, lacking innovation, legalistic and seeming to appeal to the West (though patronizing of Britain). At the same time, to a large degree, it was regarded as anti-communist and non-aligned in posture. Folarin (2010:226) argue that Nigeria’s foreign policy during the period under Balewa although portrayed clearly conceived roles, however, these roles “were partially or never filled and lacked dynamism in foreign policy behavior or role performance”.

The military coup of January 15, 1966 led to the abrupt end of the First Republic and the assassination of the Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa; a federal minister, Okotie-Eboh; two regional premiers; Samuel Akintola and Ahmadu Bello, along with top Army officers such as Brigadier Zak Maimalari, Brigadier Ademulegun, Lt. Col. Largema, Colonel Ralph Shodeinde and Lt. Col. James Pam (Adebanwi, 2012). The major casualties of the coup were therefore the North and West with the East losing none of its leading politicians or ranking soldiers. In a swift manipulation of the confused situation that emanated thereafter, General Aguiyi-Ironsi emerged as the first military Head of State of Nigeria. However, his regime did not last so as to make any spectacular change in the foreign policy posture of Nigeria that is worthy of mention. This was because the regime was embedded in deep ethno-regional crisis culminating in the eventual murder and overthrow of General Aguiyi-Ironsi. It was clear that the assassination of both Balewa and Aguiyi-Ironsi was ethnically motivated and thereafter set the tone for ethnic divisions and the advent of the military into politics. It therefore did not come as a surprise when on July 29, 1966 the military regime of General Aguiyi-Ironsi was toppled leading to the emergence of General Yakubu Gowon as the new Head of State on August 1, 1966.

4.2.2 Nigeria's foreign policy under Yakubu Gowon (1966-1975)

The regime of Gowon was confronted with the urgent responsibility of inspiring the right kind of leadership in the context of its international engagement with the outside world particularly in Africa. As expected, coming into power via a counter-coup in July 1966, the prevailing circumstance at which his regime ruled had serious implication upon which his administration operated. For instance, Dudley (1982:278), observed that “[g]iven the imperatives of domestic politics and the opportunities of a more relaxed international system, it was not surprising that Gowon’s foreign policy, attitude and orientation, as well as the perception of Nigeria’s interest and means of attaining them were significantly different from those of Balewa”. In fact, compared to Balewa’s timid and mostly moderate foreign policy perspective, Gowon’s foreign policy posture was largely regarded as “relatively more activist and influential during the 1970s” (Gambari 2008:63).

During this period, three main issues were at the forefront of policy discussions which would eventually go a long way to improve our insight and understanding of the

regime's foreign policy behavior with the international system at the time. First is the Nigerian Civil (Biafra) War which lasted between 1967 and 1970. It was very obvious that Nigeria's existence as a country was threatened as it became largely uncertain whether its future could still be guaranteed. Gambari (2008) correctly points out that the Civil War proved a watershed moment in Nigeria's foreign policy history. According to him, the international community's support and the granting of diplomatic recognition for Biafra particularly coming from South Africa, France, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Tanzania and Zambia, among others, motivated a reassessment of Nigeria's foreign policy towards Africa. There was therefore the imperative to critically reevaluate the often low profile and penitent posture that was a typical character of the previous regime. Nigeria therefore concerned itself for the most part with the urgency of ensuring the maintenance and survival of its national unity even in the face of nationwide insecurity, ethnic war and domestic instability.

Folarin (2010) notes that Nigeria's experience with the Civil War led to the clearer appreciation of the country's role in Africa, of good-neighborliness and of the greater security importance of Nigeria's immediate neighbors. The country therefore sought out necessary means to prevent the total disintegration of the Nigerian territorial conception. To this end, Nigeria's good relations with Britain came in handy in quashing the insurgency (Arifalo and Ajayi 2003). And as Adeniran (1989:35) notes "a dependent country such as Nigeria needed a country like Britain before, during and after the civil war to ensure national survival and a diplomatic breakthrough on all fronts". Even though Britain was not quick to show its support for Nigeria during this period, it eventually extended support to the federal government towards the end of the war (Adeniran 1989).

Following the end of the Civil War, Gowon initiated a policy to reconcile all parties and went on to effectively take control of all activities of Nigeria's external affairs. More importantly, the victory of Nigeria during the Civil War further ushered the country towards the path of a more purposeful leadership role in African affairs.

Second is the oil boom with the resultant improvement in the country's wealth and revenues from the sale of oil. According to Kolawole (2004), the prosperity that was brought about as a result of the oil boom made it possible for the country to access

resources more than ever which further encouraged foreign policy incursion even beyond Africa. Taking advantage of the oil breakthrough, Gowon succeeded in pursuing a vigorous Africa-centered foreign policy in general and one that focuses on West Africa in particular. Hence, Nigeria's membership of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) made it possible for the country to pursue an elaborate and activist foreign policy that ensures that the frontiers of its leadership influences is not only further deepened but also extended.

In the third place, and as rightly observed by Gambari (2008) is Gowon's decision to review the geo-political structure of Nigeria by dividing the country into twelve states as against the initial four regional structures. This restructuring altered Nigeria's federal arrangement into a centralized and hierarchical system which is typical of every military structure with that of Nigeria being no different. This decision and eventual alteration had a consequence of tilting the national balance of power structure in favor of the federal government *vis-a-vis* the states thus making it possible for the country to construct a more robust and unified foreign policy.

It can therefore be argued that the foreign policy initiated by Gowon during this period was largely preoccupied with the twin responsibility of the development of countries within the African continent on the one hand and the liberation and emancipation of its people from the claws of neo-colonialism and racial hegemony on the other. One of the first steps that the Gowon regime took was to embark on efforts to re-establish the already strained relationship with Cote' d'Ivoire, Gabon, Tanzania and Rhodesia. This was brought about as a result of the Civil War. It was therefore not surprising that Nigeria at the time played a fundamental role in the liberation struggles of South Africa and other Southern African white dominated territories like Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Namibia (Ajala 1989). Nigeria displayed a less subtle approach to the armed struggle in South Africa by taking a more radical foreign policy perspective and further engaging the Western states towards decolonization particularly in Southern Africa thus marking a clear departure from its antecedent pattern of external relations policy of dialogue in exercising its total support for the liberation movement.

Nigeria also extended its spheres of influence to such areas such as Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde etc. which were hitherto controlled by the

Portuguese ensuring that the people's right to self-determination is guaranteed. It was in recognition of this role played by Nigeria in Africa that General Gowon eventually emerged as Chairman of OAU in 1973. Gowon used this opportunity to further provide platforms for economic development and political reawakening for the African continent (Adeniran 1989).

Furthermore, the period of oil boom made available the opportunity for Nigeria to further deepen its leadership role both in Africa and the West African sub-region (Osaghae 2002). During the Gowon administration, Nigeria displayed unprecedented level of generosity to its neighbors in a bid to show its appreciation for their support during the civil war. In the first instance, oil was sold at subsidized rates for regimes within the West-African region that were supportive towards Nigeria, whereas governments who were considered recalcitrant failed to benefit from the concession as a deterrent to their opposition to the Nigerian government's policies. In the last instance, the regime of Gowon further went on to build a petroleum refinery alongside a presidential palace in Lome, Togo; extend the generation of electricity from Kainji dam to Niger etc.

It was not in doubt that these diplomatic gestures went a long way in improving the international perception of Nigeria and its leadership role towards its neighbors. This was also strengthened by the Gowon administration's decision to spearhead the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) alongside the late President Eyadema of Togo. Particularly during this period, Nigeria's minister of economic development, Adebayo Adedeji played a formidable role in the eventual emergence of the ECOWAS (Gana 1989). The ECOWAS international regime thus made it possible for Gowon to effectively unite countries within the West African sub-continent. This impressive act made it not too difficult for some countries and their leaders to give Nigeria the rightful place that it truly deserves (Kolawole 2005).

On July 29, 1975, the Gowon administration was overthrown through a bloodless coup culminating in the eventual installation of Murtala Mohammed/Obasanjo regime.

4.2.3 Nigerian foreign policy under Murtala Mohammed/Obasanjo regime (1975-1979)

The worsening domestic situation in Nigeria particularly between 1974 and 1975 had serious adverse implication for the foreign policy development of Nigeria setting the pace among other issues perhaps related to Gowon's failure to hand over power to a civilian government made an overthrow of his government inevitable. The regime was notable for a no-nonsense posture as it embarked on initiatives that were perceived to be not only radical but very distant from its earlier predecessor. Notable among such drastic actions was the setting up of a committee constituted of army personnel, academics, and career diplomats from the Ministry of External Affairs saddled with the responsibility of reviewing the basis of Nigeria's foreign policy and to formulate new guidelines for future external relations. The committee, headed by Professor Adebayo Adedeji, presented its report eight months after its inauguration among which was the proposal for the review of Nigeria's foreign policy since independence while also making projections for the foreign policy strategies, principles, goals and objectives for the years ahead (Garba 1991).

The regime consequently reaffirmed Nigeria's position that Africa would continue to occupy the central position in its foreign policy. It also made it clear that the country's national interest would not be negotiated nor sacrificed in its bid to exercise its foreign policy posture towards Africa (Ajala 1989). It was evident that from the outset, the new administration "would no longer sit on the fence on important issues affecting Africa as such a policy had in the past been detrimental to the country's image and interests" (Ajala 1989:181-182). Nigeria subsequently made good its commitment to the liberation movement of Southern Africa by increasing significantly its economic, diplomatic and material support towards the struggle. The Angolan crisis created the first litmus test for the Nigerian military government to make good this promise. In this instance, South Africa's invasion of Southern province of Angola (Cunene) on the ostensible argument of protecting the Cunene dam was met with the condemnation of the Nigerian government in strongest terms. In furtherance of this cause, the Murtala Mohammed/Obasanjo regime wasted no time in challenging the United States over South Africa's violation of the territorial integrity of Angola.

According to Osaghae (2002), this effort was seen as remarkable and sensational. Nigeria's support for and recognition of the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) which Gambari (2008:65) regarded as the "most significant foreign policy action" of the Nigerian regime was not compromised as it rallied other African states to throw its weight behind the MPLA contrary to the United States support for the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA) and *Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola* (FNLA). Even though the foreign policy decision to back the MPLA cost the Nigeria government over USD20 million, it nevertheless resulted into positive rewards as the MPLA eventually came out triumphant (Okolo 1989). Consequently, Nigeria also played a significant role in convincing the OAU to accord full recognition to the MPLA led government. The MPLA later formed the first indigenous government of Angola following its independence from Portugal in 1975. No doubt, this feat drew further into the ground Nigeria's affirmation of its leadership status in Africa and one that yielded respect from foreign powers (Okolo 1989).

Following Angola's independence from colonial rule, Nigeria continued to pour not only financial and material assistance to the country; it also extended huge political and diplomatic support to Angola. It was unarguable that at this period, Nigeria effectively became the spokesperson of the Angolan government within Africa. The government sponsored delegates to countries within Africa to pursue recognition for MPLA (Hélia 2008).

With the death of General Murtala Mohammed on the aftermath of an ignoble and unsuccessful coup d'état, Lieutenant General Olusegun Obasanjo succeeded Murtala Mohammed in 1976. The new leader further clarified and deepened Nigeria's commitment to total liberation of the African continent in 1977 when Nigeria played host to the World Conference for Action against Apartheid in Lagos. Obasanjo accused the foreign multinational companies of "contributing in no small measure to the enemy nations of Apartheid" (Dudley 1982). He added that the country was "mounting surveillance on all those enterprises who depend on our raw materials and market but continue to help our enemies, such enterprise must decide now to choose between us and our enemies" (Dudley 1982:298). Obasanjo's regime also broadened the provision of the 1972 Indigenization Decree on the premise that control over local resources was critical to any meaningful foreign policy posture. The new arrangement

had three schedules of 100%, 60% and 40% Nigerian participation respectively through either private owners or institutions. (Arifalo and Ajayi, 2003) Foreign companies were ordered to 'Nigerianize' their sales, marketing and personnel department. Thus, in 1979, Nigeria nationalized Shell-BP (Nigeria) Ltd and changed its name to African Petroleum. This was in reaction to Britain's breach of oil embargo on Rhodes in Zimbabwe. This action was taken during the Commonwealth conference in Lusaka, Zambia with the adoption of Nigeria's position. Consequently, Britain shifted its position on its policy on Rhodesia (Whiteman 2008).

The regime's support for the MPLA in Angola and the nationalization of a British oil firm demonstrated the Afro-centric dimension of Nigeria's external relations during the period. Such desire to protect the African interest in the international system was not restricted to actions against the west only. Africa thus became not the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy with Nigeria playing the role of the former's mouthpiece. In 1979, Obasanjo without mincing words stated at the OAU summit in Khartoum (Sudan) that: "Nigeria's objective was and is the independence of Africa and its freedom from external control or intervention from whatever source (whether East or West)" (Dudley 1982:278). A fundamental effect of this new emphasis on African liberation by the Murtala/Obasanjo regime on Nigeria's external relations was that greater coherence now existed on the process of making and implementing foreign policy. In the area of peacekeeping in Africa, the regime also led what Gambari (2008) rightly captured as a "costly and frustrating" initiative to reconcile the warring factions in the Chad conflict between 1979 and 1982. It also played a frontline role in the resolution of such international conflicts as the Tanzania-Uganda conflict, the Western Sahara crisis with Morocco and the Ethiopia-Somalia war (Agbi 1989:161).

On the whole, the Murtala/Obasanjo regime demonstrated greater independence in foreign policy making. While the Gowon regime evinced little or not-too fundamental change in the blueprint it inherited, the 1975-79 dispensation witnessed the incursion of radical intelligentsia on the policy making process and space. It has been observed that: "The impetus from academic and various advisory bodies took on greater prominence, a characteristic which marked not only the foreign policy scene of administration as a whole" (Dudley 1982:304). The army relinquished power on October 1, 1979, and a civilian regime under the leadership of Alhaji Shehu Shagari was inaugurated.

4.2.4 Nigerian foreign policy under Shehu Shagari (1979-1983)

It is pertinent to mention at the outset that between 1979 and 1983 when the Shagari regime was in office, Nigeria sought the cooperation of Britain in its quest for the liberation of Southern African countries like Zimbabwe and Zambia. This was partly because it was difficult for the civilian administration of Shagari to completely detach itself from the approach adopted by its military predecessors which was largely a militant African centered foreign policy. Agbi (1989:171) comments that “it was difficult to reverse the Afro-centric orientation of Nigeria’s foreign policy”. What is not in doubt about the Shagari’s administration was that the pattern of external relations of the regime was characterized by its active engagement with both superpowers of the Western and Eastern bloc. Consequently, there was therefore, no denying the fact that Nigeria was able to spread its friendship tentacles across both sides of the global hemisphere, that is, East and West. The regime thus was able to demonstrate an independent status in its foreign policy and external relations by establishing and maintaining friendly relations with countries of the eastern bloc as well as the Western bloc. This foreign policy outlook of the Nigerian government at the time had serious implication for its decolonization policy as it was on the verge of untying itself from the string of its colonial master’s apron.

The main agenda of Nigeria’s foreign policy towards Africa at the time was geared towards decolonization and eradication of all forms of racism within the continent. As a result, international institutions such as the UN, OAU, Commonwealth and other international platforms were used as major channels to articulate these demands particularly for sanctions and seclusion of the Apartheid Pretoria regime. Nigeria continued to maintain its support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa with a yearly allocation of \$5million in aid to these movements (Osaghae 2002). However, on the home front, it was becoming even clearer that the Shagari regime was moving at an alarming rate closer to becoming self-destruct. This was because the economic recession alongside the high and unparalleled level of corruption of the regime left the country with no chance but to go cap in hand to international donors. This period marked the threshold of a new era of debtor-creditor relationship in Nigeria’s external relations particularly with the advancement of capitalist economic institutions (Nnoli 1989).

At the regional level, Nigeria continued to play a fundamental and dominant role in its commitments towards ECOWAS. However, and regrettably so, the federal government was compelled to embark on a massive deportation of illegal aliens originally from Ghana and other West African countries that had flooded Nigeria due to the economic difficulty in their states (Adebanwi 2012). There was also the reduction in aids towards the West African countries while concession on oil sales continued unabated. According to Otubanjo (1989:6), Nigeria's foreign policy under Shagari administration was:

very popular with the people as well as being the object of respect in the international system but while adopting its principles, goals and rhetoric, the regime quickly showed that it neither had the zeal nor the competence to keep up the pace it had inherited.

Nigeria's foreign policy experienced a period of recess during this dispensation and as Otunbanjo (1989:6) rightly points out Nigeria's foreign policy at this period remained largely at a "routine observance of existing relations and obligations. Disappointingly too, the deepening socio-economic and political crisis that witnessed the last years of Shagari's regime made military intervention not only anticipated but also predictable and it therefore did not come as a surprise when on December 31, 1983, the civilian regime of Shagari was overthrown via another military intervention and the installation of Major General Muhammadu Buhari as Head of State.

Table 4.1: Regime transition in Nigeria

Period of rule	Name of ruler	Name of regime	Type of regime
1960-1966	Abubarkar Tafawa Balewa	1 st Republic	Civilian
1966-1966	Aguiyi Ironsi	1 st Military rule	Military
1966-1975	Yakubu Gowon	2 nd Military rule	Military
1975-1989	Murtala Mohammaed/Olusegun Obasanjo	3 rd Military rule	Military
1979-1983	Shehu Shagari	2 nd Republic	First military to civilian transition
1983-1985	Muhammadu Buhari	4 th Military rule	Military
1985-1993	Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida	5 th Military rule/3 rd aborted republic	Military/civilian
1993-1993	Adegunle Oladeinde Shonekan	Civilian interregnum	Civilian interregnum
1993-1998	Sani Abacha	6 th Military rule	Military
1998-1999	Abdulsalami Abubakar	7 th Military rule	Military
1999-2007	Olusegun Obasanjo	4 th Republic	Second military to civilian transition
2007-2011	Musa Yar' Adua/Jonathan	4 th Republic	First civilian to civilian transition
20011-to Date	Goodluck Jonathan	4 th Republic	Second civilian to civilian transition

Source: Author's compilation

4.2.5 Nigerian foreign policy under Buhari (1983-1985)

During the period of Buhari's rule, Nigeria continued to extend its external relations towards Africa, albeit in an even more aggressive manner. This was in spite of dwindling economic fortunes and the general lack of approval that characterized the regime at the time. All efforts made by the regime to stamp its authority within the domestic, sub-region, continental and global spheres of influence was short-lived as a result of its short life span (Abegunrin 2003). The leadership was therefore unable to make serious and far reaching innovations or landmark achievement in the shaping of the foreign policy perspective of the country at the time and as Abegunrin (2003:122) rightly notes "Buhari's claim that his administration was an offshoot of the

Muhammed and Obasanjo regimes is dubious”. Nevertheless, credit must be given to the Buhari’s regime for its remarkable insight in ensuring that the legacy of an Africa-centered foreign policy of Nigeria is continued, maintained and respected (Abegunrin 2003). To this end, Africa therefore continued to remain the centerpiece of Nigeria’s foreign policy. Accordingly, countries like South Africa and Namibia continued to receive adequate attention in the foreign policy construction of the country (Abegunrin 2003, Inamete 2001).

The economic hardship and lack of faith in the Buhari leadership which was widespread during this period restricted the regime to maintaining low profile diplomacy. This was partly due to the general apathy of the Nigerian people towards military rule and all its institutions of coercion. The Buhari regime nevertheless still displayed serious commitment to the fundamental struggle against the tripartite evil of *colonization, racism and apartheid* in Africa which was a global scourge at the time. The regime in demonstrating this occupied the front seat in the fight against the anti-Reagan linkage policy on Namibian independence. Effectively, the Buhari regime recorded remarkable achievement in its bid to re-establish Nigeria as a leading international figure in African affairs and perhaps beyond the continent. As anticipated and in a similar fashion that his predecessors had come and gone, the Buhari regime was toppled by another insurrection ushering in the leadership of General Ibrahim Babangida as Head of State on August 27, 1985.

4.2.6 Nigerian foreign policy under Babangida (1985-1993)

Before the start of Babangida’s administration, Nigeria’s foreign policy lacked a clear sense of direction as it reflected in most cases the domestic confusion that was often a dominant character within the country at different periods of its history (See Osaghae 2002). It was therefore not surprising that the office of the Foreign Minister was occupied by four different persons at an equal number of times. They include Bolaji Akinyemi, Gen. Ike Nwanchukwu (two terms), Lukman Rilwan and, finally, Mathew Mbu (Inamete 2001).

The Babangida regime had championed four fundamental pivotal issues in the molding of its foreign policy. They include protecting its *national interest, afrocentricity, good neighborliness and greater integration* in the West African sub-region. The country during this period continued to re-enforce its commitment as a

key actor and supporter of the African continent. A fundamental dimension and change that the regime added to Nigeria's foreign policy outlook was the "*economic diplomacy*" initiative. Babangida's administration was particularly the first to "formally, and in practice, placed the economic dimension of Nigerian foreign policy as the foremost aspect of that policy" (Inamete 2001:158). Thus, the principle of economic diplomacy which emphasizes trade as against aid received wide popularity since the period of Babangida regime (*West Africa* 25-31, May 1992, 874). The Babangida government's foreign policy was therefore largely conditioned by economic factors rather than political reasons (Inamete 2001).

The Technical Aid Corps Scheme (TACS) introduced in 1987 by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bolaji Akinyemi signified a remarkable contribution of the regime (Inamete 2001). This initiative which was originally inspired by the US Peace Corps involved the secondment of Nigerian graduates and professionals- doctors, engineers, lawyers, teachers, and others- to various African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, entirely at Nigeria's expenses. The program served as a great boost to Nigeria's status as a major contributor to African economic transformation and development. Among other improvements of the country's foreign policy posture was its blatant reaction to the apartheid South Africa's threat, the commencement of diplomatic ties with Israel and, more significantly, its deployment of a peacekeeping mission to quell the civil war in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Gambia while also playing a significant role in the United Nations peacekeeping missions in Somalia, Rwanda and Angola (*West Africa* 25-31, May 1992, 874, Inamete 2001).

Particularly within the West African sub-region, Nigeria continued its leadership role by maintaining the spirit of good neighborliness particularly in engaging the military component of ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in resolving conflicts around the sub-region. For instance, the peacekeeping mission to Liberia under the auspices of the ECOWAS was sponsored largely by the Nigerian military government as part of its peace initiatives within the sub-region. This effort received wide commendation and acknowledgement among the community of nations as the Nigerian regime reasserted its leadership dominance of the African continent in general and West African sub-continent in particular. A number of factors contributed to Nigeria's support to Liberia, including the close personal relationship between Babangida and

Samuel Doe, President of Liberia. The UN's emphasis to providing regional approach to solving regional problems was also a factor. (See UN Charter).

Moreover, the peacekeeping capability of the UN at the time was already overstretched coupled with the potential threat that the Liberian crisis created to the collective security of the West African sub-region, all added up to inspiring Nigeria's intervention in the crisis. It did not therefore come as a surprise when at the ECOWAS meeting in 1985; Babangida stated unequivocally that, "ECOWAS was ripe for rebirth" (See Owoeye 1993). From this point, Nigeria took upon itself the mandate of rescuing ECOWAS from becoming an irrelevant organization. This it did by playing a critical role in repositioning the almost moribund body for some level of relevance among its members.

To this end, "General Babangida restored commitment to ECOWAS through his three-year chairmanship of the sub-regional body between 1985 and 1988" (Adebajo 2008:9). The country took up over 30% of the organization's yearly budget (Francist 2009). It also took up the responsibility of maintaining the organization's Secretariat while also serving as its President at different times (1978/79 [Obasanjo], 1985 [Buhari], 1985/89 [Babangida], 1999/00 [Abacha], 1998/99 [Abubakar], [2008/10] Yar Adua, 2010/12] Jonathan as well as and going on to host its Summits of Head of States and Government in 1986, 1987 and 1991, 1994, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2012 (See Anadi 2005). Furthermore, Nigeria continued to provide support in various forms to ECOWAS member states. Chief among these was the contribution of \$15 million to the building of the new ECOWAS secretariat in Abuja, Nigeria's new capital city in what Adebajo (2008:9) termed "a grandiloquent symbol of Nigeria's leadership aspirations".

At the continental level, the OAU continued to remain the most important platform for displaying and expressing Nigeria's commitments to the eradication of apartheid and the advancement of African unity. In 1991, for instance, Nigeria hosted both ECOWAS and the OAU Summit in Nigeria's new capital city Abuja with Babangida emerged OAU Chairman although the event came with much criticism by the Nigerian press for its extravagant spending (*West Africa* 22-28 June 1992, 277; Osaghae 1998; Falola 1994). According to Adejumo and Momoh (1995), general

public opinion in Nigeria was opposed to the lavish hospitality extended to guests at both Summits at a time.

In 1986, Nigeria led thirty-two other countries in boycotting the Commonwealth games in Edinburgh, Scotland in protest of the Thatcher Government's romance with apartheid South Africa. Britain's reluctance to apply comprehensive sanctions against South Africa's apartheid regime was not to be tolerated by the African people. Nigeria continued to make donations to the South African Relief Fund and the Namibian Solidarity Fund. A US\$1.5million aid was given to the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) while the African National Congress (ANC) received a donation of US\$1million and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) US\$600,000 in 1989 (Osaghae 2002). As recognition of its role and commitment to the liberation struggle particularly in Southern Africa, Nigeria received the continued privilege of chairing the UN Committee on Apartheid.

Apart from the fight for the liberation in Africa, Nigeria vigorously pursued the goal and idea of African unity and development in other significant way. For instance, the mediatory efforts resulting in the peaceful resolution of the internal disputes between Angola and Uganda, the lead role it played in the formulation and signing of the treaty of the African Economic Community in 1991 coupled with the establishment of a conflict resolution department in the OAU were all landmark achievement credited to the administration's robust foreign policy. In an effort to make clear its leadership aspiration and present a good impression of the country, Babangida also embarked upon the donation of financial rewards to countries like Zimbabwe. It was as a result of this that Zimbabwe was able to host Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit. It is however unclear as to how much was donated for this purpose. The Babangida regime further added its voice to the reparation debate by demanding in strong terms that reparation is paid to Africa by the former colonists on account of the devastations that the continent experienced as a result of slave trade and colonialism (Osaghae 1998). It was also during this period that Nigeria's Emeka Anyaoku emerged as Secretary General of the Commonwealth. Equally, a bid that turned out unsuccessful was presented to UN General Assembly proposing General Obasanjo for the office of the UN Secretary General. Though unsuccessful, it nonetheless served to further

strengthen Nigeria's conviction to occupy center-stage in issues of the international system.

Despite Nigeria's foreign policy efforts to stamp its footprints as a major player in the annals of African political-economic development within the international system, the wide acceptance that the Babangida's regime enjoyed in its foreign policy outlook did not however translate in any serious manner into positive support by the international community. Particularly, the bad reputation that the country attracted to itself particularly in the area of drug-trafficking and massive corruption at all levels continued to thwart any serious development campaign effort of the country across the continent (See Klein 1994). Again, the inconclusive democratic process of the country created a serious setback since at it was generally believed that there was no serious resolve and commitment on the part of its leadership to the principles of democratic processes and procedures.

Nigeria's corporate existence hanged in the balance when the first democratic experiment since 1979 was truncated almost prematurely. The annulment of the popular June 12, 1992, Presidential election generated widespread reaction both locally and at the international front while further dampening Nigeria's image among the community of nations. Following the cancellation of the results of the 1992 general elections which is still wide regarded by Nigerians till today as the freest and fairest in the country's history since independence, the Interim National Government (ING) under the leadership of Chief Ernest Shonekan was installed by Babangida regime (See Diamond, Kirk-Greene, and Oyediran 1997, Nwosu 2008, Opara 2007, Osaghae 1998). However, no sooner than it started to settle down to the demands of governance was the Shonekan interregnum deposed by the General Sani Abacha junta.

4.2.7 Nigerian foreign policy under Abacha (1993-1998)

To all intents and purposes, a notable feature of the Abacha regime was its high degree of inconsistency and incoherence. The regime was characterized by its ambivalence and swiftness to respond to international issues without clear calculations of costs and outcomes. Perhaps, this was largely due to the wide hostility that the regime was confronted with in the most part of its existence. As a result of this, the regime largely focused on maintaining its stronghold on the country while

deflecting every attempt by the international community to label it as a pariah state. Expectedly, its foreign policy was targeted towards what Osaghae (2002) called a 'struggle for survival'. As a result of this, Nigeria's external relations during this period witnessed what can be regarded as the 'darkest moment' in its history. As correctly asserted by Osaghae (2002:194-196), the Abacha regime represented "an era in which isolationism was the rule rather than the exception. Diplomacy was replaced by bull fighting. Nigeria was not counting friends but creating enemies".

In West Africa, ECOWAS remained the central focus and continued to receive attention. However, the activities of ECOWAS were hampered by the involvement of the Francophone countries with the formation of West African Economic and Monetary Union (UMEOA) in January of 1994 following the devaluation of the CFA franc. From that time, the Francophone countries showed a lack of commitment to the body and seldom attended the annual summit. At this time, the membership of ECOWAS was reduced to Anglophone countries. Due to the lack of attention from member nations of ECOWAS, Nigeria threatened to withdraw its support for the ECOMOG. ECOMOG however continued to attract the sponsorship and support of Nigeria. For instance, "Nigeria provided 12000 of 13000 troops to the ECOMOG mission in Sierra Leone between 1998 and 1999, and its treasury released nearly \$400 million a year for the mission" (Adebajo 2008:189). On Liberia, it is estimated that Nigeria's total military expenditure between 1990 and 1999 was over \$12 billion²¹ (See Omotoogun 2003, *Financial Times* 15 Sept 2000).

Nigeria was also entangled in a boundary dispute with Cameroun over the oil rich Bakassi Peninsula with the former repeatedly accusing the latter of being an aggressor, and having French military backing. It would be recalled that after much unsuccessful attempts at resolving the issue, including the mediation of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), it was finally resolved in 2008 with Nigeria conceding to the ICJ's ruling to cede the oil rich peninsula to Cameroun (Okonta 2008; Kuna: n:d).

On the African scene, Nigeria continued to concentrate its external relations towards the struggle for the emancipation of black South Africa from white dominated

²¹ According to Omotoogun (2003), the exact amount spent on ECOMOG operations is still to be properly determined. President Obasanjo has estimated it at over \$8 billion.

apartheid rule. The Nigerian administration made good its dissatisfaction and disapproval of the senseless continuation of apartheid rule in South Africa. Thus, the end of apartheid and the entry of South Africa on the African political scene as a major power and a rival to Nigeria invariably changed in a drastic manner the political arrangement and permutation of the African continent. The overthrow of the apartheid government of South Africa and the holding of elections in 1994 signaled the completion of a phase of Nigeria's foreign policy towards Africa in terms of the struggle for the emancipation of the African people from the jaws of colonial and apartheid rule (Adebajo and Mustapha 2008). Nigeria consequently found itself at a crossroad of deciding what path and pattern of foreign policy to adopt in order to fill the void of its African presence. The emergence of South Africa into the African political space triggered new problems for Nigeria in dealing with the rising profile of the former as a rival for continental leadership. Perhaps this explains the reason why both countries kicked off its post-apartheid relations on a wrong footing. As early as 1994, relations between both Nigeria and South Africa countries nosedived rapidly particularly with President Nelson Mandela criticism of the Ogoni execution of Saro Wiwa and others despite the fact that other African countries refused to comment on the issue (Keith 1997). This led to many African countries accusing South Africa of being a protégé of the Western world.

With no remarkable achievement at home, the Abacha regime began to appeal to the patriotism and nationalistic instinct and consciousness of all Nigerians calling on them to preserve and jealously guide their independence against any foreign infiltration. To sum up, the five year despotic rule of Abacha in terms of its foreign policy resulted in the complete erosion of the earlier gains that the country had recorded over the years and plunged the country and its people further into the abysmal space of dis-reputation. Succinctly put, Nigeria was isolated and avoided like a plague both by foreign investors and the international community at large (See Okonta 2008; Whiteman 2008; Uhomoibhi 2008). Abacha's untimely death in June 8, 1998 ultimately led to his replacement by General Abubakar after a brief period of interregnum under Ernest Shonekan.

4.2.8 Nigerian foreign policy under General Abubakar (1998-1999)

Following the least expected death of Abacha on June 8, 1998, General Abdulsalami Abubakar replaced Abacha as the Head of State of Nigeria and was saddled with two

major tasks of “midwifing” the re-emergence of democracy and civilian rule in Nigeria while also bringing an appreciable degree of stability into the domestic terrain and external relations of the Nigeria. He tested the international acceptance of his regime by paying two visits to South Africa in quick succession. The first was for bi-lateral purpose while the other was to attend a non-aligned nations’ movement meeting (The Guardian, Sept. 26, 1998).

In Abubakar’s own words, his administration “will consolidate old friendships and will win new ones and repair damaged relations” (The Guardian, Sept. 26, 1998). He also called on the international community to participate in the privatization programme, to invest in export-oriented industries and for Nigerian creditors to grant her debt relief (The Guardian, Sept. 26, 1998). Three months to his regime, Gen. Abubakar visited Britain and had an audience with Prime Minister Tony Blair. He later travelled to United States to address the 53rd session of the UN’s General Assembly while also making an appeal to the international community for assistance “in the implementation of our programmes and policies aimed at uplifting the living standards of our people (Sept. 26, 1998). On the whole, Nigeria’s external relation under Abubakar was largely driven around a bid to re-invigorate the already damaged image of the country. These efforts marked a clear departure from the erstwhile destructive tendencies of his predecessor, Sani Abacha. In May, 1999, General Abubakar’s became the second head of state in Nigeria to successfully hand over power to a democratically elected civilian thus closing an eventful chapter of Nigeria political history. Coincidentally, President Obasanjo who assumed office was the only ruler before Abubakar to achieve such feat.

4.2.9 Nigerian foreign policy under Obasanjo (1999-2007)

After exactly twenty years of military domination since the termination of the Second Republic in 1979, Nigeria effectively returned to civilian rule with the swearing in of former military dictator, Chief General Olusegun Obasanjo on 29th May, 1999. Obasanjo had emerged victorious following the Presidential election of February 27, 1999. General Obasanjo’s re-emergence into the political scene was as a result of his release from prison for a phantom coup attempt barely a year before the start of the general elections. Nigeria's Head of State therefore took over the reins of leadership twenty years after handing over power from a military administration to civilian

rule.²² On assumption of office in May 1999, Obasanjo hit the ground running with a desire to mend the already tarnished image of Nigeria and restore it to its former glory. He was known for his extensive travel around the globe particularly to major countries of the world (Britain, United States of America etc) in a bid to convince the international community of the country's resolve for a fresh start. In the subsequent section, we shall examine the foreign policy initiatives of the democratic dispensation beginning with particular highlight on the Obasanjo regime by looking at its external relations in certain contexts within the West Africa sub-region and Africa at large.

The Fourth Republic under the democratic leadership of Obasanjo commenced on May 29, 1999, bringing an end to thirty-five (35) years of military tyranny and also bringing alive hopes for a prosperous Nigeria. Obasanjo's foreign policy thrust in the Fourth Republic focused on ensuring that the misconceptions about Nigerian was corrected and also seeking to ensure that the country's status as Africa's regional power is strengthened and broadened. To this effect, Africa continued to attract the attention of Nigeria's foreign policy, with particular emphasis on the promotion of African integration, development, peace and security. It is in the light of this that Nigeria directed its support towards a new African organization by spearheading the transformation of the OAU into the African Union (AU). We shall proceed to discuss the fundamental foreign policy positions that the country took during this period along six thematic outlines.

4.2.9.1 Democratic consolidation and promoting political stability in Africa

There was the general conviction by the Obasanjo administration that the emergence of Nigeria into the democratic space created extensive opportunities for the country to rise above its limitations and ascend to providing the right leadership that Africa desperately needs to move away from the shackles of poverty and underdevelopment. Thus, the regime's first tenure was characterized by a deep resolution to translate the country's strategic and comparative advantages into practical rewards and benefits both for the country and for Africa at large (Ajetunmobi 2011). Obasanjo therefore

²²It would be recalled that Obasanjo's selection was borne out of the expediency to compensate the Southerners for annulment of the June 12, 1993 general election which was reputed to have been won by Chief M.K.O. Abiola.

took advantage of his choleric and highly persuasive personality to attract recognition for the country in the international arena. He succeeded in this effort as he was able to move Nigeria however minimal towards a position of respect and leadership in Africa and perhaps in world affairs (Ajetunmobi 2011, Obasanjo 2011; Omotere 2011).

As a democratic nation, Nigeria finally found a legal basis to advocate for the enthronement of democratic values and principles within the West African sub-region. It sought to ensure that democratic rule became the norm by showing strong resistance for non-democratic regimes within the sub-region. The administration, for instance, resisted regime changes inspired by military coup particularly in the case of Sao Tome and Principe. Following the bloodless mutiny of July 18 2003 in Sao Tome and Principe by dissident soldiers, Obasanjo successfully rallied round the international community to set up a mediation team to negotiate a peace deal with the coup plotters (*New York Times*; July 24, 2003, see irinnews Report). It would be recalled that President Frederique had left his country to attend the Leon Sullivan Summit when a military insurrection attempted to overthrow his leadership. The Nigerian government ensured the return of de Menezes to power. The eventual breakthrough of the mediation resulting in the retreat of the coup plotter and the return of President Fradique Demenezes back to office was seen as a very remarkable credit to the Nigerian administration as a global enforcer of democratic principles (*New York Times*; July 17, 2003). In addition, Nigeria joined other countries to ensure that a successful transition to democracy in Guinea-Bissau was in place. This was after the dismissal of the Kumba Yala led government (Iliffe 2011, *All Africa* 23 June 2005).

However, suffice to say that it has been argued at different quarters that Obasanjo's decision to grant asylum to Charles Taylor in 2003 dented the image of his administration and its foreign policy record (Nigeria World, March 29, 2004). Obasanjo, contrary to both domestic protest and international criticism and in a bid to put an end to the lingering political crises granted Taylor asylum in Nigeria. His decision was propelled by his bid to resolve the political quagmire that threatened the existence of Liberia as a country and its surrounding neighbors (Iliffe 2011). This decision generated wide criticism and negative reaction both locally and internationally towards the Obasanjo administration. The Government's argument, however, was that granting asylum to Taylor was critical to any possibility for peaceful resolution of the Liberian civil war and, more importantly, that the influx of

refugees into Nigeria due to the civil unrest had serious national economic, social and security implications for the country's stability (Kuna; n:d). It argued further that the crisis of that magnitude had the possibility and capacity to overflow into neighboring countries including Nigeria thus destabilizing the relative peace present within the sub-region. Already the country was playing host to several refugees located at the Oru refugee camp in Ijebu Ode, Ogun state (IFRC).

Going from the above illustrations, it was evident that Nigeria's foreign policy during the Fourth Republic under Obasanjo's civilian dispensation strongly canvassed for a recognition and appreciation of Nigeria's commitment towards African stability. His election as Chairman of AU on July 6, 2004 was perhaps an acknowledgement of the efforts of the Nigerian president in his contribution to continental stability and the consolidation of democracy within the continent.

4.2.9.2 Commitment to hosting international conferences

The Government of Nigeria committed itself to the hosting an international conference among which was the meeting of the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth countries (CHOGM). . The meeting was held in Abuja from December 5th to 8th, 2003 with the Queen of England in attendance. Nigeria used this platform to present for discussion the suspension of Zimbabwe alongside other developmental issues of poverty reduction, world trade etc. The conference was largely regarded as successful and added to an appreciation of the foreign policy posture of the Nigerian government at the time (*The Comet*, December 17, 2003). There was the general anticipation that the summit would usher in opportunities for the inflow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) into the country.

Using sports as a vehicle for the propagation of its foreign policy, the Nigerian government also in the same year, allocated resources towards the successfully hosting of the 8th All African Games held in Abuja between October 4th and 18th 2003 and was tagged the "Unity Games".

The President was criticized for his frequent trips abroad. As of 2003, Obasanjo had made a total of 93 trips out of the country justified as "necessary to burnish Nigeria's poor international image, seek debt forgiveness and attract much-needed foreign investment to the country" (Pana Press). Akindele (2005) recounted that according to official sources, the president's foreign visits as at August 2002, numbered up to a

hundred and thirteen times since he took over the leadership of the country in May 1999 while as at June 2002, official trips outside of Nigeria was put at 340 days. Those who objected to this wanted him to stay at home to tackle the many problems confronting the country. In addition, most world leaders and investors saw the President as one capable of turning the country around, and in droves visited Nigeria for one possible relationship or the other. In his efforts to address the country's dwindled status, he undertook several foreign visits outside Nigeria to promote his government's privatization and deregulation policy even though his Chief Economic adviser, Dr. Magnus Kpakol, argues that President Obasanjo's extensive foreign trips had fetched the nation about N200 billion in foreign direct investments (*Asia Africa Intelligence Wire* August 13, 2002). Akindele (2005), notes that according to official sources, as at mid-August 2002, Obasanjo's foreign trip since he took over power was put at a hundred and thirteen times and a period of 340 days as at June 2002 (Akindele 2005; Alao 2012:). As shown vividly in the table 4.2 below and in what Ebong (2010: n:d) termed "Ajala diplomacy", Obasanjo's literally spent at least a period of a year less two weeks out of the country during his first tenure .

Table 4.2: Diplomatic visits by President Obasanjo to global powers, April 1999 to December 2007

Date	Country	Focus of discussion
April 1999	China	Bilateral discussions
October 1999	United States	Bilateral and regional issues
January 2000	India	Chief guest at the 50 th Republic Day celebrations
February 2000	France	Bilateral discussion
September 2000	United Kingdom	Bilateral discussion and debt relief
March 2001	France	Bilateral discussion
May 2001	United States	Bilateral and regional issues
August 2001	China	Bilateral discussion
July 2003	United Kingdom	Bilateral issues and debt relief
November 2003	Germany	Bilateral discussion
November 2004	India	Working visit
December 2004	United States	Bilateral and regional issues including Darfur, Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire

April 2005	China	Bilateral discussion and Obasanjo visited as AU chairperson
May 2005	France	Bilateral discussion
September 2005	Brazil	Bilateral discussion
March 2006	United States	Bilateral and regional issues
December 2007	United States	Bilateral and regional issues

Source: Alao (2012)

4.2.9.3 Economic integration and cooperation of Africa

Obasanjo inherited a debt burden of over \$32 billion and it therefore became imperative to find drastic solutions to the country's dwindling economic fortune as this was vital to the survival and sustenance of the new democratic regime. The Obasanjo administration undertook bilateral relations and Joint Commissions with several nations with a bid to revive declining bilateral arrangements because of its understanding that bilateral agreements bring to bear a veritable opportunity for establishing positive economic relations between countries since they provide states with the essential platform for mutually inclusive engagement for the multiple purposes of economic, scientific, educational, technical, trade, scientific, sporting, and cultural relation among each other and recognizing that no nation can exist on its own. The Nigerian/South African Bi-National Commission instituted in 1999 represents a good example of such Joint Commissions. Taking advantage of the international principle of reciprocity, the Commission laid the foundation for the establishment of mutually beneficial economic relationship between both countries particularly in the areas of telecommunication, infrastructural development mining, trade and investment. The Nigeria-Congo Joint Commission was also another example of bilateral arrangement established in 2001, with agreements reached and signed in the area of cultural and educational co-operation, air services and merchant shipping. (MFA 2008; All Africa 2001)

In addition to this, in 2003, Nigeria further signed three bilateral agreements with the Republic of Uganda in Kampala. The agreements centered on bilateral trade; investment promotion and protection and technological cooperation respectively. A similar type of Bi-National Commission was established with Algeria at the beginning of 2002. The agreements made between both countries for co-operation in three collaborative projects namely; The Trans-Sahara Pipeline, the Trans-Sahara highway

(Lagos-Algiers) and the Optic Fiber link. Cooperation agreements for bilateral relations were also signed with such countries as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Botswana, Sao Tome and Principe, Gabon, Cameroun (in spite of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruling on the Bakassi), Benin Republic, and Equatorial Guinea among others (MFA 2008).

4.2.9.4 Peaceful resolution of conflict and African regional integration

In the area of peaceful resolution of conflicts, the regime of Obasanjo restored confidence and credibility in Africa by pursuing a “*Peace Philosophy*”. He advocated four broad issue areas that Africa must address if it must move towards lasting peace in Africa. These include: redirecting the mind, redefining sovereignty, redefinition of security and institutionalization of democracy (Obasanjo 1999). In the light of the above, President Obasanjo unequivocally tabled before the O.A.U. Summit in 1999 a proposal to make the year 2000 a year of *peace, security and solidarity*. The motion was generally accepted and adopted by the Summit.

Additionally, Obasanjo's administration played a formidable role in the peaceful resolution of the crisis in Sierra Leone. Nigeria equally intervened while playing the lead role in the Mano River dispute between Liberia, Guinea and Sierra-Leone thus bringing an end to the sequence of hostility prevalent within the region and in Sierra-Leone in particular. This is also apart from the role it played in the post-war reconstruction of Liberia after years of civil war. In the same vein, at the regional level, and in regard to regional economic integration, Nigeria's resolve that African economic development lies in its effective integration with each other and it was on the basis of this reality that President Obasanjo prompted African leaders to adopt the treaty establishing the African Union (Ilfie 2011). President Obasanjo's intervention to a large extent influenced the Head of States in adopting the Constitutive Act of the Union with the NEPAD as its economic variant (Ilfie 2011). According to the *Comet*, August 7, 2001 publication, the Nigerian government had sustained the nation's commitment to the Technical Aid Corps with a total expenditure of over \$22.5 million since its inception in 1987. In addition, Nigeria also assisted in the intensive training of one hundred Congolese policemen (*The Comet*, October 1, 2001). Besides, the government also provided the needed leadership in ECOWAS and was very active in the Commonwealth of Nations (*The Comet*, October, 2001).

Another outstanding achievement to the credit of President Obasanjo's administration particularly in the area of sub-regional cooperation was the successful inauguration of the Gulf of Guinea Commission (GGC) in Gabon in 1999 (McDonald 2005). The Gulf of Guinea Commission comprised Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon, and Sao Tome and Principe; its objectives was aimed at strengthening economic and political ties among its member states as well as establishing a platform for the furtherance of cooperative engagements among sub-regional organizations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Central African Economic Community (CAEC) (Flemes 2007). Obasanjo's administration's resolve to ensure that peace prevailed within the continent of Africa was based on his realization that peace and stability are the critical conditions under which any meaningful development can be guaranteed. As stated earlier, Obasanjo's *Peace Philosophy* ensured that the country continued to participate in regional and international peace-keeping efforts—in such areas like Sierra-Leone (1996-2000), Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Cote d'Ivoire (2000-2008), Chad (1979-1982), Guinea Bissau (1998-2000), Liberia (1990-1998), Sudan etc (See Kuna: n:d).

4.2.9.5 Formation of the African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

In 2001, in a bid to address Africa's socio-economic and political development concerns, Nigeria's Obasanjo along with South-Africa's Thabo Mbeki and Algeria's Bouteflika jointly proposed the integration of the Millennium African Renaissance Plan (MAP) into the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). NEPAD essentially represented a new economic blueprint for the development of the African continent. In addition, the Obasanjo administration contributed immensely to the eventual transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to African Union (Adebajo and Mustapha 2008). Obasanjo along with Thabo Mbeki of South Africa helped in a significant way with the articulation of the "Pan-African integrationist institution-the African Union (AU) in 2002" and the "New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2001" (Landsberg 2008:203). Acknowledging that the vision of the African Union was also in sync with original beliefs of the founding fathers of the OAU targeted towards the promotion of African unity and prosperity the African people, the OAU was finally dissolved and was replaced by the African Union at the Durban Summit in 2002.

4.2.10 Yar' Adua/Jonathan's foreign policy of citizen diplomacy (2007-2010)

Our foreign policy has come of age and the age of innocence is over. We remain proud of our track record from Tafawa Balewa up till now. The country that is the largest black nation in the world could not have done otherwise. A world where every sixth black man is a Nigerian could not have done otherwise, or where every four Africans is a Nigerian could not have done otherwise. We should ask ourselves some hard questions: to what extents has our foreign policy benefited Nigerians? To what extent has our foreign policy put food on our tables? In order words where is the citizen in our foreign policy? -- President Umaru Yar'Adua (Cited in Adejumo 2007).

The above statement aptly captures the foreign policy thrust under the Yar Adua tenure although the extent to which it actualized this policy is another object of discussion entirely. On the assumption of office on May 29, 2007, President Umaru Yar'Adua's inaugural speech was very clear about the intention of his administration to build on the achievements and accomplishments of his predecessors. However, his leadership attempted to reprioritize Nigeria's foreign policy focus away from the traditional Afrocentric posture into a practical emphasis on the Nigerian people with Nigerians at the forefront of diplomatic engagements with the rest of the world. This celebrated foreign policy posture coined as 'Citizen Diplomacy' requires the government of Nigeria to more consciously resort to the calculi of the basic needs, human rights, and socio-economic welfare of the citizen in conducting bilateral and multilateral engagements with other nations. This may sound fairly prosaic, but, its normative implications and transformative potentials are enormous (Pogoso 2010:12; All Africa 2007).

The country's Minister of Foreign Affairs Chief Ojo Maduekwe, on September 2007, presented this idea of "citizenship diplomacy" meaning that Nigeria and Nigerian citizens both home and abroad will henceforth be the focus of Nigeria's foreign policy. According to Mbachu (2007:9), "the basic thrust of the new foreign policy initiative revolve around concerns for the basic needs, human rights and socio-economic welfare of Nigerian citizens in bilateral and multilateral engagements with other countries". Ogunsanwo (2007:3) with respect to Nigeria's new found citizen

diplomacy concludes that it suggest that, from now on the Nigerian citizen abroad is the centre of Nigeria's national interest and therefore the country's entire diplomatic machinery should be geared towards protecting his or her interest– economic welfare etc. The intention of the administration was to develop a foreign policy that reflects to a large extent the domestic policy and aspiration of Nigeria(ns).

In essence, it was assumed that although Africa would continue to remain part of its foreign policy agenda, Nigeria's national interest would however take prominence over sub-regional, continental and global issues. It was therefore not surprising that Yar' Adua's attention was centered particularly on fixing Nigeria's ailing economy thereby reinforcing its leadership role in Africa and establishing itself as a major actor in the global economic and political arena (Alao 2012:6; FMIC; 2010). The emphasis of his administration's goal on lifting Nigeria's economy to becoming one of the 20 largest economies in the world by the year 2020 was a clear indication of the priority of domestic interest in shaping the country's foreign policy (Yar' Adua 2007). At the time, it was the general believe by majority of Nigerians that there had been no meaningful balance between Nigeria's external policies and its domestic interests. Hence, the country had received very little in return for its generosity, its ambitious Afrocentric foreign policy and the extensive sacrifices made in regional and continental diplomacy (Alao 2012:7).

Many were quick to criticise the government's policy of citizen diplomacy as it was perceived that this should have been the sole priority of government as “[t]he extent of non-articulation and opacity of this newly fangled ludicrous foreign policy that has been gleefully touted as the driver of Nigeria's policy is seen in the fact that this is a standard consular obligation owed Nigerians and not policy” (Ezirim 2013:10).

In retrospect, the regime's emphasis on a foreign policy of citizen diplomacy was no less rhetorical as Yar' Adua did very little to put forward a clear cut and well-articulated foreign policy that reflected essentially the aspirations of the Nigerian people. Foreign policy during this period thus reflected a very passive attitude and style similar to the period under President Shagari as there was very little evidence to show a radical shift in Nigeria's foreign policy.

Scholars have alluded to a number of reasons for the lack of inspiration of a foreign policy initiative during this period. Firstly, the poor state of health of the President no doubt hampered significantly any solid plan or intention of the Presidency as he was for the most part of his leadership under intensive care. There were a number of speculations that the President's state of health did not permit for long trans-continental flights and thus he avoided most international forums and obligations. Secondly, having being dramatically catapulted to the apex of governance through a questionable electoral process, it was clear that Yar' Adua had neither prior inclination nor preparedness of being President and his reluctance to run for presidency was in fact evident. According to Abba (2009), "President Yar' Adua had no grand vision of foreign policy because he was opportunistically extrapolated to the apex political position through a most discredited electoral process". His lack of clear cut foreign policy vision was therefore expected.

In all, the two years of Yar' Adua tenure in office had no clear cut foreign policy priority particularly when viewed in terms of its relations with Africa. Moreover, there was also a wide lacuna between policy and practice as the administration's policy of 'citizen diplomacy' was not more than a mere rhetorical statement of the obvious mandate of any meaningful foreign policy of a government. Even the policy itself did very little to alleviate the hostile image of corruption, cybercrime, drug smuggling etc. that the international community have about Nigeria and its people. Pogoson (2009:71) citing the instance of the rash deportation of 24 Nigerian from Equatorial Guinea is proof that "the hostility against Nigerian nationals in different parts of the world has not shown any sign of abating".

The government's lack of clear cut focus for its foreign policy no doubt had direct implication on the country's regional power status and ultimately on the assessment and perception of the international community as evidenced in America's first Black President, Obama choosing to avoid Nigeria like a flea and visit Ghana instead (Pogoson 2009:71). By implication, during this period, very little attention was paid to Nigeria's contribution or position on international issues particularly as exemplified during the Zimbabwe and Darfur crisis (Pogoson 2009:71). Yar' Adua's untimely death in May 5, 2010 mid-way into his tenure paved the way for his deputy Goodluck Jonathan to emerge as Acting President of the republic. However, before

his death, the President inaugurated a six man Honourary Presidential Advisory Council on International Relations on the 16th of April, 2009 headed by the former Commonwealth Secretary-General and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Chief Emeka Anyaoku. The Council was saddled with the task of leading the vanguard to “reinvigorate Nigeria’s foreign policy process in the light of the prevailing realities in today’s increasing complex world” (Pogoso 2009:70). Other responsibilities of the Council were the mandate to assist to reposition Nigeria as a respected member of the international system and a leading voice for Africa and of the Global South (Pogoso 2009:70)²³.

4.2.11 Goodluck Jonathan’s era of economic diplomacy (2009-to-date)

Like his predecessor, President Jonathan had no inclination of becoming President as he only emerged initially in an acting capacity following the bizarre circumstance surrounding the demise of the then President (Yar’ Adua). A number of conspiracy theorists argue that this was a deliberate action by Obasanjo as a way of bringing the presidency back to the South once Yar’Adua was dead. This was despite that Obasanjo who anointed him into office was in full knowledge all along that Yar’Adua was sick and not well-travelled. Even though there is currently barely any existing documented literature on the foreign policy profile of Jonathan’s administration with respect to Nigeria’s involvement with Africa, we shall attempt to recap the major undercurrents and highlights of the regime’s tenure so far, beginning from the period Goodluck Jonathan took over as acting President in 2010 (to complete Yar’ Adua tenure) and his current four year tenure which is nearing completion. As the tenure draws to a close, there is perhaps no better time to evaluate the signature of President Jonathan administration’s foreign policy at the two concentric circles of West African sub-region and African continent respectively. Much of the data from this section are therefore gleaned from press releases by key government officials and consequently corroborated by archival materials gathered from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Abuja as well as newspaper publications during this period.

²³The overall terms of reference of the Council include: to advise from time to time on Nigeria’s membership role in regional and international organisation; to review and advice on foreign policy dimension of the seven point agenda; to review and advise from time to time on the effectiveness of Nigeria’s diplomatic missions abroad in the promotion of the nation’s interests; to advise on the reform and retooling of foreign policy institutions; and to advise on any other matter relating to Nigerian foreign relations that may be assigned to the council or which the council deems necessary (Pogoso 2009:70).

To begin with, much expectation greeted assumption into office of President Jonathan on May 29th 2010. There was no doubt that the country was ripe for a new foreign policy focus that effectively represented the general aspirations of the Nigerian people. Anigbogu (2012:1) remarked that “there was no doubt that Nigeria’s Foreign Policy bequeathed to the nation at independence in 1960, required a new policy direction”. Generally, Nigerians were tired of a foreign policy that failed to add value to their economic wellbeing nor advance the interest, welfare wellbeing of Nigerians both home and abroad. On the conviction that the past 50 years has witnessed a remarkable shift and change in the international system heralded by the end of the Cold War and of colonialism following the dismantling of White minority rule in Southern Africa (and especially in South Africa), a new stage appeared to be set for fresh foreign policy priorities that would reflect the nuances and demands of the current global era. It was in recognition of this reality that the President initiated the review of the country’s foreign policy in line with the Transformation Agenda of his administration.

Analysts agree that underlying the foreign policy priority of President Goodluck Jonathan is the principle of ‘economic diplomacy’ which to all intents and purposes is aimed at deriving maximum benefit from the foreign policy direction of the government. According to the President, only a stable political and economic environment would give Nigeria a robust foreign policy. Economic diplomacy in this sense is conceived as:

The process through which countries tackle the outside world, to maximize their national gain in all the fields of activity including trade, investment and other forms of economically beneficial exchanges, where they enjoy comparative advantage through bilateral, regional and multilateral dimensions, each of which is important.

According to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Olugbenga Ashiru “Nigeria’s new foreign policy direction is now on investment and economic cooperation, which thus ties foreign policy to the country domestic agenda, a radical departure from the old one which has Africa as the centre point” (African Outlook). In essence, Nigeria’s foreign policy was beginning to move away from its traditional focus on Africa to one that prioritizes the need to address the ailing economy of the country. The Minister while pointing to current Transformation Agenda of the

government notes that “Nigeria’s foreign policy will continue to be dictated by the political and economic programme at home”.

In concrete terms, very little has happened at the foreign policy scene since the inception of the Jonathan presidency and the absence of a credible online presence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also testament to this fact. Nigeria’s reaction to issues particularly in Africa has been characterized by non-intervention and indifference which has invariably dwindled the country’s reputation in recent times. There is the general agreement that Nigeria’s international reputation as a major continental powerhouse has suffered remarkably during this period and as Adebajo (2013) remarked; “Nigeria’s foreign policy has suffered terminal decline and the country’s international voice has become muted” (Adebajo 2013). To a large extent, the general feeling of many Nigerians is that foreign policy since 2010 has suffered comatose. We would however go to highlight and reflect on the foreign policy involvement of Nigeria at these two levels mentioned earlier.

In Africa, Nigeria has continued to demonstrate its support for the AU and ECOWAS policy of zero tolerance for unconstitutional and undemocratic change of government. Its condemnation of the undemocratic change of government in both Mali and Guinea Bissau is according to the Minister of Foreign Affairs evidence of this fact. Ambassador Ashiru notes that: “ Nigeria has made strenuous efforts to lead the process of entrenching democracy in Africa [by providing] material and other forms of support to the democratic electoral process[es]” in Ghana, Guinea Bisau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and other countries in Africa. In the case of Guine Bissau Cote d’ Ivoire and Mali, the Ambassador claims that “it was President Goodluck Jonathan that negotiated a peaceful resolution of the crisis and prevented the coup leaders in those countries from executing their detained erstwhile presidents and prime ministers”. According to the Presidency, in furtherance of its leadership position in Africa and more importantly in serving the national strategic interest of the country, Nigeria committed about 1200 troops and N7 billion to the intervention in Mali while also promising the construction of military clinics for the Malian army.

Nigeria’s voice and position on the Libyan crisis was also made very clear with its timeous announcement of its recognition of the Transitional National Council (TNC). On the aftermath of the Arab Spring uprising in the country (Libya), Nigeria was one

of the first countries to lead the way for other Africa countries to follow. Ambassador Ashiru (2013) also notes that “majority of member states of the AU, hitherto sitting on the fence followed Nigeria’s lead”. Nigeria’s position on Libya may not be unconnected to its weariness about the latter’s erstwhile president Ghadaffi.

Nigeria, under the Jonathan administration has also attempted to revisit the judgment of the International Court of Justice on ceding of the oil rich Bakassi Peninsula to Cameroun after much pressure from the National Assembly and from popular opinion on the decision of Obasanjo to concede to the ICJ ruling. Pointing to new evidences, which were not presented to the ICJ during the ruling on the ownership of the oil rich peninsula, the Presidency on October 4, 2012, established a four man committee to review the judgment (Bello and Soniyi 2012). The committee was expected to look at the new evidences and make recommendations on what recourse is available for Nigeria in reclaiming the lost peninsula.

4.3 Conclusion: Comparative analysis of Nigeria’s foreign policy in the military and civilian dispensations

This chapter examines Nigeria foreign policy under successive Nigerian governments from the gained insight from the previous chapter on the fundamental principles and conditions that that guide and inspire the country’s foreign policy. In examining the cumulative legacies of Nigeria’s leaderships since independence in the context of its relationship with Africa and with the rest of the world, we can infer that despite the fact of ideological differences of government from time to time, the Nigerian government over the years has demonstrated and maintained a close rapport with other African states and in fact has continued to play key role in the stabilization of the continent. Fifty years down the line, the post-colonial foreign policy construction of Nigeria perhaps has displayed a largely consistent and defining role in promoting the political integration of Africa; a cause which has resulted in the eventual emergence of the African Union (AU). The foreign policy path that successive Nigerian governments have taken since independence have essentially portrayed similar pattern with very minimal difference particularly in terms of implementation rather than in contexts and objectives.

One major inference that can be made from the above discussion is that the international environment and internal context evident during the dispensation of

successive administration had a strong bearing on the strength of Nigeria's foreign policy. In essence, the domestic and external environment at which successive leadership operated inspired a measure of influence on foreign policy formulation and implementation at different periods. For instance, the type of regime coupled with the nature of the international political economy of particular leadership invoke certain constrain on the foreign policy of Nigeria from time to time. Foreign policy has therefore been addressed at different and varied degrees on different occasions. Thus, while its foreign policy in Africa during the periods of colonialism, Cold War and apartheid period was largely forceful, the same is not the case since the end of these events. Again, the periods of the civil war, oil boom, military regimes, internal terrorist insurgencies, economic downturn coupled with the trend of globalization had serious critical implications on the dynamics of Nigeria's foreign policy at the time. Thus, while Africa has remained the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy, the force with which these policies have been pursued have varied across regime dispensations. This means that for instance, while at some point, Nigeria's foreign policy was very aggressive and active, at other periods like the Balewa, Shagari and perhaps the Yar Adua eras, Nigeria foreign policy took a docile posture with very minimal bold steps taken towards the African agenda.

And as a senior research fellow of the NIIA asserts;

[so] we (*Nigeria*) have always conducted our foreign policy well. In international peacekeeping we have always been there, outside Africa, we have also been there, inside Africa we have also shown our capacity to deal with internal destabilization and pacifying situations that is almost exploding (See excerpts of interview in Babalola 2012:1)

Using certain indicators, it is important to critically assess the measure of differentiations and/or similarities that exist(ed) at different level of Nigeria's foreign policy making and implementation. This kind of analysis which is done in the context of regime type and regime change is important for this research in showing the level of divergence, period of strength or otherwise, consistencies and inconsistencies under various regimes. We shall therefore comparatively analyze Nigeria's foreign policy under the two regime types that has characterized its over fifty years of international relations in the African.

As aptly captured in the table 4.3 below, Nigeria's foreign policy has reflected different nuances over the years. Hence, while foreign policy under late Tafawa Balewa was largely conservative, docile and pro-western, Major-General Aguiyi Ironsi was said, to have assumed the reins of power in chaos and never settled down to afford enough time for any foreign policy making. General Gowon's regime on the other hand sought to reconstruct and reconcile the differences immediately after the civil war while the Murtala/Obasanjo regime demonstrated a high level of dynamism and purpose hitherto unimagined in the history of Nigeria's foreign policy. Prominent is her support for the liberalization movement in the former Northern Rhodesia, now (Zimbabwe). As for the Buhari regime, it preferred to focus on the domestic front and inculcating personal discipline while the Babangida years were synonymous with strident strides in economic diplomacy, peace-keeping and integration within the continent whereas Nigeria was widely acknowledged for its peacekeeping role and defensive foreign policy posture during the Abacha regime. The death of Abacha in 1998 made it possible for yet another General, which eventually culminated into the transition programme that led to Obasanjo's administration in the Fourth Republic which was widely acknowledged to be at the forefront of the cause of 'Africa for Africans'

Table 4.3: Foreign Policy Regime Style and Policy Distinction of Nigerian leaders

<i>Regime</i>	<i>Regime type</i>	<i>Style</i>	<i>Notable Signature</i>
Balewa	Civilian	Conservative	<i>Afrocentrism</i>
Gowon	Military	Reconciliatory	Oil/Quiet Diplomacy
Murtala/Obasanjo	Military	Activist	Activism
Shagari	Civilian	Passive	Domestic Priority
Buhari	Military	Proactive	Nationalism
Babangida	Military	Aggressive	Economic Diplomacy
Abacha	Military	Incoherent	International isolation
Abubakar	Military	Pacifist	International Reconciliation
Obasanjo	Civilian	Energetic and dynamic	Shuttle Diplomacy
Yar Adua	Civilian	Inactive	Citizen Diplomacy
Jonathan	Civilian	Passive	Economic Diplomacy

Source: Author's compilation

The determining factors of foreign policy discussed in the previous chapter evince certain fundamental issues that dominate Nigerian foreign policy implementation

across successive governments, showing that each government has displayed distinctive priorities and style which is often time inconsistent from preceding leadership(s). For example, the early 1960s, Nigeria's foreign policy direction aimed at proper behavior in the international system, with Britain playing a major role in Nigerian foreign relations during this period. For this reason, the Balewa government emphasized the ideals and principle of world peace, respect for sovereign equality of states, nonalignment, reciprocity etc. The Balewa leadership of the first republic was often accused of being too pro-Western choosing to maintain a low profile which was considered as embarrassing to the country's status.

Equally, Gowon's military leadership, a posture of quiet diplomacy generally characterized the foreign policy implementation during this period. He continued in the strides of his predecessor by keeping a low profile and operating within the ambits of general resolutions and consensus of the OAU. However, the period of the civil war marked a sharp divergence in Nigerian foreign policy posture. The decision by Britain and some other countries and international bodies to grant recognition to Biafra during the war highlighted the increased vulnerability of Nigeria's non-alignment principle and an appreciation of the positive role that the OAU could play in African affairs. With the OAU divided by support from white-dominated African countries the general OAU membership's support for the Nigerian federation, the OAU stance proved significant for Nigerian diplomacy. Nigeria was eventually able to secure the support of the Soviet Union after the West refused to supply arms to the country. The aftermath of the war resulted in a radical change from a hitherto pro-West ideology to an increased attention towards the East.

This event did not however derail Nigeria's commitment to Africa as the centre piece of its foreign policy. Africa continued to gain significant precedence in Nigeria's foreign policy construction. The period of the 1970s, much of Nigeria's foreign policy attention was focused on such issues as the struggle for liberation particularly in the Southern African part of Africa; the furtherance of regional economic integration of ECOWAS, and the imperative of total decolonization and economic independence of the African continent. To demonstrate its commitment to Africa, the objectives of promotion of African unity; political, economic, social, and cultural liberation of Africa; international cooperation; and elimination of racial discrimination were

comprehensively provided for in the 1979 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Nonetheless, to a large extent, Nigeria contribution to the course of Africa at different global and regional platforms has in no small measure stirred up political-economic growth and development in Africa. As demonstrated above, in Nigeria's over fifty years of foreign policy construction and implementation, it continued to be at the forefront of debates for regional integration, poverty eradication, economic cooperation and peace-keeping initiatives. This is evidenced in its several contribution to the formation of such organizations as the OAU (now AU), ECOWAS, AEC etc.

Africa as the centerpiece of Nigeria's foreign policy points toward the fact that in the nation's external relations, Africa will receive priority attention. As shown above, the decision in making Africa her central focus was precipitated by certain factors. First is the geo-political location of Nigeria within the African region and the perception that it is served by destiny with the political and economic responsibility of taking care of Africa (Adebajo and Mustapha 2008). Two, Nigeria is unarguably the most populous black African nation on the globe. It is a vast populous country south of the Sahara. Statistically, with a real GDP of \$58.4 billion and a population of over 140 million people with over 250 ethnic groups, Nigeria accounts for over 50% of the nearly two hundred million populations of West Africa, and at the same time commands 51% of the West Africa Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (APRM 2008).

Consequently, as shown above, since its over 50 years of external diplomatic engagement and external relations with Africa, Nigeria has undoubtedly contributed immensely to the growth and development of the continent since attaining independence. Despite these bold steps at rescuing Africa, some scholars have queried the importance of Nigeria's decision to concentrate its influence on Africa in terms of the socio-economic benefit and political importance that the Nigeria-Africa relations command or dispense to directly or otherwise to the Nigeria people.

What is clear from the above discussion is that Nigeria's role since independence in 1960 has been preconditioned by one that is centered on Africa and as Folarin (2010) remarked Nigeria's African policy is as old as the Nigerian state itself. This conviction has remained strong for over 50 years since independence even though at varied degrees of vigour under different administration. Perhaps the explanation for

this tenacity is to be found in the national role conception which most Nigerians, including the political elite, have about the country. As explained in the previous chapter, this role conception of Africa's most populous nation are traceable to the country's demographic preponderance, its economic and natural endowments, and its staggering human resources (Obadare 2001; Folarin 2010). This is aside the general perception of Nigeria as a natural leader of the continent evidenced in Balewa's assertion in response to Nkrumah's clamour of African Union that:

Nigeria is big enough and does not need to join others... if others wish to join Nigeria, their position would be made clear to them in such a union" (cited in Phillips, 1964: 90).

On the flip side, many analysts argue that Nigeria's foreign policy in Africa has done very little to affect positively the lives of the Nigerian people. The point here is that Nigeria has pursued an Afrocentric foreign policy at the detriment of its own people. As an analyst puts it:

It is now habitual and priority for Nigerian government to solve crisis in neighboring African countries faster than the insurgency at home. If the federal government had responded in a similar manner to the Boko Haram menace during its formative years, their activities would have been nipped in the bud. Security challenges now seem insuperable, extrajudicial killings and human rights abuses are now the hallmark of the Joint Task Force (JTF) on duty in the troubled northern states of Nigeria. The "brilliant record" of Nigeria's participation in peace mission in neighboring African countries counts for nothing when compared to the insurmountable security challenges at home. There is nothing 'responsible' about being proactive in regional conflicts when the Boko Haram menace has claimed over 3,000 lives and counting. The present security challenges at home does not warrant any form of peace-keeping outside the shores of the country (see Ilevbare 2013; cited in Uzodike: nd).

Nigerians have paid very huge sacrifices for the African continent which in most cases is at the expense of the country. To make matters worse, it further appears that other African countries who have been recipients of Nigeria's goodwill have also not fully appreciated the kind gestures and intentions of Nigeria. This is perhaps glaring in the manner Nigerian citizens are being treated and subjected to inhuman conditions in many parts of Africa. The deportation of hundreds of Nigerian from South Africa

on the false allegation of fake yellow fever cards is one example. It is on this basis that many have called for a complete overhaul of the country's foreign policy to reflect the current domestic aspiration and challenges of the Nigerian state. There seem to be a general consensus on a foreign policy that takes into cognizance Nigeria's economic, political, social, and most importantly its national interest while not totally ignoring the traditional Afrocentric tenets of its foreign policy (Babalola 2012).

Another issue to consider is the motive for the involvement of Nigeria in Africa. This thesis argues that contrary to the argument that Nigeria's interest in Africa is driven by goodwill and a need to promote the collective security of the continent, in fact, its foreign policy in Africa is fanned by a self-inspired interest and desire to dominant Africa. The reason for its military intervention in violent conflicts in West Africa especially, is not unconnected with a realist hegemonic tendency. Edged in its military and economic benevolence towards Africa is the overt or covert ambition to be a true or anointed representation of the rest of Africa. And as echoed by Tavares (2011:166) that national and individual interests, rather than any institutional principle, served as the basis for Nigeria's interventions in Chad (1979-1983), Liberia (1990-2003), Sierra-Leone (1998-2002), and Mali (2013). Secondly, many analysts believe that any meaningful foreign policy of any powerful state should be one that is tied to reciprocal relations which emphasizes mutual gains for both parties. The priority of promoting and advancing national agendas of a hegemonic ambition as a regional power plays an important role in the decision to engage in other parts of Africa. It is only through this means that Nigeria could have asserted its influence at a meaningful player within the region Tavares (2011:166).

The chapter also agrees with Folarin's (2010) estimation that "[r]ole conception by the founding fathers of independent Nigeria was therefore very clear and devoid of any ambiguity" and this have to a large degree been reflected in Nigeria's African policy since 1960. The following chapter moves to discuss the foreign policy principles and perspectives of South Africa in relation to Africa while also examining the domestic and external sources of its foreign policy.

CHAPTER FIVE

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND DETERMINANTS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter unearths the fundamental principles as well as the internal and external determinants of South Africa's foreign policy. More importantly, it examines how these determinants serve a facilitating or constraining role in the shaping of South Africa's foreign policy. In essence, the chapter addresses the question of the ideological and philosophical foundations upon which South Africa's foreign policy is laid and also examines the institutional and non-institutional contexts that shape the country's foreign policy under both apartheid and post-apartheid dispensations. In considering the above, the chapter examines the roles that these agencies have played in setting the tone for South Africa's foreign policy and the conceptualization thereof. What we intend to show is how foreign policy making is in most cases a web of complex interplays and inter-linkages between and among a number of key actors. In essence, as Masters (2012:20) puts it: "[i]dentifying 'who' shapes foreign policy decision-making, or prying open the so-called 'black box', is an extraordinarily complex process and one which highlights the numerous interlinkages between those seeking to influence foreign policy decision making". Like every modern state, South African foreign policy is guided by a number of fundamental principles which we shall now turn to.

5.2 Fundamental principles of South Africa's foreign policy

It is sufficient to assert that given the peculiarity of South Africa's foreign policy environment and the different contours that its political landscape had taken in the past couple of decades, it would appear extremely difficult to effectively articulate the fundamental principles guiding the country's foreign policy. This is so because, regime transition and change from apartheid rule to an all-inclusive democratic polity invoked certain reciprocal context and change in the principles and ideological foundations that inspired the foreign policy thrusts of these vastly different regime periods. To be sure, South Africa's foreign policy principles can be said to have transformed from the apartheid period (1948-1994) led by the National Party into the post-apartheid era under the leadership of the African National Congress with each

period stimulating different nuances for the understanding of foreign policy decision making in South Africa. These principles have therefore oscillated from one shade and dimension to another and have perhaps gained some measure of stability since the post-apartheid era. Consequently, our discussion of the core paradigm and principles that guide South Africa's foreign policy shall revolve around the two contexts mentioned above.

5.2.1 Fundamental principles of South Africa's foreign policy in the apartheid era (1948-1994)

In accounting for the foreign policy trajectories of South Africa up to 1977, Olivier (1977:210-11), notes that South Africa's foreign policy "can be classified as consisting of a number of separate foreign policies and lines of conduct". According to him, three main characteristics typify the pattern of South Africa's foreign policy and these include:

1. non-isolationist, anti-sanctions and pro-western aimed at enhanced co-operation with non-communist states and international organizations; with emphasis on international trade and commerce because it was a strong instrument to fight isolation and to strengthen the position of South Africa;
2. peaceful co-existence and regional co-operation based on geographical realities, the need to foster friendly relations with neighboring states, and South Africa as part of the African continent (with a permanent white population); and
3. external justification to enhance South Africa's image abroad and the maintenance of internal sovereignty by refraining from interference in the internal affairs of other states (based on Article 2(7) of the United Nations Charter).

In the period that follows (1978-1989), South Africa's foreign policy became largely inspired by the regime style and leadership of P.W. Botha who was Prime Minister and later became State President. South Africa's foreign policy during this period was predicated upon the imperative to effectively counter and address the international isolationism against South Africa and supported by what Mills and Baynham (1994:246-64) regarded as the 'total national strategy' of South Africa, targeting at

quelling the total international opposition and attack against South Africa at the time (Sole 1994:104; Henwood 1997). To this end, Henwood (1997:1-2) remarked that:

the foreign policy of South Africa during this period was shaped by increased hostility against South Africa. South Africa's response was an increased reliance on 'strong arm tactics' against any perceived enemy or threat. The result was an escalation in the use of violence as a means of addressing problems in the regional context (the infamous destabilization policy).

Domestic events taking place within South Africa which began in 1991 as well as its acceptance back into the international community conveyed significant levels of changes particularly in the foreign policy focus and construction of the country which is remarkably different from the previous regimes and periods. These multiple events made the review of South Africa's foreign policy almost inevitable and expedient with the country "in need of a foreign policy suited to a new world, not only as a result of internal changes, but also as by reason of global changes brought about by the end of the Cold War" (Henwood 1997:2). Critical to this new foreign policy was the priority given to regionalism; a term which places emphasis on the need to be effectively integrated into the Southern African region. According to Evans (1994:8-9) and cited in Henwood (1997:2), South Africa's transitional foreign policy was based on two foundational pillars:

1. the quest for a political solution to the internal problems of South Africa that would satisfy the international community and ensure their support; and
2. the revitalization of the South African economy.

Three central priorities or ideologies dominated South Africa's foreign policy during the late period of the apartheid years. Firstly, its first priority centered on the imperative to establish a positive relation with Africa, and especially Southern Africa while the second priority was the quest for the re-establishment, extension, sustenance and propagation of South Africa's influence particularly in the Middle East, Asia, Eastern Europe and the rest of the world. A third priority revolved around the pursuit to solidify South Africa's relations with the UN and other intergovernmental multilateral organizations from which it had been hitherto suspended. According to Henwood (1997), this was critical in order to improve the status and position of South

Africa following its emergence from being a pariah state to a participant and active actor in regional and global politics.

Henword (1997:2) asserts that “this latter phase in the development of South Africa’s foreign policy formed the foundation of the foreign policy of the first democratically elected Government of South Africa”. Hence, between 1989 and 1994, South Africa’s foreign policy was redirected and reviewed to reflect its ongoing internal political reform and its emergence into world politics as an accepted and recognized member of the international community.

5.2.2 Fundamental principles of South Africa’s foreign policy in the post-apartheid period (1994 to 2012)

South Africa’s foreign policy in the post-apartheid era or what is sometimes referred to as the post-settlement period is generally a reflection of the international relations policy of the African National Congress (ANC). According to Venter and Landsberg (2006:251), “as early as 1994, before the African National Congress (ANC) officially assumed control of state power, it committed itself to overhauling the country’s foreign policy” (see section on the ANC in this chapter).

Schoeman (2007:96) while contributing to the discourse observed that South Africa’s foreign policy particularly in the post-apartheid dispensation is to a large degree inspired by an Afro-centric orientation; that is, an African-oriented pattern which is very much visible in the design of its foreign policy. Mandela (1993:89) correctly affirms the inevitability of Africa to South Africa when he asserts that “South Africa cannot escape its African destiny. If we do not devote our energies to this continent, we too could fall victim to the forces that have brought ruin to its various parts”. However, as Tjemolane (2011:63), rightly notes, “South Africa did not immediately assume an Africa-oriented policy after 1994, and its foreign policy has not always been ‘so African’, especially in the pre-1994 period”. This is again supported by the ANC’s 2007 foreign policy discussion paper, *International policy: A just world and a better Africa is a possibility*, which confirms the point of South Africa’s pro-African and pro-South foreign policy (ANC 2007). The ANC document is no doubt a reference to the fact that South Africa’s economic and political destiny is intrinsically tied to that of its coexistence and consolidation of the African continent (Naidoo 2010:5).

Again, at the very early stage of South Africa's foreign policy formulation in the post-apartheid period, and prior to the presidential and legislative elections in April 1994, Mandela in a paper published in *Foreign Affairs* (1993)²⁴ aptly articulates the following beliefs and focus as significantly forming the pillars upon which South Africa's foreign policy will rest:

- that issues of human rights are central to international relations and an understanding that they extend beyond the political, embracing the economic, social and environmental;
- that a just and lasting solutions to the problems of humankind can only come through the promotion of democracy worldwide;
- that considerations of justice and respect for international law should guide the relations between nations;
- that peace is the goal for which all nations should strive, and where this breaks down, internationally agreed and nonviolent mechanisms, including effective arms-control regimes, must be employed;
- that the concerns and interests of the continent of Africa should be reflected in our foreign-policy choices; and
- that economic development depends on growing regional and international economic cooperation in an interdependent world (Mandela 1993:87).

He acknowledged that “these convictions stand in stark contrast to how, for nearly five decades, apartheid South Africa disastrously conducted its international relations” (Mandela 1993:87).

Moving forward, the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) in this regard played a critical role in articulating the foreign policy perspective and guiding principles for the conduct of external relations in the post-apartheid South Africa (DFA 2002). According to Alfred Nzo who emerged as the first Minister of Foreign Affairs in the post-apartheid period, “principles are the tenets of our approach to foreign policy...and are in line with our perception of the kind of nation we seek to be, and the kind of world we seek to live in” (DFA 2002 cited in Landsberg 2006:252).

²⁴ Alden and Le Pere notes that Mandela's declaration shortly before the 1994 elections that “human rights will be the light that guides our foreign policy” completely set the ambience and tone for the shaping and conduct of South Africa's external relations following the end of apartheid.

On a generic scale, the defining guidelines that inform South Africa's approach to its foreign policy relations in the post-apartheid democratic period as documented in the DFA's Annual Report of 2003/04 is as follows:

1. Foreign policy is an integral part of government policy, aimed at promoting security and improving the quality of life of all South Africans;
2. Commitment to the African Renaissance through the African Union and its programme for Africa's development, namely, the New Partnership for Africa's Development;
3. Commitment to economic development through regional integration and development in the Southern African Development Community and the Southern African Customs Union;
4. Interact with African partners as equals;
5. Pursue friendly relations with all peoples and nations of the world; and
6. Safeguard South Africa's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

In articulating the foreign policy guidelines for the conduct of South Africa's foreign policy at the start of the post-apartheid era, Nzo, stated that:

1. the conduct of South Africa's international relations should be transparent and take place in close consultation with Parliament;
2. the national interest of South Africa should always dictate its policies;
3. South Africa must expand its participation in regional, continental and global multilateral organizations;
4. The security and the quality of life of South Africans, as well as justice and the international rule of law, peace, economic stability and regional cooperation were some of the fundamental principles underlying the foreign policy of South Africa; and
5. South Africa could not become involved in all laudable initiatives and issues in international politics, because of lack of adequate resources (RSA National Assembly; 1994).

In 2011, while addressing the public at the University of the Western Cape, the Deputy Minister of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), Marius Fransman, spelt out the foreign policy thrust of South Africa as expressed in the DFA's Strategic Plan 2007-2010 to include:

1. consolidating the African agenda;
2. strengthening South-South cooperation;
3. strengthening North-South cooperation;
4. ensuring South Africa's participation in the global system of governance; and
5. strengthening bilateral political and economic relations with all countries of the world. (*Sabinet Law* May 13, 2011).

In the first place, the principle of the promotion of human rights in the context of political, economic, social and environmental environments is borne out of South Africa's (and more importantly, the ANC's) legacy of resistance of the apartheid regime which was to all intents and purposes a crime against humanity (ANC Policy Discussion Document 2012). This principle formed the hallmark of Mandela's administration's foreign policy thrust as evidenced for example in its repudiation of the refusal of the People's Republic of China (PRC) to grant recognition to Republic of China (ROC). The emphasis on human rights at all level was therefore critical to the Mandela administration.

South Africa's commitment to the principle of peace, and the agreed mechanism for the peaceful resolution of disputes is evinced in its resilience to continental and global security which was not a priority prior to the post-apartheid period. This principle became pronounced particularly in the second political dispensation sequel to the end of apartheid. In demonstrating this political conviction, South Africa's quest to ensure peaceful coexistence of member states both within the African continent and across is demonstrated in its commitment to peacekeeping operation under the leadership of the African Union (AU), Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the United Nations (UN), to war-torn areas like Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Cote d' Ivoire, Burundi etc. (Adebajo and Landdsberg 2007). Again, its commitment to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) particularly the voluntarily commitment to destroy and discontinue nuclear proliferation programs was indicative of this resolution. An "Outcomes-based approach" was proposed and adopted by the Jacob Zuma led administration in 2009 (see table 5.1 below). This approach includes four component priorities reflecting the principles of *peace*, *security*, *prosperity* and *integration* which ultimately identifies South Africa's "overarching objective as "creating a better South Africa and contributing to a better and safer Africa in a better world" (Naidoo 2010:4).

Table 5.1: Outcomes Based Approach in identifying South Africa’s policy objectives

OUTCOME 11 PRIORITIES	Sub-Outputs (Deliverables)
Output 1: Enhanced African agenda and sustainable development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deepened contribution to regional and continental security and stability and sustainable development • Contribution to peace missions and Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD) • Enhancing technical and development cooperation
Output 2: Enhanced regional integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional economic integration • Regional political integration
Output 3: Reformed global governance and peace & security institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthened regional, continental and global governance institutions and international platforms. • Enhanced representation of South Africans in international institutions
Output 4: Enhanced trade and investment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased value-added exports to targeted economies • Increased inward investment from targeted countries. • increase our market share through aggressive marketing

Source: SAGI 2010; See Naidoo 2010

Post-apartheid foreign policy generally points to a pattern of oscillation from one direction to varied dimension often times affected by the regime style and personality of leadership at different periods. For instance, it is widely acknowledged that the foreign policy of the Mandela administration and the period afterwards have been characterized as displaying an idealistic perspective and moralist vision which strongly emphasizes the significance of South Africa paying back the “debt” it owed the rest of Africa and, of course, the world for the latter’s support towards the liberation struggle during the apartheid years. It was on the basis of this understanding that the stance on “mutual partnership” was adopted as against “selfish hegemony” particularly in its economic relations with other African countries. Particularly so,

South Africa's foreign policy has often been met with sharp criticisms for failing to clearly outline how its foreign policy objectives would be realized.

In the following section, we shall highlight a number of micro and macro aspects of foreign policy construction in South Africa during these periods dealing specifically with the internal and external environments within which its foreign policy is shaped and formulated.

5.3 Centripetal and centrifugal determinants of South Africa's foreign policy toward Africa

This section provides an estimation of the actors and factors influencing foreign policy construction and formulation in South Africa and the role these agencies play in shaping South Africa's foreign policy. Understanding that "the foreign policy decisions and actions of a government do not represent the intent of any one figure, but rather are the unintended result of bargaining, pulling, hauling, and tugging by bureaucratic competition in their ceaseless quest for more funds, resources, and influence" (Art 1993:99), as clearly indicated by Coplin (1974:187) in the table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2: Factors identified as foreign policy determinants

Author	Determinants			
Author	Domestic			External
Coplin (1974)	Decision maker	Policy influencer	Economic military conditions	International context
Rosenau (1966)	Idiosyncratic role	Governmental	Societal	Systemic
Brody (1966)	Decision maker and their organizations	Special general publics	Social structure and behavior	International system as communication structure and role
Snyder, (et. Al) 91962)	Decision makers	Internal setting		External setting
Gross (1965)	Leadership, ideology, culture	Socio-political factor	Economic, population, military	Geographic
London (1965)	Decision makers	Domestic politics	Economic, military	Geography, national security considerations
Frankel (1963)	Decision makers	Domestic environment	Military, economic intelligence propaganda, and scientific support agencies	International environment

Source: Coplin (1974:187)

This section hence brings to fore the role of institutional and unofficial frameworks of foreign policy making and implementation including leadership of political office holders, such as Presidents, Prime Ministers, Minister of foreign Affairs etc. who are usually the chief architect of foreign policy formulation; the bureaucracies as well as Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs). Other determinants may include the media, academic researchers and scholars, prominent individuals and such other factors as regime type, state capabilities, levels of economic development, international regime, prevalent international opinion and ethics (Holsti 1995:19; Kegley & Wittkopf 2001:61; Landsberg 2006:251). We analyze the constraints and limitation that these key figures and factors invoke on the foreign policy decision making and formulation process of the state. In doing so, we again categorize the discussion along two political periods of apartheid and the period sequel to it.

Spence (1965:3), in capturing the role of the domestic environment on South Africa's foreign policy asserts correctly that "the truism that foreign policy begins at home is nowhere better exemplified than in the case of South Africa where domestic preoccupations have defined the pattern of national interests". According to him, the influence that Afrikaner nationalism, for instance, commanded or invoked on foreign policy decision making in South Africa during this period is testimony to how domestic interplay within a country could imprint on the pattern of foreign policy established within the same country. Having said this, we shall go on to examine some of these domestic environments that conditioned South African foreign policy under apartheid regimes and the period following the end of apartheid rule.

Just as foreign policy of any state is affected and constrained by domestic influences, in similar fashion, several other external factors intrinsically impinge on the pattern of foreign policy making of the same state and South Africa is no exception. The influence of international circumstances as "conditions existing outside the borders of a state that stimulate foreign policy actions" (Coplin 1980:176) on foreign policy making has therefore gained wide acknowledgement over time contrary to the earlier assumption that "foreign policy is in essence a state's reaction to events and forces beyond its borders" (Geldenhuis 1984:205). Very clearly therefore is the reality that foreign policy is shaped both by internal and external conditions or what Geldenhuis termed as "domestic and internal environment". We therefore highlight a number of

these external milieus that impinge on the foreign policy construction in South Africa both during the period under apartheid and after. Particularly, we establish some of the foreign pressure wielded against the apartheid government during the period under apartheid in coercing the government to abandon its policies and actions and the current international conditions that shape external relations with sub-regional (Southern Africa), regional (Africa) and global actors. We analyze the institutions in two categories; official and unofficial foreign policy institutions.

5.3.1 The apartheid era

5.3.1.1 Official institutional frameworks of foreign policy making

In discussing the role and constraints that government departments, institutions and agencies played in the foreign policy formulation during apartheid South Africa, we shall articulate the roles played both by different departments' heads or ministers and that of its officials. As echoed by Geldenhuys (1984:107), it may prove a hideous task to separate the contribution of one from the other. In doing this, we examine carefully and in-depth the roles of important departments such as the Department of Information and Foreign Affairs²⁵ which existed previously as two separate departments prior to 1980 and active involvement in foreign policy conduct during the periods of their existence. Other bureaucratic institutions examined include the Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI), Department of Defence, and the Bureau for State Security (BOSS) [formerly known as the National Intelligence Service (NIS)].

(a) Department of Information

Particularly since becoming a separate Department in 1972, at different periods under the leaderships of Warring, de Klerk (1966), Mulder (1968) and Rhodie, the department underwent a rapid transformation especially during Mulder's appointment. Mention must be made of the Department's disapproval of the Department of Foreign Affairs in the early 1970s and in its attempt to gain some level of significance for itself questioned the "weak personality trait" of Minister Muller. The department's prominence came on the heels of Vorster's announcement to

²⁵ In April 1980, the department of Foreign Affairs which was created in 1960 was changed to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information. Before then, it was called the Department of External Affairs established in 1927.

provide the international community and organizations with proper and adequate information regarding the racial policies of the government at the time (Geldenhuy 1984:107). According to him, this was in a bid to deal with the ‘perceived ignorance’ coming from the international system many of which condemned the apartheid policy of white minority rule in South Africa despite its efforts towards peaceful resolution.

Geldenhuy (1984:108-109) advanced seven reasons explaining the Department’s foray into the foreign policy space largely centered on the passive manner in which the Department of Foreign Affairs approached South Africa’s foreign relations at the time. In the first place, it contended that it was irritated by the low keyed fashion in which South Africa’s foreign policy was conducted often choosing to exercise caution as against “standing up and fighting South Africa’s critics”. Secondly, it argued that the official orchestrators of foreign affairs in South Africa were very distant from the international realities evidenced in its communication and contact deficit with many international stakeholders. Thirdly, it contested the perceived ‘lukewarmness’ and ‘hospitality’ of South African diplomats towards policies of government clearly displayed in anti-government disposition of many South African foreign representatives.

Fourthly, it queried the lack of clarity regarding the commitment of some of South Africa’s diplomats on the ground of their preference to settle permanently abroad (*including their wives*) following their retirement from office. Fifthly, the focus on the United Nations (UN) seems to be the priority of the South Africa’s foreign policy orientation while painfully neglecting other equally pivotal areas to South Africa. It argued further that in order to effectively counter the triggers of its opposition, it was important to focus on “many more fronts than at the UN- and using new means”. Sixthly and largely related to the fifth point, the Department of Information generally concluded that South Africa’s foreign policy which inclined largely towards a western orientation needed a serious makeover and remodeling. Finally, a major argument of the Department of Information against its Foreign Affairs counterpart was that South Africa’s diplomatic relations with the rest of the world had increasingly worsened in the past couple of years with the latter doing very little to stem the tide of events but rather deepening further the international isolationism campaign of the country. The

Department of Information resolve was therefore to “seek ways to supplement conventional diplomacy using unconventional or unorthodox means”.

In its quest to ensure a much more assertive and proactive foreign policy, the Information Department further introduced radical changes into the operations of the Department itself by seeking covert and overt ways to counter the increasing isolation of South Africa in international affairs. Its intention was to lure important policy makers to “act in a fashion conducive to South Africa’s perceived interests or alternatively to refrain from prejudicial actions” (Geldenhuys 1984:110). The Department of Information thus sought for unconventional means by advancing campaign propaganda targeted at improving the international perception of South Africa and its image abroad “mainly through large-scale press advertising”²⁶.

The establishment of the magazine *To the Point* in 1971 and its international variant *To the Point International* in 1974 were strategic in this initiative of articulating information about the apartheid government. This was in addition to the extensive secret projects undertaken to feed the media with positive articles on South Africa which was under the auspices of Heinz Behrens, a renowned public relations expert. Rhodie’s assumption of office as minister gave a fresh lease of relevance to the Department of Information in the conduct of South Africa’s foreign relations. In taking a ‘defensive’ and ‘offensive’ approach²⁷, Rhodie boldly stated that the Department would leave no stone unturned in its quest to influence the conduct of foreign policy in South Africa:

In a world in which weapons such as bribery, vilification, insinuation, indoctrination and propaganda were being used against South Africa, the Department of Information would rule “no means, no channel and no tactic out” out of order in fulfilling its designated task of influencing foreign opinion former and decision makers.

The Department would eventually be reintegrated into the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1980 following the assumption of office of P.W. Botha.

²⁶ From a budget of R3,2 million in 1966, its budget grew to R6,7 million in 1971 coupled with four new additional offices added to the existing 19 located abroad.

²⁷ See Geldenhuys (1984:108)

(b) Department of Foreign Affairs

The Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) formerly known as the Department of External Affairs was established in 1927 and later renamed DFA in 1960 following its separation from the Prime Minister's office in 1955 (Muller 1998:243; Pfister 2005:13) and through its Africa Division, was responsible for formulating and implementing South Africa's foreign policy for Africa (Geldenhuys 1984). The Department was composed of seasoned bureaucrats or public servants (*both with staff within the country and abroad*) saddled with the primary responsibility of providing expertise on international matters for government; the task of implementing foreign policy of government and also direct involvement in the foreign policy making process (Geldenhuys 1984:121). The role of the Department in the decision making process largely revolved around "formulating policy recommendations for the political decision makers" (Geldenhuys 1984:121).

According to Pfister (2005:13), the major part of the Department's life was guided by two fundamental principles. First is its idealist and liberal orientation which pointed to its preference in most cases for "democratic principles and the rule of law, rather than the use of force as the elements of interaction between states". The second is the value for the non-interference in the domestic matters of another state and the restriction to civil relations with states. Particularly, the Africa Division of the DFA established in 1957 and later renamed Africa Branch in 1988²⁸ was instrumental in the formulation and implementation of the DFA's Africa policy. Of importance were the roles played by the Ministers (Eric Louw [1955-63], Hilgard Muller [1964-77] and Pik Botha [1977-94], Secretary/Director Generals [Gerhardt Jooste [1956-66], Brand Fourie [1966-82], Hans van Dalsen [1982-85], Rae Killen [1985-87], Neil van Heerden [1987-92] and Rusty Evans [1992] of the Department at different periods (as shown in table 5.3). The DFA played significant role in foreign policy making even though its prominence oscillated from time to time depending on the Prime Minister and Minister in charge per time. For instance, the Department was not particularly

²⁸ The Africa Branch had undergone a name transformation since its establishment in 1955 when it was first named as the Africa and International Organisations and later renamed the Africa Division in 1957 and the later changed to International Organisations, Central and North Africa in 1979, the Africa Directorate in 1981 before being named the Africa Branch in 1988. For consistency, we refer to Africa Branch subsequently.

relevant to foreign policy formulation during the period when Minister Botha was in office (Pfister 2005:15).

Although the DFA presumably had dominant foreign policy making positions, however, this status was greatly challenged by other actors such as the military, the Department of Information, National Intelligence, political parties such as the Progressive Party, interest groups, particularly the *Broederbond* (Brotherhood Union²⁹), think tanks such as the African Institute and the South African Institute of International Affairs, the media, namely the Daily Rand (A white English speaking newspaper instrumentally critical of apartheid policy), organised business, parastatals and private companies, parliament and the public (Geldenhuys 1984, Pfister 2005). In other words, South Africa’s foreign policy was inspired not only by its racist and apartheid policy but also by its reception and perception of this policy by the international community especially in Africa at different levels.

Table 5.3: South Africa’s Foreign Affairs leadership from 1958 to 1994

Prime Minister/State President	Period	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Period
Hendrik Verwoerd	1958–1966	Eric Louw	1955-1963
B. J. Vorster	1966–1978	Hilgard Muller	1964-1977
P. W. Botha	1978–1989	Pik Botha	1977-1994
F. W. de Klerk	1989–1994		

Source: Author’s compilation

Following the merger of the Departments of Information and Foreign Affairs on April 1 1980, the new Department of Foreign Affairs and Information became concurrently involved in the process and life of South Africa’s foreign relations. In doing this, the Department was consequently able to play the dual function of direct engagement with foreign policy making and also in the conduct of this foreign policy. The Department was particularly instrumental in establishing open and secret diplomatic contacts with governments of Ivory Coast, Israel, Senegal etc. (Geldenhuys 1984:111-119) while also being able to situate South Africa on the map of global prominence by attracting considerable attention of the international community towards South Africa.

²⁹ Afrikaner body that played significant role in ‘creating ,legitimizing and maintaining’ the system of apartheid, backed by the ideology that the Afrikaner were a chosen people with the right and mission to civilize Africa through capitalist ideologies.(Pfister 2005)

(c) ***The Military***

In examining the role of the military in the foreign policy making of any state, Coplin (1980:171) concludes that the “military strength includes both the capacity and the will to use military force” suggesting further that this capacity is informed by three factors: *troop size, degree of training and military equipment*.

According to Geldenhuys (1984:140), in considering the role that the bureaucracy plays in foreign policy formulation “special attention needs to be paid to the role of the military” and as Jenson (1982:130) acknowledges “as international conflict becomes more ubiquitous and national security is seen as a more critical issue, one might expect to see the military assuming a more prominent role in such policy” (cited in Geldenhuys 1984:140). This is especially true in the case of the South African military during the period while the apartheid government prevailed as the Defence force was particularly instrumental in responding appropriately to external and internal threats against South Africa as a result of its apartheid policy. The significance of the Defence Force was due to increasing insecurity particularly within the Southern Africa region since the 1960s. The military therefore proved indispensable as a foreign policy tool for South Africa’s response to the disturbing security threat situation.

To this end, the Defence Force was therefore used as a foreign policy instrument to exert South Africa’s dominance particularly in the Southern African region. Thus, in responding to both internal and external threats from both the ANC and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), South Africa often employed tough military sanctions against its opposition using its military. Pretoria further devised a strategy of military dependence and vulnerability of its Southern African neighbouring states in a bid to keep them less provocative and passive in their relations with South Africa (See Geldenhuys 1984:145).

In the late 1960s, during the period when P.W. Botha was Defence Minister, the influence of the military on South Africa’s foreign policy increased substantially following the establishment of the Department of Military Intelligence (DMI) in 1961 under the auspices of the Director of Military Intelligence³⁰ was largely responsible for intelligence gathering particularly in the 1970s. It was during this period that the

³⁰ Later renamed Chief of Staff: Intelligence in 1974.

Department played “significant role in directing South Africa’s engagement in the Nigerian Civil War (1967-70)” (Pfister 2005:16). Again, in the 1980s when P.W. Botha was Prime Minister (1978-89), the Department of Defence equally sought to play a significant role via the Defence Minister Magnus Malan (1980-91) and Commander-in-Chief of the South African Defence Force (SADF) (1976-80) through the support of Botha who was a former Defence Minister himself.

The Defence Force was therefore critical to maintaining the national security interest of South Africa during this period. By maintaining a largely realist approach to international relations of an eye for an eye, the military was committed to a policy of destabilisation³¹ directed by the Directorate of Special Tasks which fundamentally was a military strategy to invoke overt and covert attack against oppositions that extended any form of support for the ANC along with its cohorts and all other institutions or bodies that canvassed for sanctions against the South African government.

Overall, the role of the military in the foreign policy space during the apartheid period was seen as that of complementing and reinforcing other roles played by other Departments like Foreign Affairs and Information. It is for this reason that the military was therefore undoubtedly predominantly less concerned about the political and diplomatic repercussion or implication of the use of military sanctions and actions against its oppositions (Geldenhuys 1984:99-100).

(d) Leadership style and influence of the Prime Ministers and State Presidents

At different periods in the foreign policy history of South Africa during the apartheid era, the position and personality of the President and that of the Prime Minister had incontrovertible implications for the foreign policy direction of South Africa at the time. As rightly indicated in the makeup of most contemporary states, the task of foreign policy construction has often been the responsibility of the executive which is headed by the Head of State or Government Geldenhuys (1984:71). In the case of South Africa at the time, the Executive Council was presided over by the Prime Minister. The style of the leadership during each period therefore points to a direction

³¹ The policy of destabilisation was intended principally as a proactive assumption of defence as a best means of attack. This include plans such as making the political climate of the target state uncomfortable and possibly seeking openly and secretly to instigate regime change by dislodging governments that are critical of its apartheid policy.

of foreign policy pattern being established. The Prime Minister along with the Executive Cabinet during the periods under review played critical and influential role in shaping and molding South Africa's foreign policy. For instance, the roles played by Vorster and Botha during their tenure as Prime Ministers were aptly captured by Geldenhuys (1984:71) in his assessment of the influence of executive political actors on foreign policy making in South Africa. He notes that there was usually the common assumption that foreign policy formulation was intrinsically connected to the Prime Minister that was in office at the time fanned by the increasing presence of the Prime Minister in regularly presenting foreign policy matters both in parliament and even in the public domain.

In contrast to his predecessor (Strydom), Verwoerd's foreign policy decision to institutionalize (in what was later to be popularly labeled as 'apartheid' or separate development) reflected a white supremacy rule (see Geldenhuys 1984:11). This policy entrenched further "the *laager* mentality of the Afrikaner community" and was substantially instrumental in shaping the isolationist policy of the South African government at the time. In other words, Verwoerd's lack of experience with foreign policy making contributed significantly to his reliance on his Minister of External/Foreign Affairs Eric Louw for the most part of his tenure. Similarly, Verwoerd's dominant character translated into his leadership of the cabinet and evident in his proclivity and penchant to dictate to ministers and acting like a 'presidential figure' who is "above and apart from his cabinet colleagues" (Geldenhuys 1984:74). The establishment of eight homelands for the black population of South Africa was to a strong reference to Verwoerd expectation that the international community would assuage its pressure on South Africa's as the success of the territorial and ethnic separation became evident to the international community (Geldenhuys 1984:11).

Again, Vorster's pragmatic and enigmatic personality allowed for some level of sporting interactions along racial lines while his 'outward looking policy' was a consequence of his pragmatism. Having served in Verwoerd's cabinet as Minister of Justice for up to five years and prior to that as Deputy Minister of Education, Arts and Science and of Welfare, and Pensions, Vorster brought into his cabinet a wealth of experience in policy making and implementation (Geldenhuys 1984:71). In contrast to

Verwoerd, Vorster's leadership of the cabinet typifies what Geldenhuys (1984:74) rightly likened to that of "*primus inter pares*...conforming more to the team concept of Cabinet government in which case the prime minister conveys a sense of collective responsibility of Cabinet where the prime minister leader is to a large extent reliant on the support, feedback and assistance of his Cabinet colleagues".

Consequently, in the foreign policy front, it was evident that Vorster was not sufficiently grounded in foreign policy construction as he was on domestic policies³². He therefore sought the advantage of the various government ministries and departments and as Pfister (2005) points out, this invariably resulted (in most cases) in interdepartmental fights over who takes the leading role. Particularly so, he relied extensively on his experienced Foreign Minister, Hilgard Muller who had been in office two years before Vorster's premiership. It was this same struggle over prominence that eventually led to the 'Information Scandal' and ultimately the resignation of Vorster in September 1972 paving way for P.W. Botha's leadership.

However, Vorster's decision to improve international diplomatic relations was cemented by his "move to revoke Verwoerd's rigid segregationist sports policy" (Geldenhuys 1984:72) and most notably his 'outward movement' policy. These decisions are clearly indicative of his deeper commitment and involvement in the international diplomatic scene which in most cases was personally executed. For instance, his hosting of a series of meetings with Lesotho's Prime Minister in 1967, a ministerial delegate from Malawi and subsequent talks with the Prime Minister of Rhodesia in 1967 are references to his active engagement with foreign affairs during his period. These visits were reciprocated in 1970 with two visits to Malawi and Rhodesia. This was apart from the numerous covert visits to meet with Presidents Houphouet-Boigny, Senghor, and Tolbert of Ivory Coast, Senegal and Liberia respectively (See Geldenhuys 1984:73).

On assumption of office in September 1978, Botha's experience at both the foreign policy making process and external relations sharply contrasted with his predecessor given his many years of exposure with foreign affairs in previous leaderships. He rose

³² Geldenhuys (1984:71) remarked that Vorster prior to becoming prime minister had not featured in any way in the foreign policy relations of South Africa, hence his lack of skill, expertise and heavy reliance on his foreign affairs minister, Muller.

through the ranks of the National Party having served at different points as Minister of Defence (where he served for over 12 years), Member of Parliament, Deputy Minister, Party leader in the Cape Province etc. Botha's leadership therefore brought a wealth of experience and expertise into foreign policy making and external relations thus making him "far better equipped for foreign policy matters than his predecessor" (Geldenhuys 1984:72). Invariably, as captured by Geldenhuys (1984:74) and cited in Pfister (2005:12), the leadership change from Vorster to Botha therefore "brought dramatic changes in personality, style and substance in the policy making process" of apartheid South Africa. Using his influence and predominantly military background, Pfister (2005) notes that Botha's preference tilted towards the military and the State Security Council (SSC) as foreign policy institutions and instruments in establishing his foreign policy goals particular in the Southern Africa and further North.

On the other hand, de Klerk's equally pragmatist approach became instrumental to the lifting of the 30-year ban on the ANC and other liberation movements within the country while also resulting in the release of Nelson Mandela from prison nine days after his opening speech in Parliament in February 1990 (Arnold 1992). This decision will go on to shape forever the nature and future of South Africa's foreign policy construction and relations in the years to follow.

5.3.1.2 Unofficial institutions of foreign policy making

(a) *Influence of Afrikaner nationalism (Broederbond)*

As an elite-based partisan interest group, the *Broederbond* (Brotherhood union) was an organisation established in 1918, set up primarily to promote the interest of the Afrikaner community in South Africa. As rightly suggested by Spence (1965:11), "any discussion of South African foreign policy must take this crucial factor into account, because it governs, to an overwhelming degree, the Afrikaner's view of his role in Africa and its reactions to outside world". The organisation therefore played significant roles in crafting, legitimising and furthering the apartheid system and its policies (Pfister 2005:19). Of all the Cabinet Ministers during the period under review, only two (Eric Louw and another) were not members of the *Broederbond* showing significantly the enormous influence that the organisation commanded on South Africa's domestic and external policy formulation (Geldenhuys 1984:99-100; Pfister 2005:20). Through direct interaction between government officials and the

Broederbond, the latter subtly influenced the former at the level of policy choices at both the domestic and international contexts. The *leit motif* of the organisation was primarily that “the Afrikaners were a chosen people with the right and mission to civilise Africa and keep communism out” (Pfister 2005:20), a “claim to represent ‘white civilization’ on the southern tip of Africa, and the right implicit in this claim to determine his economic and political destiny as he thinks fit” (Spence 1965:12). To a large extent, this self-imposed conviction of saviour and ‘knight in shining armour’ intrinsically mirrored South Africa’s foreign policy position during the period under review.

(b) *Civil societies and interest groups*

The influence particularly of interest groups (organised labour, churches etc.) on South Africa’s foreign policy is one that cannot be completely ignored. This is because, black labour movements particularly formed part of the larger movement against the apartheid policy of the South African government at the time. It was as a result of the efforts of the black trade unions that South Africa was eventually expelled from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (Geldenhuys 1984:166). Following labour reforms introduced on the recommendation of the Wiehahn Commission signalling a recognition of black labour movements rights with considerable thrust for championing not only issues surrounding labour interest but more importantly the anti-apartheid struggles. This proved particularly useful since the ANC and other political parties which were critical of the government were already banned.

Equally, churches in South Africa “reflect both the country’s international political ostracism and divisions within society at large” (Geldenhuys 1984:167). Moreover, the reformed Afrikaans churches most especially *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK)³³ was notable for its isolation from the general basilica congregation both in South Africa and world over. Other reformed churches included, the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk* and the *Gereformeerde Kerk*. By identifying with Afrikaner nationalism and the National Party, the Afrikaner church community therefore occupied a major role by exercising considerable influence on the foreign policy construction of South Africa at the time. At the same token, there was little difference

³³ According to the 1970 census in South Africa, the NGK had over 1.5 million members representing approximately 40% of white with religious affiliation to a denomination (See Geldenhuys 1984:168).

between the Afrikaner church and the National Party and as such both were to a considerable extent inseparable. Thus, the former was able to exert a degree of influence on the latter through its members who were also members of the National Party and, of course, the Cabinet. For instance, as a result of its perceived threat to the political future of whites both in Rhodesia and Namibia, the NGK was able to wield considerable influence on the South African government to intervene in the situation in both countries.

In the foreign policy landscape, the Afrikaner churches were increasingly drawn into the international debate over apartheid as they were seen by many as supporting the apartheid policy of South Africa and finding 'scriptural' references to substantiate their claim. It is for this reason that it was therefore met with huge international criticism from the World Council of Churches (WCC) for its objectionable and despicable pro-apartheid stance.

Conversely, the other churches (mostly English speaking) which were racially tolerant were also caught up in the web of international criticism against the apartheid government of South Africa as it became extremely vocal against its condemnation of South Africa's racial policies. According to Geldenhuys (1984:168), a number of reasons provided the impetus for these churches with a non-racial membership to exert considerable influence and constraint on South Africa's foreign policy in many ways. In the first place, many of these churches continued to maintain close relationship with the WCC thus creating huge tension with the government along with the NGK. This was because the WCC was upbeat in its criticism against South Africa's racial and apartheid policies while also showing unwavering support for many of South Africa's anti-apartheid movements in exile under its programme targeted at combating racism (Geldenhuys 1984:168). Secondly, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) was also at the forefront of mounting up public criticism against the apartheid government with many members of the English and Black churches publicly expressing concern and support towards international attempts to isolate South Africa from the international political-economic system by cutting off trade relations and further supporting international boycott against the government. In the third place, a number of these churches also extended their support for whites who objected to serving in the military on the basis of its violation of their

conscience. This was apart from the willingness of the churches to extend their hands of service to both casualties of the Namibian war (Geldenhuis 1984:168). Overall, the anti-apartheid English and Black churches proved critical (during the period) in ensuring that the black population of South Africa had a voice to speak against the oppression of the apartheid regime and as Geldenhuis (1984:168) rightly suggests, thus playing a crucial role in “sensitising and indeed shaping foreign opinion on South Africa” at the time.

(c) Mass media (Newspapers, radio and television etc.)

In this section, we focus on the roles played by the newspapers, radio and television stations on the process of foreign policy-making in South Africa in the apartheid era. Geldenhuis (1984:182) notes correctly that the South African press like every other press reflected the domestic nuances prevalent within the South African society itself- of *race, language and political affiliation*. To this end, the press reproduced the same social and racial context of the White and Black people with the latter equally divided into ‘Afrikaans’ press and the ‘English’ press while also reflecting the same political variant of pro-government press and opposition press (Geldenhuis 1984:182). Each of these categories of press exerted different degree of influence or lack of influence at different point of the period under study. It is from this simple understanding that we situate the influence of the press on South Africa’s foreign policy formulation during this period. South African newspapers were largely owned by four private printing and publishing companies; the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, South African Associated Newspaper (SAAN), the *Nasionale Pers* and the *Perskor* (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: List of English, Black and Afrikaans Newspapers during apartheid

English and Black		Afrikaans	
Argus Printing and Publishing Company	South African Associated Newspaper (SAAN)	Nasionale Pers	Perskor
<i>The Star</i> (Johannesburg)	<i>Rand Daily Mail</i>	<i>Die Burger</i>	<i>Die Transvaler</i>
<i>Daily News</i> (Durban)	<i>Mail</i> (Johannesburg)	(Cape Town)	(Johannesburg)
<i>The Argus</i> (Cape Town)	<i>Cape Times</i> (Cape Town)	<i>Die Volksblad</i>	<i>Die Vaderland</i>
Pretoria News (Pretoria)	<i>Sunday Express</i>	(Bloemfontein)	(Johannesburg)
<i>Sunday Tribune</i> (Durban)	(Johannesburg)	<i>Oosterlig</i>	<i>Hoofstad</i>
<i>Sowetan</i>	<i>Sunday Times</i>	(Port	(Pretoria)
(Johannesburg; for blacks)	(Johannesburg)	Elizabeth)	<i>Oggendblad</i>
<i>Ilanga</i> (Durban; for blacks)	<i>Financial Mail</i>		(Pretoria)
<i>The Cape Herald</i>	(Johannesburg)		
(Cape Town; for coloureds)			

Source: Author's compilation, 2012

The Afrikaans press emerged in the second decade of the twentieth century and about the same period when the National Party was established in July 1914. According to Geldenhuys (1984:182), its *raison d'être* was fundamentally to “champion the cause of Afrikaner nationalism in partnership with the National Party, the Afrikaans churches and Afrikaans cultural organisations”. Eventually, a strong linkage was established between the press and political parties with the *Nasionale Pers*' *Die Burger* being the mouthpiece of the Cape National Party in 1915 and the *Die Volksblad* emerging as the *talking drum* for the National Party in Orange Free State in 1917 while the *Die Transvaler* becoming the spokesperson for the National Party in Transvaal (Geldenhuys 1984:182). In 1982, there was also the *Die Patriot* which was set up primarily as the voice for the newly formed Conservative Party. This connection between the press and the political party also became evident with the eventual emergence of Malan and Verwoerd as National Party leader and Prime Minister respectively. It would be recalled that both of them had different stints as newspaper editors of *Die Burger* and *Die Transvaler* respectively.

Since 1948 when the National Party came into government, there was a switch of support from the English press which had hitherto embraced the previous government to the Afrikaans press being pro-government with many of its affiliates faithfully performing the role of being the representative of the National Party. The Afrikaans press primarily was used as an instrument to further the deepening of both the domestic and foreign policies of the apartheid government during this period.

Conversely, at the same time, the English and black press became an opposing reaction to Afrikaans press thus becoming what is often known as the “alternative press” (Pfister 2005:22). Many of the White English speaking newspapers including the *Rand Daily Mail*, *The World* (later renamed *Post*) and *Weekend World* were critical of South Africa’s racist policies and frequently opposed the National Party’s position while aligning its support over time for the Progressive Party. Particularly in 1966, the newspaper won the World Press Achievement Reward in honour of its open criticism of the apartheid regime’s “injustice and the maltreatment of prisoners, especially blacks” (Pfister 2005:21). It would also be recalled that it was the investigative journalism of the paper that eventually led to the Information Scandal and ultimately its closure in 1985 (Pfister 2005:21; Walker 1982:313-35). The *Weekly Mail*³⁴ established in 1981 was later to continue in maintaining this struggle against South Africa’s apartheid policy.

Other news magazines like the English speaking *News/Check* established in 1972 paid significant attention to foreign affairs with a special focus on Africa. Even though it did not share the political sentiments of the English press, it was at the forefront of Vorster’s outward looking policy. *To the Point* was also another news magazine fully funded and established by the government to provide information both locally and globally on developments in Africa while creating an image laundering platform for the South African government.

On the influence of the radio and television on foreign policy formulation in South Africa during this period, it is noteworthy to mention the efforts of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Established in 1936, the SABC was mandated

³⁴ The *Weekly Mail* was later renamed *Weekly Mail and Guardian* in 1993 and then *Mail and Guardian* in 1995 following its partnership with British owned *The Guardian* (See Manoim 1996).

with television³⁵ and radio broadcasts in South Africa with coverage extending beyond the country into London and Washington. In examining the period under study, it is sufficient to claim that SABC maintained considerable relationship with its owner (*the government*) even though it was granted autonomy by the Act of Parliament that set it up in 1939.

(d) *The intelligentsia (University academics and think tanks)*

At different periods within the purview of this study, the intellectual community had commanded varied degrees of significance in the making of foreign policy within South Africa. Munger (1965:51-53) mentioned that prior to the period of Verwoerd's leadership, "policy formulators lacked help from universities" in trying to understand the dynamics of the African continent. Such research institutions as the South African Institute of International Affairs (SIIA) and the Africa Institute had increasingly come to play a critical part in life of South Africa's foreign policy construction. The academic contributions of these intellectual elites consistently became a basis for government's decision regarding policy choices. A good number of publications exist which detailed aspects of South Africa's relationship with other countries or regions across Africa and the world. There was the increasing need and expectation for the views and opinion of the members of the academic community particularly in the universities and private research institutes in South Africa regarding foreign policy choices of government. Therefore, over the years, academic experts had come to play a considerable dominant role in shaping and making a significant impression on the formulation of government's foreign policies.

(e) *International sanctions and isolation*

As a result of its racial domestic policy, South Africa was increasingly isolated from the rest of the international community when the apartheid government was in power. International isolation therefore came in two forms. First, there was the isolation directed at the South African government itself. For instance, the UN Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid otherwise referred to as the Apartheid Convention (30 November 1973) was part of the UN's opposition and sanction of the discriminatory racial policies of the South African Government (known as apartheid) which lasted from 1948 to 1990. Articles 55 and 56 of the

³⁵ The television section of SABC was unable to kick off until January 1976.

Charter establishing the UN were apt in condemning both the South African government and its apartheid policy. The apartheid policy was consequently labeled as crime against humanity (Resolution 2202 A (XXI) of December 16, 1966) by the General Assembly, and in 1984, the Security Council endorsed this as a resolution (resolution 556 (1984) of 23 October 1984). As such, as pointed out by Geldenhuys (1984:205) consistent actions were “undertaken by external political actors with the purpose of persuading or coercing the South African government either to abandon certain policies and actions or, alternatively to behave in a particular fashion”. These collective external actions were particularly targeted at invoking certain change in behavior in South Africa’s domestic policies which it eventually ceded in 1990s culminating in the eventual annulment of its apartheid policy.

Secondly, there was the increasing pressure from many international actors to equally isolate such other institutions or international actors that were believed to be supporting directly or indirectly South Africa and condoning its discriminatory policy. By implication, “foreign and local institutions including foreign governments and transnational corporations, believed to be helping Pretoria sustain its policies” were equally isolated and condemned (Geldenhuys 1984:205). During this period therefore, the conduct of South Africa’s foreign relations was greatly impeded by its international isolation as a pariah state while it conducted its foreign policy under a generally harsh and violent domestic and international environment that was neither receptive to anything South African nor willing to enter into any meaningful open diplomatic relations with it.

Closely related to the above was the extension of international sanctions against the South African government in many cases applied by both states and non-state actors alike in several ways with the intent of compelling the establishment of a democratic government brought about through a racially inclusive free and fair election where the majority rules. In this wise, economic, sport, military, diplomatic etc. sanctions were directed at the South African government ultimately to completely isolate it from the international community and hopefully force it to renege on its racial policies that were prejudicial to all values of human rights. Particularly in this regard, a Resolution (1761) condemning South Africa’s apartheid policies was passed by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on November 6, 1962 while on 7 August 1963,

Resolution 181 was equally passed by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) calling for a voluntary arms embargo against the government of South Africa (Geldenhuis 1984:206). Before then, the UNGA at its 15th session held in 1961, resolved to request at both individual and collective levels of its member states to exert all necessary form of coercion and sanctions against the South African government. This was followed by the establishment of a Special Committee Against Apartheid tasked with overseeing the implementation of the concerted sanctions against the apartheid regime (Geldenhuis 1984:206). It was not until November 1977 that the voluntary arms embargo imposed on South Africa was later changed to a mandatory arms embargo by the UNSC (Geldenhuis 1984:206).

Economic sanctions (made possible by the withdrawal of trade relations, foreign direct investment, consumer boycott, and divestment) were in like manner extended towards South Africa and deployed as an alternative to violence (Miller 2004:3-4) came in two different dimensions; *trade* and *financial restrictions*. According to Lavery (2007) “trade sanctions are aimed at the restriction or cessation of imports and exports between the actors and the target nation. Financial sanctions, on the other hand, came through as corporate and private disinvestment [the extraction of corporate ownership or the restraining or withdrawal of all forms of foreign capital that is invested in the country] (Kaempfer 1987:459) and divestment (the breaking of financial and economic relations with companies that profit from business). This was intended to control or manipulate the flow of private foreign capital into the country targeted by sanctions, in this case South Africa. In retrospect, the voluntary economic sanctions imposed on South African appeared to have yielded substantial success against the apartheid government and as correctly remarked by Geldenhuis (1984:206), “the punitive measures called for were designed to isolate South Africa diplomatically, economically and militarily”.

Other sanctions imposed on the South African government included social and sports sanctions intended to intensify the already imposed economic and military sanctions. In the case of the former, South Africa was excluded from the membership of such international institutions like the International Labor Organization, United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), UN Educational, Scientific and Social Council (UNESCO), Economic Commission

for Africa (ECA), and its eventually expulsion from the UNGA in 1974. While for the latter, South Africa and its people were summarily excluded from active participation at any competitive level in many sporting events across the world. A typical example was its exclusion from the *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA).

Following the end of apartheid, Nelson Mandela who emerged as the first President of an all-inclusive democratic election in April 1994 was quick to assert the efficacy of economic and sports sanctions in quashing the apartheid government thus bringing about political change and democratic transition in the country. By implication, the imposition of international sanctions contributed in no small measure in redirecting both the domestic and foreign policy posture of South Africa during these periods (Levy 1999:2).

(f) The end of the Cold-War and the end of apartheid

Many have argued that the end of the Cold War invoked a different global permutation in world politics. Following the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, in November 1989, leading to the disintegration of the USSR and its hold over Eastern Europe, communism became less fashionable as an economic and political system. These events contributed significantly to the transformation of events in South Africa especially as both sides of the conflict (South African National Party/government and the ANC) relied on the communist institutions in sustaining their argument. As explained before, while the ANC received wide support from the USSR communist government, the South African government was keen to justify its apartheid policy on the basis of the imperative to dispel further communist incursion particularly into Africa at the detriment of capitalism. The end of the Cold-War thus changed the international configuration and impeded on the support that both parties were likely to continue to receive. According to Giliomee and Mbenga 2007:394-395):

Anti-communism had long been the main reason why Western governments accepted and even bolstered white rule in South Africa. But the disappearance of the communist threat and the ANC's retreat from nationalization had made the South African government's anti-communism old-fashioned, and deprived it of its strongest argument for Western pressure to force the ANC to accept power-sharing.

As demonstrated above, the change in policy (public and foreign) thus had a lot to do with the international outcome of the end of the Cold-War. Thus, without doubt, the coming into power of the ANC would almost not have been possible without the fall of communism, the dismantling of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of USSR. Mandela (1993) in acknowledging the impact of the Cold War on both South Africa and the African continent explained that “all nations will have boldly to recast their nets if they are to reap any benefit from the international affairs in the post-Cold War era”. Pfister (2005:122) in extending this argument further contends that “the waning of the Cold War crucially impacted on South Africa and its foreign relations with Africa” while stating further that this period “at the end of the 1980s led to a retreat of the West from Africa, particularly in the economic sphere” (Pfister 2000:1). This period was therefore marked by a reduction on the emphasis on the military component of South Africa’s foreign policy particularly in the South African region and a re-emphasis on the DFA in foreign relations, bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

According to Pfister (2000), one of the principal factors that have shaped the foreign policy perspective of South Africa towards Africa in the post-apartheid era is the termination of apartheid in 1994. He notes that this transformation has afforded South Africa the opportunity for the first time in the country’s history, “to establish and maintain contacts with African states on equal terms”.

5.3.1.2 The Post-apartheid period

(a) *Parliament*

A major actor in the foreign policy scene of most democratic states is parliament. South Africa’s democratic era emerged with the parliament playing not only a constitutional role in the design of foreign policy but also in giving general guidance for this foreign policy perspective. In the post-apartheid period, the powers of the South African parliament (the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces) has reduced dramatically compared to its apartheid predecessors where the parliament was particularly crucial to foreign policy formulation (Bridgman 2002:71). Chief among the parliamentary actors in the legislature is the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs (PPCFA) which is statutorily responsible for processing legislation related to foreign policy and also conducting oversight over the

Department. Apart from this, the Committee also considers related bills, deliberates and approves Departmental budgetary votes and overseeing the work of the Department and making recommendations regarding any aspect of the functioning, structure and policy of the Department (SA Parliament).

Moreover, the South African Parliament also participates in global legislative forums such as the Pan-African Parliament; SADC Parliamentary Forum; Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU); and African, Caribbean, Pacific-European Union Forum (SA Parliament). Currently, Parliament identifies four fundamental foreign policy priorities that guide its participation and contribution at global platforms and discussions; developing and strengthening partnerships in Africa, advancing multilateralism, bilateralism through friendship societies and strategic groups, and providing for public input. There is also the Portfolio Committee on Defence and Military Veterans that executes practically similar roles over the DoD and the SANDF in its organization, budgeting and policies even though with little vigour as its Foreign Affairs counterpart. Overall, Parliament undertakes the foreign policy role of representing, aggregating and articulating the general public opinion and interest while also giving the public the platform to comment on particular issues at different points in time through its open sessions (Bridgman 2002:69; Alden and le Pere 2003:17).

Taking a closer look at the structure of South Africa's political system, there is in effect an overlapping of both the executive and the legislative branches of government making it almost impossible for the legislature especially to operate effectively and carry out its oversight functions over the executive as is traditionally expected. While this might not necessarily be a feature of the institutional configuration of the National Assembly but rather a specific consequence of the use of a party list electoral system, Alden and le Pere (2003:17) rightly point out that "lack of resources and the pressure of party politics have consistently hampered the portfolio committee's oversight and review functions". Effectively, there is a limited capacity on the part of Parliament to play critical roles in foreign policy formulation given the internal and external restraints that it is confronted with (Bridgman 2002:69-74).

(b) Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO)

Governance in the contemporary modern state usually saddles the task of external relations to a Ministry or Department with the responsibility primarily of planning and implementing the state's foreign policy (Frankel, 1963:28). The South African state is not an exception. The Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA)³⁶ has traditionally and constitutionally acted in this capacity until its name change in 2009 into Department of International Relations (DIRCO). DIRCO is South Africa's foreign ministry responsible for external relationships with countries abroad and partner international organizations while also maintaining and nourishing South Africa's diplomatic missions through its diplomats, ambassadors, embassies, consulates etc. Currently, the Department is headed by the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane (see Table 5.5). A major responsibility of the Department is that of "formulating, coordinating, implementing and managing South Africa's foreign policy and international relations programmes throughout the world" (DIRCO 2009b).

Table 5.5: Foreign policy leadership in the post-apartheid period

President	Period	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Period
Nelson Mandela	1994–1999	Alfred Nzo	1994-1999
Thabo Mbeki	1999–2008	Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma	1999-2009
Kgalema Motlanthe	2008–2009		
Jacob Zuma	2009–present	Maite Nkoana-Mashabane	2009-present

Source: Author's Compilation; 2012

Today, and with the emergence of the post-apartheid period in 1994, the role of the DIRCO in foreign policy making has taken a sharp turn and changed rapidly from the erstwhile "attempts to ward off international sanctions and diplomatic isolation" against South Africa to being the custodians of South Africa's foreign policy (Alden and le Pere (2003:14). This remarkable difference in foreign policy attitude did not emerge overnight but with series of turns and twists that the Department has had to take over the years. The Department was confronted with multiple internal constraints at the start of the new political dispensation. Tjemolane (2010:68-70) highlights five

³⁶ The name change was implemented by President Jacob Zuma in May 2009.

challenges identified by a number of scholars that the Department was faced with; the *departmental racial composition* (See Suttner, 1996: Internet, Alden and le Pere, 2004:285), *gender imbalances* (See le Pere and van Nieuwkerk (2004:121, DIRCO, 2009c:23), *internal divisions based on ideological affiliation* (See Inglis, 2008:37, van der Westhuizen, 1998:444, le Pere and van Nieuwkerk, 2004:121-122), *departmental leadership and its performance in policy coordination* (See Cilliers 1999; Alden and le Pere 2004:285; Muller 1997:69; le Pere & van Nieuwkerk 2004:123) and lastly its *tense relations with the Portfolio Committee on International Relations and Cooperation, the DTI, and the DOD* (Landsberg and Masiza 1995:13; Vale 1995; Cilliers 1999:5).

Particularly, South Africa's foreign policy implementation is intrinsically tied to DIRCO as it is through this platform that the country pursues its national interest and also conducts its external (bilateral and multilateral) relations with the rest of the world. However, the role of DIRCO has oscillated between successive leaderships from time to time driven most times by the assertiveness or lack thereof of the foreign affairs minister and the influence of the Executive President at the time. For instance, the DIRCO's foreign policy role was almost completely overshadowed by the personality and presence of President Mandela (Mills 1997:24; Alden and le Pere 2004:285; Cilliers, 1999:5; Masters 2012:21-22) thus giving the department minimal role to play in foreign policy formulation during this period. And as Alden and le Pere (2004:286) explained "its internal fragmentation and inertia together with the centrifugal effects of competitive networks conspired (in most instances) to make it rather peripheral to shaping influencing policy during the Mandela years".

Nevertheless, DIRCO has sought to find more pragmatic means to involve itself in South Africa's foreign policy formulation through the South African Council on International Relations (SACOIR) set up in 2011. SACOIR aims to provide a platform that inspires greater levels of participation and involvement of the civil society, academia, business, organized labour and other national departments in generating public debate and a consultative forum for regular review as well as advise the minister on critical issues of South Africa's foreign policy (GCIS 2011; See Masters 2012).

Even though it was not able to play an effective foreign policy role due largely to Mandela’s dominant posture coupled with its “lack of coordinated vision” at the time, it nevertheless remained connected to the implementation of South Africa’s foreign policy (Alden and le Pere 2003:15; Hughes 2004). However, this role has increased greatly moving into the subsequent dispensations of Mbeki and Zuma as the Department “regained a substantial portion of its influence that it had lost during the apartheid years” (Schraeder 2001:236).

DIRCO budgetary allocation has continued to increase in reflection of its increasing significance in the foreign policy molding and implementation of the Department (see Table 5.6). Also, the yearly strategic plan of the Department often makes a huge statement regarding the country’s foreign policy and national interest at different periods. For instance, the Department sets out the foundation for its South-South relations with such multilateral forums and institutions like the IBSA Dialogue Forum (IBSA); BRICS; the New Africa-Asia Strategic Partnership (NAASP); the Indian Ocean Rim Association of Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC); the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) G77 and China (DIRCO 2009). The Department’s capacity to play an increasing role in foreign policy shaping has often been hindered by competing actors in the foreign policy environment such as the Department of Defence, the ANC, the Presidency, Department of Trade, etc.

Table 5.6: Yearly budgetary allocations to DIRCO from the National Treasury

Year	Budgetary Allocation (R million)
2001/02	1, 660, 839, 000
2002/03	2, 079, 297, 000
2003/04	2, 243, 555, 000
2004/05	2, 485, 814, 000
2005/06	2, 595, 071, 000
2006/07	2, 916, 584, 000
2007/08	3, 168, 451, 000
2008/09	4, 340, 708, 000
2009/10	5, 337, 000, 000

2010/11	4, 824, 400, 000
2011/2012	4, 796, 800, 000
2012/2013	5, 116, 591, 000

Source: Author's Compilation; (See South African Department of Finance, Annual Reports for the financial years shown on the table)

(c) *Department of Defence (DoD) and the South African National Defence Force (SANDF)*

Following the end of apartheid, South Africa in 1994 joined the rest of the global community as a democratic nation while also witnessing remarkable internal institutional transformation within its political space. One of such institutions that was transformed in terms of its role in the Republic's foreign policy perspective was the Department of Defence (DoD) headed by Secretary for Defence and the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) led by the Chief of the National Defence Force. Key to this transformation was the imperative to make it highly "representative of the South African people" while equally guaranteeing "transparency in defence management and accountability to civil authority, establishing greater efficiency and aligning defence policy with the Constitution, international law and national culture" (Roux 2005:1).

Chapter 11 of the South African Constitution stipulates the fundamental objective of the Defence Force to "defend and protect the republic, its territorial integrity and its people in accordance with the Constitution and the principles of international law regulating the use of force" while also making provision for the establishment of the Department of Defence (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa; 1996). As with its counterpart (DFA/DIRCO), a major critical issue that the SANDF has been confronted with is that of making sure that its personnel reflect a sense of racial and gender equality where the initially predominant white and male presence of the apartheid military is completely eradicated or at least reduced to barest minimum (refer to table 5.7).

Table 5.7: Racial reflection of the SANDF personnel

Race	Male				Female				Total
	African	Indians	Coloured	White	African	Indians	Coloured	White	
1998	38 781	791	6 581	17 881	3 645	95	623	5 128	73 525
2004 /05	39724	785	7692	11467	8 838	219	2 037	6 207	76 969
2007 /08	40 233	640	7 061	8 587	10 938	235	2 274	4 877	74 845
2010 /11	42010	628	7262	7574	14 377	256	2 726	4 212	79 045

Source: South African Defence Review and South African Department of Defence Annual Reports (1998-2011)

Today, the role of these two interrelated institutions in shaping and implementing South Africa's foreign policy has remained largely intact albeit with a different focus. Three major factors make the military a very critical component of South Africa foreign policy decision making (Kent-Brown 2002:126). One is the substantial and traditional relevance of the military in guaranteeing the national interest and security of the Republic and its people. In this instance, South Africa's military strength becomes useful in dislodging possible perceived threat against its national security. This is explained in its decision, for instance, to intervene in the constitutional and political crisis in Lesotho, in 1998 using its military informed by its overall assessment of its capacity and willingness to halt further escalation of the conflict. Second is the profit imperative to sustain the growth of South Africa's arms industry and the quest to maintain its place in the global arms market (Alden and le Pere 2003:16).

Often times, the decision to intervene militarily in any given dispute rests with the DoD in collaboration with the President and the Committee on National Conventional Arms Control. This makes the Department a critical element of South Africa's foreign policy. In the third place is the mandate of military diplomacy evidenced in South Africa's increasing commitment in the area of peacekeeping particularly in the African continent. Masters (2012:30) indicates that "South Africa's commitment to international peace and security, and particularly in supporting peace-keeping efforts on the African continent (and UN ambitions), have seen the Department of Defence (DoD) drawn into the inner circles of foreign policy decision making".

These factors therefore place the DoD as a dominant element and key actor in the shaping of the country's foreign policy. The Department continues to play a key role in partnering with DIRCO in promoting peace, security and stability in Africa through a multinational and multilateral approach in its defence initiatives. However, the historical (apartheid) past of the Department has made it extremely difficult to wield substantial influence in the foreign policy sphere of South Africa. There are still considerable amount of suspicion and distraught, particularly among its Southern African neighbours of the devastating influence that the military wielded during the apartheid period in South Africa's regional destabilization policy and activities (Schraeder 2010:237).

(d) National non-governmental actors

No doubt, foreign policy formulation and implementation of any state is the prerogative of the government of that particular state. However, foreign policy of any state often reflects the civil and political pressures from several non-state actors within the country; therefore government leaders are obliged to pay attention to their voices and concerns (Coplin 1980:115). This mutual relationship and influence pattern existing between the state and non-state actors such as civil society or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has clearly been theoretically and empirically articulated by several authors including Deutsch et al (1957), Nye and Keohane (1971), Huntington (1973), Nye and Keohane (1974), Krasner (1995), Katzenstein (1996), Price (1997), Price (1998), Finnemore and Sikkink (1998), Boli and Thomas (1999), Young (2000), Hawkins (2002), Risse (2002), Heins (2005), Barnett (2005), Kans and Mingst (2010), Princen (2003), and Kim (2011).

Coplin (1980), for instance, identifies two of such actors; (*interest groups and public and the news media*) located within a state and command substantial impact of foreign policy construction. Interest groups, for instance, are formed along certain common interest to its members; economic, ethnic, policy change etc. attempt to put pressure on government leaders to take actions that are favourable to its members. Particularly in democratic countries, and depending also on one time period to the next, interest groups and the media play active roles and help to shape the foreign policy priorities of such countries. More recently, Kim (2011:1) provided sufficient evidence supporting the argument that "NGOs influence states' foreign policy behaviors toward

other states both directly and indirectly, functioning as information providers, lobbying groups, agenda setters, and norm generators”.

In the case of South Africa, the 1996 Constitution makes provision for citizens of South Africa to participate in the policy formulation fundamentally through voting and elections. McGowan and Nel (2002:341) posit that, “civil society refers to any non-state actor within a society including academia, businesses, labour unions, private media, churches, voluntary organisations and others”. This comprises a wide range of actors including research and academic institutes such as the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), South African Institute for International Affairs (SAIIA), African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), Institute for Global Dialogue, South African Foreign Policy Initiative (SAFPI) while others like the South African Civil Society Information Service (SACSIS), and South African Non-governmental Organisations Coalition (SANGOCO) help to articulate the voice of the public by providing credible information on issues of public interest. There are also the print and electronic media such as *Mail and Guardian*, *Witness*, *Business Day*, *The Star*, e-News, and SABC1-3 which present to the public on a regularly basis relevant information on critical international issues that ultimately help the citizenry to develop informed opinions regarding foreign policy issues of government.

Alden and le Pere (2003:17) also point out that the country’s “rich civil society includes a range of non-state actors concerned with influencing foreign policy, such as trade unions, civic organisations, human-rights groups and academic think-tanks” arguing further that the sector had undergone a profound transformation since the onset of the democratic transition. They explained that there is now a remarkable difference between the role that the civil societies play prior to the end of apartheid and the period afterwards. In essence, today, perhaps since the crushing of the apartheid policies, the influence of interest groups in the foreign policy sphere have increasingly dwindled over the years with the civil society unable to convert its previous energies into fresh mandates for political-economic influence. As argued elsewhere, civil societies are still being inundated by the shadow of the ANC whom it collaborated with in the national liberation struggles against apartheid (Alden and le Pere 2003:17-18).

This is not to suggest that the members of the civil society have not added its voice substantially to global issues with the intent to affect South Africa's position on specific issues. Since 1994, civil society has added its voice to South Africa's policy development and position on issues ranging from the environment and climate to promoting human rights and democratic principles across the world. Civil society has therefore contributed significantly to foreign policy choices and the drafting of policy papers, discussion document and white papers of government. To be sure, the voice of the civil society and the public in general was particularly relevant in articulating the opinion of the populace and giving the government a sense of direction in such cases as the Dalai Lama saga, the Libyan conflict, the Zimbabwe situation, etc. However, it is often difficult to determine the level, degree or even outcomes of such civil society expressions and influence. The influence that the civil society wields on foreign policy perspectives are often determined by the conviction and willingness of the President in recognizing their roles in the policy formulation sphere.

(e) Personality of the leadership/Executive President

The role of the Executive President is ably amplified in Chapter 5, Sections 83, 84(h), (i) and 85 of the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa which clearly outlines the role of the President in the design of South Africa's foreign policy (Schraeder 2001:236). Masters (2012:21) corroborates this position by submitting that "South Africa's presidents have continued, to varying degree, to occupy the central position in the foreign policy machinery". We had earlier illustrated this connection between foreign policy and the personality and style of leadership at different points of a state's existence. Reflecting this nexus on the post-apartheid period in South Africa, we clearly see that during the leadership of President Mandela, his personality and character translated into practical foreign policy choices for South Africa and as Mills (1997:3) asserts, "President Mandela's stature in the international domain has meant that South Africa's image and its foreign policy tends largely to be equated with the President's profile". This again, highlights the import of personality and leadership style and its influence in shaping the context and shaping of foreign policy. Invariably therefore, it was not farfetched for many to assume that Mandela's public statements often were seen as guiding light for South Africa's foreign relations as foreign policy often times drew direction from his statements and assertions.

Ofcourse, this is sometimes a negative for a country if the president is someone who is prone to taking rash decisions.

Mandela's foreign policy vision and disposition clearly overshadowed other foreign policy stakeholders and thereby increasingly blurring the lines between the individual, the ANC ruling party and the state institutions. It was therefore not surprising that Pretoria's external relations during this period were carved in Mandela's values for democracy, respect for human rights and international law (Masters 2012; Mandela 1993). South Africa's position relating to Nigeria in the event of the killing of the Ogoni 9 was pretty much at Mandela's instance. In this instance, South African prestige and image were dented as Mandela found himself isolated and humbled within the region.

The same is true for Mbeki's leadership in the almost 10 years while in office where he was at the centre of South Africa's foreign policy. His leadership brought about the revival of the Pan-African agenda in the debate on issues of African political-economy and evidenced in the country's foreign policy of an African renaissance, NEPAD and the eventual reform of the OAU (Alden and le Pere 2004:285; Masters 2012; DFA 2003). Mbeki played an active role in the reshaping of South African foreign policy into clearly defined ideological patterns. His largely technocratic posture added a fresh dimension to the context of the Republic's foreign policy at the time. His preference was more for the use of the state institutions like the DFA in articulating and achieving state foreign policy objectives (Schraeder 2001:236).

More importantly, the South African Constitution provides for a legal framework that supports the centrality of the role of the President to foreign policy decision making. Chapter 5 of the Constitution entrusts upon the President the executive authority which includes among others the task of developing and implementing national policy. As head of state and government, the President also has powers to appoint (and dismiss when necessary) ambassadors, plenipotentiaries diplomatic and consular representatives and the obligation of receiving and recognizing foreign diplomatic and consular representatives (1996 Constitution).

(f) The (dominant) political party (Africa National Congress; ANC)

In most democracies, there is usually a strong relationship between the government and the dominant or majority political party. In South Africa's democratic politics, aside the disposition of the President, as the dominant and ruling party since the post-apartheid democratic dispensation in 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) National Executive Council (NEC), its sub-committee on International Relations and an International Relations Rapid Response Task Team also play prominent roles in foreign policy discussion and formulation (Masters 2012:27). In its *Foreign Policy Perspectives in a Democratic South Africa*, published in March 1994, the ANC laid down some of the following principles that were expected to guide the conduct of South Africa's foreign policy:

- a belief and preoccupation with human rights, which extends beyond the political, embracing economic, social and environmental dimensions;
- a belief that just and lasting solutions to the problems of humankind can only come through the promotion of democracy worldwide;
- a belief that justice and international law should guide relations between nations;
- a belief that international peace is the goal towards which all nations should strive;
- a belief that South Africa's foreign policy should reflect the interests of Africa;
- a belief that South Africa's economic development depends on growing and international economic cooperation; and
- a belief that South Africa's foreign relations must mirror a deep commitment to the consolidation of its democracy.

Clearly, many of these priorities itemized by the ANC were motivated by the long years of resistance of the apartheid regime. Included in the ANC foreign policy proposal is the strive for cooperation and integration, peace and security at both the regional and continental level while also repudiating any hegemonic ambition and choosing to relate with all African states especially on the basis of "partnership and equality" (ANC 1994; Venter and Landsberg 2006:252). In a similar vein, Pfister (2000:4) adds that "because of South Africa's past foreign policy, the ANC first had

to reassure African states, particularly its neighbors, of the government's non-hegemonic intentions". According to Mandela (1993:86), "the African National Congress (ANC) believes that the charting of a new foreign policy for South Africa is a key element in the creation of a peaceful and prosperous country". The ANC therefore invariably sought to locate these objectives within the Global North-South debate by throwing itself behind the countries within the South. In doing this, it set for itself the task to re-establish a fundamentally and ideologically different foreign policy for South Africa, one that should take cognizance of the unique history of the South African people.

According to Hughes (2004), "The composition of the committee is highly significant as it serves to coordinate ANC foreign policy interests and representation from the Presidency, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, parliament, the tripartite alliance and other significant stakeholders". One of the critical responsibilities of the committee includes ensuring the coordination of government's (Presidency, DIRCO etc.) position with that of the ANC.

It goes without saying that the foreign policy priorities of governments are literally a mirror reflection of the policy preferences of the ANC. It is possible to effectively say, that, as long as the ANC remains in power, the future of South Africa international relations is intrinsically tied to its ideological manifestations. In a similar sense, the ANC's foreign policy position is drawn from its reaffirmation of the Freedom Charter which "constitutes the firm foundation for the conduct of the ANC's international relations" (ANC 1991). The ANC's foreign policy position regarding South Africa's international relations is particularly informed by its historical past and experiences with the Southern African region, Africa and of course the rest of the world.

Right before the commencement of the new government in office in 1994, the ANC already announced and articulated its foreign policy position regarding its international relations when it stated through its leader, Mandela six pivotal areas that would go on to underpin South Africa's future foreign policy (see previous sections) (Mandela 1993:87; Van Der Westhuizen 1998:442). He further highlighted the centrality of the ANC future foreign policy paths that the South African government would take. At the eve of the new political dispensation, van Nieuwkerk (1993:51)

anticipated the potential role of the ANC when he states that “given its history and standing amongst South Africans as the major liberation movement, it will probably play the most influential role in the making of foreign policy of the new government”.

Today, we see clearly that the overwhelming control of the internal democracy structures of South Africa makes it possible for the ANC to wield overriding influence through its leadership in government on foreign policy formulation. For instance, the ANC’s orientated foreign policy orientation which recognizes the principle of human rights, the rights of non-state actors, and the principle of non-alignment are equally extrapolated and transposed into South Africa’s policy positions in such issue areas as its support for the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), and the struggle for self-determination of the Palestinian people, arms exports as well as its prioritization of Africa (Hughes 2004:32).

However, there is an increasing dissatisfaction on the part of the ANC in terms of the recognition of its role in foreign policy molding suggesting the reality of a rising lacuna between the party and its input into government’s policy formulation process (Hughes 2004:32). The ANC has struggled to assert its influence by its failure to “provide policy guidance to governmental departments, initiatives and policies” (Hughes 2004:32).

(g) *Regime type and regime change*

The study of foreign policy change and its relationship with political regime type and institutional arrangements has been articulated by several scholars including Gasiorowski, (1995) in demonstrating the existing relationships among state structural attributes, leadership, foreign policy behavior, and international outcomes (Leeds and Davis 1999:5). In assessing the fundamental factors that influence and determine foreign policy positions of states today, the significant role that regime settings play have become critical to this estimation. Clearly, foreign policy change and transition is influenced by the type of regime and political institutional arrangement prevalent in the state thereby creating conditions of limitations and inducements for foreign policy consistencies or inconsistencies. According to Leeds and Davis (1999:5), “...institutional attributes of states influence state behavior in the international system and affect international outcomes”.

Under the new democratic dispensation that emerged following the dismantling of the apartheid regime in 1994, foreign policy posture of South Africa took a remarkable and totally different posture informed significantly by its historical experiences of the apartheid past. There was a change from a strong realist background to foreign relations to a largely idealist leaning ushering in new priorities that emphasized the centrality of Africa, (and especially Southern Africa), the expansion and consolidation of South Africa's position in other regions of the world, such as the Middle East, Far East, South East Asia and Eastern Europe, and the expansion South Africa's relations with the UN and other inter-governmental multilateral organisations (Henwood 1997:2). According to Henwood (1997:2), “The constitutional and institutional changes that took place in South Africa since 1994 provided for important changes in the foreign policy formulation and implementation processes”. These aspects need to be explained to determine their influence on the foreign policy process in South Africa.

These constitutional changes included the replacement of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 110 of 1983, with the transitional constitution, (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 200 of 1993)³⁷ and the subsequent acceptance of a 'final' constitution, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996, Act 108. These constitutional changes have formed part of the process to democratize South Africa in all respects, including the foreign policy South Africa follows or would like to implement. The Constitution does not include any specific foreign policy guidelines, but provides a framework for procedural matters and policy decisions. The Constitution also provides a framework of values that ought to be present in the declared and implemented foreign policy of South Africa.

At the start of the new democratic dispensation in 1994, the South African Transitional Constitution of 1993 and the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 assigned the constitutional powers³⁸ of foreign policy decision making to the President. This provision is expanded under the capacity of the President to

³⁷ It should be noted that the transitional constitution was merely a set of constitutional principles that were to be adhered to in the final (third) constitution, and not a constitution in its own right.

³⁸ Chapter 6, Section 82(f) gives the President power to appoint, accredit, receive and recognize ambassadors, plenipotentiaries, diplomatic representatives and other diplomatic officers, consuls and consular officers.

“receive and recognise foreign diplomatic and consular representatives and to appoint ambassadors, plenipotentiaries and diplomatic and consular representatives; and for the national executive (including the President) to: negotiate and sign international agreements, but only requires parliamentary ratification in the case of agreements of a technical, administrative and executive nature”.

(h) Political ideology and the international power structure

International relations of states along with other actors are usually a function of the guiding paradigm that informs such relations. Overtime, realism and idealism have become the two major theoretical positions that inform nations’ decision to relate with other actors within the international system and also the pattern that such relations should take. The nature of the international political system and South Africa’s position within this power structure conveys certain level of pressure and constraint on its foreign policy making. Foreign policy of any nation must be seen as targeted towards addressing the threats directed at the corporate survival and existence of such nation. Likewise for South Africa, its foreign policy is therefore often influenced by the need to protect itself from such threats. According to Coplin (1980:177), “Foreign policy must necessarily attempt to deal with these threats by meeting each change in international conditions, whether it is geographical, economic, political, or military”.

Fundamentally, South Africa’s status as an emerging power, developing country coupled with its position in the Southern hemisphere and belonging within the African continent are factors and constraints that it must take into consideration in the construction of its foreign policy. In the post-apartheid era, South Africa increasing desire to want to represent the opinion of Africa by championing the imperative to effectively integrate Africa in the international global economic system has been a clear motivation for its membership of (BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). Clearly inscribed in its foreign policy since 1994, has been the self-imposed conviction of being able to effectively represent the rest of Africa in the new international economic order. This foreign policy decision has often been perceived as an intention by South Africa to assert itself as a continental hegemon over and above the rest of the region. According to Adebajo (2007:195) “there is fear and resentment about South Africa behaving like, and harbouring the goals of a domineering hegemon”.

And largely operating within the broader context of an idealist paradigm, South Africa's foreign policy since the end of apartheid has often tilted towards a bias for international cooperation, respect for international norms, a commitment to the promotion of human rights, specifically the political, economic, social and environmental circumstances conducive to these; commitment to the promotion of democracy throughout the world; commitment to the principle of justice and international law in the conduct of relations between states; commitment to international peace and to internationally agreed upon mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts; commitment to the promotion of Africa's interest in world affairs; and commitment to economic development through regional and international co-operation in an interdependent (and globalised) world (DFA 2005). South Africa therefore eschews all forms of conflict or violence in the resolution of dispute by promoting the contemplation of peaceful instrument towards conflict resolution.

(i) Membership of international organizations

South Africa's membership with various International Governmental Organization (IGOs) and International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGO) alike no doubt command a level of influence on the nature and pattern of its foreign policy choices. Particularly since the end of apartheid rule and following the reacceptance of South Africa back into the international comity of nations, South Africa have remained consistent in respecting the protocol and Charters of international organizations (African Union, Commonwealth of Nations, Non-Aligned Movement, United Nations) particularly the ones that it is a member and signatory to. For instance, as a result of its membership of the African Union, South Africa has been at the forefront of issues around attempts to craft a "new progressive governance agenda" aimed to "achieve development, peace and security, democratic governance and economic growth" for Africa (Adebajo 2007:195). It is for this reason therefore that South Africa is able to use this platform to collectively find solutions to regional, continental and global problems that ordinarily it cannot by itself provide answers for. The need to provide common resolutions to mutually shared problems like political, environmental and ecological issues prevalent across the world consequently necessitates the necessity for South Africa like every other country to cooperate with other countries that are affected by similar problems as it is through its membership of

specialized agencies and international organizations. Table 5.8 below captures a number of some of the international organizations that South Africa is a member.

Table 5.8: Selected international agencies/organizations to which South Africa is a member

Political	Economic
United Nations (UN)	BRICS
African Union (AU)	International Monetary Fund
Southern African Development Community (SADC)	Southern African Customs Union (SACU)
BRICS Forum (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa)	African Development Bank
Commonwealth of Nations	United Labor Organization
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)	Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
International Criminal Court (ICC)	Bank for International Settlements (BIS)
Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)	International Labour Organization (ILO)
Nonaligned Movement (NAM)	International Maritime Organization (IMO)
Group of 24 (G24)	International Monetary Fund (IMF)
Group of 77 (G77)	International Mobile Satellite Organization (IMSO)
African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States (ACP)	International Organization for Standardization (ISO)
Group of Twenty Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors (G20)	International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol)	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG)	International Chamber of Commerce (ICC)
	International Development Association (IDA)
	International Finance Corporation (IFC)
	International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)
	World Customs Organization (WCO)
Sports	Research based
International Olympic Committee (IOC)	African Centre for Gene Technologies (ACGT)
International Paralympics Committee	Astronomical Society of Southern Africa (ASSA)
Confederation of African Football (CAF)	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR)
International Cycling Association (ICA)	

The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)	Agricultural Research Council (ARC)
International Cricket Council (ICC)	Southern African Development Research Network (SADRN)
International World Games Association	The Grassland Society of Southern Africa (GSSA)
International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF)	
Fédération Internationale de Basketball (FIBA)	
International Hockey Federation (FIH)	
International Rugby Board (IRB)	
International Tennis Federation (ITF)	

Source: Author's compilation, 2013

(j) Geographical location

The geographic location of a state plays a critical role in the international circumstances that shape its foreign policy. The importance of geography in shaping contemporary international politics has been emphasized by many scholars (Coplin 1980, Aluko 1977). Cohen (1963:186) in illustrating the significance of this asserts that:

Two basic location conditions characterize the geographical positions of USSR and the United States. First, these two superpowers have grown up in physical isolation from one another. They are still physically remote, save in a time-distance, air-age sense. Secondly, the Soviet Union lives in a direct land or narrow seas contact with a large number of sovereign states; Americans have few neighbors.

Equally linked to geographical location is the military and economic capacity of a country's neighbors. This may either condition a pattern of reliant relationship or an independent one in which its neighbors are dependent on it for survival. Ofcourse, there is also the aspect of huge deposit of mineral wealth and migrant labour system whereby everyone is headed south in the SADC region.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter assessed South Africa's foreign policy principles and determinants both in the apartheid era (1961-1993) and the period sequel to the end of apartheid [post-apartheid] (1994-2012). It also further attempts to engage and explore how the

principles, determinants, actors and agencies have helped to shape the process of foreign policy making and implementation in South Africa. Another aim of the chapter was to examine the complexity of the interaction between and among these foreign policy actors and agencies design and implementation in the two political dispensations under study.

The chapter submits that a number of principles and ideological foundations of South Africa's foreign policy particularly during the apartheid period include its non-isolationist, anti-sanction, pro-western orientation and the imperative to establish a positive relationship with the rest of Africa in a bid to justify its apartheid policies. The regime change brought about as a result of the end of apartheid rule also changed the context in which South Africa's foreign policy is formulated. As a result, the domestic dynamics within the country at both periods have inspired a different kind of foreign inspiration that on its part also reflected another kind of ideology and principle. The period of the 1989 onwards marked a redirection of the foreign policy priorities and agencies for the formulation of these policies directed to reflect the political and economic reform within the state. Thus, in the post-apartheid era, foreign policy was shaped by principles of Afrocentrism, respect for human right, commitment to economic development through regional multilateral frameworks etc.

Again, the chapter further notes that the foreign policy determinants include both institutional and non-institutional actors and agencies. Under the apartheid period, the institutional frameworks include the Leadership in the Prime Minister and President at the time, Department of Information, Department of Foreign Affairs, The Department of Military Intelligence. On the other hand, the unofficial institutions include the influence of the Afrikaner nationalism, civil societies and interest groups, mass media, the intelligentsia, as well as international sanctions, isolation and the end of the Cold War. At the same time, the post-apartheid instructional and non-instructional frameworks of foreign policy making and implementation had changed radically to reflect the following actors and agencies; parliament, DIRCO, DoD, national non-governmental actors, influence of the executive President and of the dominant party (ANC), regime type and change, political ideology and the international power structure, membership of international organizations and its geographic location.

Evident in the above analysis is the fact that foreign policy formulation in South Africa like in many other civilized countries is crafted in a multiple and complex interlink of many actors with varied degrees of participation or involvement. It is therefore often difficult to assign the formulation of a specific foreign policy to a particular actor as the “number of actors with a stake in foreign policy decision making has increased accordingly” (Masters 2012:37). As rightly observed by Masters (2012:37), at the centre of South Africa’s foreign policy making is the President while other actors including the DoD, DIRCO, Parliament, etc. are involved in this process based largely on their capacity, resources and time frame in which the decision is to be made.

One can also agree with the fact that the two international environments during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras gave a unique impression on the foreign policy footprints of South Africa as we shall see in the succeeding chapter. This has of course reconfigured the foreign policy priorities particularly in the post-apartheid dispensation. The following chapter builds up on this chapter by examining the foreign policy make of South Africa particularly in relation to Africa. The chapter examines these foreign policy dimensions over two political periods of apartheid and post-apartheid eras.

CHAPTER SIX

SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA: AN APPRAISAL

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines South Africa's foreign policy particularly with sub-Saharan Africa prior to and after 1994 when the country emerged from the doldrums of apartheid rule. Pfister (2005:1) points out that South Africa's foreign policy relations during the apartheid period "were determined by the inherent conflict between Pretoria's apartheid ideology and its ambition to be accepted as a fellow African state on the one hand, and African continental rejection of its race discrimination policies and the consequent exclusion from the community of African states on the other". South Africa's foreign relations date back to the first and second World Wars during which period the country played a crucial role as a key member of the British Empire and the Commonwealth. Using information gathered from secondary materials and other relevant archival sources, the chapter seeks to capture the various patterns, changes, thrusts and nuances of South Africa's foreign policy perspective over a period of about 50 years (between the 1960s up until 2012). It is important also to discuss the implication that South Africa's apartheid foreign policy has on its external relations in the 21st century. This chapter which is largely historical and descriptive focuses on South Africa's foreign policy making beginning from 1961 when the country became a republic and ending with a review of the current Zuma administration. Critical in this is the periodization of South Africa's foreign policy from the apartheid period to the post-apartheid democratic dispensation.

South Africa's foreign policy with Africa began in the 1960s at a time when many countries on the African continent attained their independence following those that had obtained their independence in the 1950s. It would suffice to indicate that its foreign policy began to blossom after it became a republic in 1961. However, much of these relations was mainly restricted to the Southern African region with its interest improving significantly by the time the country got its full independence from British imperialism in 1961 (Pfister 2000). However, South Africa's position on the continent during the colonial era equalled that of the colonial powers, in fact the African charter

of 1948-54 conceived by Daniel Francois Malan proposed South Africa's cooperation with the colonialists to protract western domination on the continent, with Pretoria acting as the liaison for western civilization in Africa, taking a strong stance against the influences of communism and militarization (Geldenhuys 1984; Mills and Baynham 1995; Pfister 2005). Pfister (2000) further highlights that the country's contact with independent black African states were kept highly secret and away from the public eye following failure of the policy of *dialogue* or *outward movement*³⁹; a brain child of Prime minister B.J. Voster as an attempt to deal with the increasing isolation of South Africa by the international community. It is also important to note that at the height of apartheid, the country had two parallel foreign policies; the official foreign policy formulated and implemented by the apartheid government under the Nationalist Party and the 'unofficial' foreign policy championed by the African National Congress party for the liberation of Black South Africans from white oppression.

To-date, foreign policies in South Africa continue to be informed by both the official government policy and the position of the ANC. This chapter is thus an attempt to account for the evolution of South Africa's foreign policy in the two political dispensations of apartheid (1950s to 1993) and post-apartheid eras (1994-to-date). The former has been divided into four periods (1958-1966; 1966-1978; 1978-1989; 1989-1994) while the latter is divided into three periods (1994-1999; 1999-2008; 2009-2012). This would allow for an evolutionary analysis of the respective foreign policy of each period and regime and the transition from one period to the other while noting the remarkable character of that period for any comparative assessment.

6.2 South Africa's foreign policy in Africa during the apartheid period

We begin with a review of the foreign policy perspectives of South Africa during the apartheid period focusing especially on the period from 1961 when the country became a republic under Verwoerd (1958-66), and then moving on to the era of Vorster (1966-78), Botha (1978-89), and finally ending with de' Klerk (1989-94).

³⁹ South Africa would look outwards, towards the global neighborhood, rather than adopting a siege mentality and estranging it (Pfister 2000).

6.2.1 H.F Verwoerd, 1958-1966 (*Politics of security*)⁴⁰

It was during the premiership of Hendrick Verwoerd that the wave of independence swept across the African continent on the aftermath of decolonialism (Pfister 2005). The South African government had anticipated that it would be able to improve its international relationship by advancing its relations with Black Africa (Mills and Baynham 1994; Mills 2000). Between 1960 and 1962, membership of African countries in the United Nations had increased from a modest nine (9) to a significant thirty two (32) members (Stultz 1969). Following the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, African countries using the OAU mechanism declared war on all forms of colonialism and white minority rule particularly in the Southern African region. This period was therefore marked by the international community's isolation of the Republic of South Africa. Pretoria in retaliation to this international resentment as a pariah state attempted coercive tactics in dealing with its opponents and critics of its apartheid policy at every level of the global stage. For instance, the government denied entry visas to persons who were thought to be critical of the regime and equally tried to mitigate the consequences and effects of international sanctions against the Republic by reducing its dependence on the importation of goods (Stultz 1969).

For many reasons, South Africa was unwelcoming and unreceptive to this trend of political independence of African states and in fact considered it a 'traumatic event' (Nolutshungu 1975:102) for three reasons. First, the country's domestic policy of apartheid and the oppression of black South Africans could easily be justified by pointing to its ideological resemblance to that of colonial imperialism on the continent, which of course was enveloped in the pomposity of bringing civilization to the continent. Two, at the time, South Africa's ties with African states were between South Africa and the colonial powers. The independence of black African states thus presented a huge dilemma; that of maintaining bilateral ties with the African states via dealing directly with black diplomats. This is contextualized in the contradiction and confusion of receiving black diplomats in the country given the domestic policy of apartheid. In the third place, there was increasing fear by Verwoerd's government that diplomats from 'unfriendly' African states could act as agents for political change in

⁴⁰ Stultz; *The Politics of Security: South Africa under Verwoerd, 1961-6*. According to Mills and Baynham (1994:16), "Verwoerd's 'politics of security' restored white confidence in South Africa through the suppression of internal and a stress on economic growth".

South Africa. Pfister (2005) highlights that in 1959, the then foreign minister Eric Louw referred to Africa's goal for eradication of colonialism as a "disturbing and indeed alarming event". Moreover, South Africa's diplomatic ties with pre-independence Africa had mainly been through multilateral relations, embodied in participation in a number of inter territorial organizations for technical cooperation. Thus in accepting albeit grudgingly, the demise of colonialism, South Africa under Verwoerd had a new challenge to reconstitute and reorganize its attitude towards Africa. In March 1957, Louw held that South Africa must "accept its future role in Africa as a vocation and must in all respects play its full part as an African power" (Geldenhuys 1984, Barber and Barratt 1990).

South Africa therefore moved swiftly to apply a strategy of appeasement in an effort to mitigate its already troubling and increasing isolation from the international community. This strategy of appeasement involved giving technical assistance to African states through the country's cooperation with organizations such as the Inter-African Bureau of Soil Conservation and Land Utility (BIS), the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (CCTA), the Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara (CSA) and the Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa (FAMA). However, the domestic policy of apartheid presented complexities that made the establishment of partnerships based on impartial relations with African states difficult since it meant black African diplomats especially from the already independent African states would be exposed to the apartheid legislation applied to black South Africans in South Africa.

Nonetheless, South Africa held strong sentiments that "African states would come to realize that apartheid was no threat to them and all Africa could combine together against external interference" (Barber & Barratt 1990). South Africa's need to forge diplomatic ties with independent African states became more apparent when Ghana achieved her independence in 1957. Foreign Minister Louw stated that good relations with the new state were fundamental to the government's policy and Pretoria even sent a delegation to Ghana's independence celebrations. Nkrumah and Louw made informal agreements for exchange of diplomats and subsequently South Africa extended trade, economic and technical links to Ghana, which Ghana mutually accepted despite Nkrumah's abjuration of the apartheid policy (Geldenhuys 1984, Barber and Barratt 1990).

With the increasing desperation for South Africa to maintain ties with African states and the occasional presence of black African diplomats in conferences on technical cooperation, the Department of Foreign Affairs resorted to establishing diplomatic suburbs for black ambassadors outside Cape Town and Pretoria. This did very little to gain the favorable response of interest groups from the white population (Geldenhuis 1984, Barber and Barratt 1990, Pfister 2005). Barber and Barratt point to a “storm of protest from the United Party and unease among Nationalists because a Ghanaian attending international conference was given the same treatment as whites” (1990:39). The Verwoerd government thus resorted to appointing a roving ambassador- a white ambassador touring Africa’s capitals to avoid the posting of black ambassadors to South Africa (Mills 2000; Geldenhuis 1984).

Meanwhile South Africa’s foreign relations with African countries and the international community continued to take a dwindling turn, with Ghana increasingly expressing her hostility towards its domestic political arrangement which ultimately led to the demise of diplomatic relations between both countries. South Africa’s overwhelming and irrational underestimation of Africa’s disgust and hostility towards the apartheid regime came to light when at a second conference of independent African states held in June 1960 in Addis Ababa, members were urged to sever diplomatic ties with South Africa. Pfister (2005) points out that by 1963 South Africa’s continuous ostracism by African states was reinforced by its expulsion from CCTA, CSA, BIS, FAMA and the Organization of African Union (OAU). The increasing pressure from Africa subsequently led to South Africa’s further expulsion from the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) thus further limiting South African diplomatic representation on the continent to countries that were still under colonial rule: Angola, Mauritius, Mozambique and Rhodesia (Geldenhuis 1984).

Hence, despite South Africa’s emphasis on the promotion of technical cooperation with African states and her reliance on her competitive economic capability to provide aid as a significant channel for communication and establishment of formal ties with African states, it failed to maintain diplomatic ties with the newly independent African states. In summary, Stultz (1969:3) notes accurately that South Africa’s white minority rule was characterised by the ‘politics of security’ where Verwoerd’s

concern was very much that of having a domestic policy that reflected and correlated with its foreign policy ambition (Mills 2000). The style of leadership during this period represented a dramatic diversion from what was prevalent during the years preceding the creation of the Republic in 1961.

6.2.3 B.J. Vorster [1966-78] (*Outward looking policy*)

South Africa's Prime Minister B.J. Vorster who ruled the country between 1966 and 1978 was often described as a 'more relaxed and pragmatic' leader, and regarded as not necessarily anti-apartheid. His foreign policy sought to address South Africa's increasing seclusion from the international community and determination to salvage the country's global reputation and a focus on economically important overseas dealings, including those with African nations.

On the African continent, Vorster continued in the footsteps of Verwoerd by meeting with Lesotho's Prime Minister Joseph Leabua Jonathan in January 1967 where he emphasized the importance of Pretoria's assistance (Pfister 2005). He also provided Lesotho's government with "technical assistance and expertise and finance for development/investment projects to impress African countries further north" (Pfister 2005). Similarly, the DFA equally provided technical assistance, expertise and finance for development to projects to impress African countries further north on bilateral basis following South Africa's expulsion from most of the territorial organizations. Pfister (2005) points out that South Africa's development assistance was done through private and parastatal companies focusing on giving assistance in areas that were of particular interest to heads of states in an attempt to favorably alter their anti-apartheid stance. South Africa was thus forced to develop bilateral ties with countries such as Malawi and Madagascar in 1967. Given Malawi's strong dependence on South Africa for trade, investment and employment for migrant workers, and President Hastings Kamuzu Banda's conservative and western-oriented politico-ideological style, it became a target for South Africa's political maneuvers aimed at building African support. Vorster held a series of meetings with Banda both in South Africa and in Malawi resulting in the upgrade of the former's missions to embassies. The relationships of both countries were further strengthened by the participation of South African companies in the construction of a new capital in Lilongwe and also a railway link connecting Malawi to Mozambique seaport.

However, Banda equally utilized South Africa's need for 'friends in Africa' for his own political interests by, for example, bringing the center of political power close to his home terrain despite having secured Japanese funding for the construction of the railway line to Nacala. Banda stated to South African foreign minister Muller "anything you can do to assist us in this too I should naturally very greatly appreciate" once again capitalizing on South Africa preparedness to assist with the purpose of creating political inroads into Africa (Pfister 2005:42).

The term "outward looking" or "outward movement" has often been used to describe "South Africa's efforts at reconciliation especially with black Africa (Mills 2000) and "regained confidence in the political, economic and military spheres" with the hope to exploit its economic hegemony in the region (Pfister 2005; Mills 2000:230). Pfister (2005) identified four phases of the foreign policy leadership of Vorster; *Outward movement*, *Dialogue*, *Secret diplomacy* and *Détente*. We go on to examine Vorster's foreign policy at the regional and continental level in the context of these four phases identified above.

Outward movement

This foreign policy characterized as the 'outward movement' signified the significant stride of diplomatic and bilateral relations and inroads that South Africa attempted and was able to make into many important African countries during the leadership of Vorster. Mills (2000) however notes that much of this relationship was particularly directed at its Southern African neighbours and the Francophone countries aided with the assistance from France. Following South Africa's exclusion from the international community and from various international organizations, it consequently embarked on some activities and projects particularly through its agencies and institutions with a bid to offer all kinds of assistance on a bilateral level. Pretoria therefore attempted to maximize its political gain by wooing and choosing to establish bilateral relations particularly with neighboring countries that it perceived as needing its assistance. One of such countries was Malawi under the leadership of President Hastings Kamuzu Banda. This was in fact the first visit of a South African executive to an independent African state (Pfister 2005) which was regarded as an "historic breakthrough" (Barratt 1973:133-4; Guelke 1972:263).

It was argued that the reason for the establishment of this partnership was due in part to Malawi's proximity to South African borders, the leadership's conservative and western-oriented politico-ideological style coupled with its economic dependence on the latter (Christiansen and Kydd 1983). In attending Malawi's Independence Day celebration in July 1966, an official of the South African apartheid government was able to kick start bilateral discussions at both economic and military levels. It was indeed this initial visit which was followed by subsequent trade missions to Malawi that made it possible for an established reciprocal relationship to exist between both countries during this period. There was in-fact more than a decade of official delegation visits consisting of government officials negotiating for trade, finance, commerce, industry and development (Cockram 1970:134; Geldenhuys 1984:14; Pfister 2005:40).

The South African government was able to undertake two major development/investment projects in Malawi that are worthy of mention. First, was its decision to singlehandedly build from scratch a new capital for Malawi located in Lilongwe (Pfister 2005); a project which a DFA report of 1979 regarded as a "prestige project" (Hoare 1967). This was after the Banda administration/government approached the South African government having failed to secure the required capital to finance the project from Britain. South Africa was therefore too willing to provide the necessary assistance in order to secure political benefit. Secondly, the decision to construct a 700km railway line to Nacala was also taken up by South Africa in order to deepen Malawi's dependence on South Africa. The Lilongwe Capital Project as it is called was awarded primarily to South African business entities like the IDC which acted as the financier and the Credit Guarantee which was the insurer (Pfister 2005:42). These two developments and investment projects were able to put into motion South Africa's political ambition particularly within the Southern African region. This foreign policy decision was based on the realization that Malawi presented huge potential to South Africa for the maximization of not only economic gain but the extension of political benefits for the country. It was also perceived that the Malawi market was some sort of economic conduit to tap into the enormous

market that the Southern African region presents to South African export businesses⁴¹ (Sindima 2002:177).

Again, in Madagascar, Vorster continued with the Outward Movement policy. Since its independence from France in 1960, President Philibert Tsiranana was quick to throw an invitation to the South African mission for assistance in the survey and subsequent exploitation of the country's natural and mineral resources like chrome, graphite, bauxite and the deposit of gold scattered around the country. Like in the case of Malawi, the South African government was able to quickly realize the economic and political advantage in this invitation particularly in affording it the opportunity of making inroads into the African continent in general and the Southern African sub-region in particular. Consequently, approval was made by the DFA for the deployment of a mission consisting of representatives from the IDC, state owned Southern Oil Exploration Corporation (Soekor), General Mining and Finance Corporation and the Chamber of Mines (Reuvid 1995:232-5; O'Meara 1983 Pfister 2005:44). Subsequently, a series of foreign missions were undertaken between 1967 and 1972 by South Africa to Madagascar with representatives from Department of Tourism, Commerce and Industries together with other investment and mining companies. Among the initiatives presented by the South African government was the intention for the development of the Nosy Be in the Northern tip of Madagascar and The Narinda Bay along with the upgrade of the tourist infrastructure which was duly supported by Tsiranana.

It is important to examine the implication of South Africa's foreign policy of Outward Movement during this period. In the first analysis, and as acknowledged by Pfister (2005), "given Malawi's economic dependence on South Africa and its little significance in continental matters", South Africa's Outward Movement policy was only able to produce minimal success if any which included the establishment of a diplomatic mission in Malawi. As corroborated by Mills and Baynham's (1994:16) argument that "the outward movement achieved very little progress towards formalising relations with either black Africa, or the newly independent states in the region". Again, on the international scale, South Africa romance with Malawi had a measure of impact on Africa's anti-apartheid stance particularly at the United Nations

⁴¹ See Report of the 1968 Business and Godwill Mission to Malawi. 1968.

General Assembly (UNGA). On one occasion, Malawi abstained during voting on the Lusaka Manifesto in April 1969 and the OAU in September of the same year. The Lusaka Manifesto was a document adopted by 13 African countries in Lusaka, Zambia during the fifth Summit of Eastern and Central African States.

Dialogue

In addressing the issue of apartheid particularly by many countries in Africa, there was the confusion of whether to accept or reject the domestic conditions that the apartheid system represented in line with the principle of non-interference. And as Pfister (2005:57) rightly notes “the counting game of which African countries were pro- and anti- Dialogue was a tricky issue, with speculation abounding in the South African media and the contemporary literature”. At its 1971 meeting, the OAU sought to clarify the issue regarding dialogue with South Africa by rejecting the possibility of dialogue but rather demanding that such dialogue should first take place between the South African government and all of its people both minority and majority. It is instructive to note that at the Summit’s meeting of Heads States and Governments in Addis Ababa, out of the 39 members present, six voted in favor of dialogue with South Africa. This included Gabon, the Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi and Mauritius ((Barratt 1971:6-7; Pfister 2005:58). This decision fundamentally accounts for South Africa’s eventual exclusion and the refusal for the establishment of instruments of dialogue and negotiation with the rest of Africa until certain terms and conditions were met.

In engaging with the rest of Africa, South Africa’s military was regarded as the primary actor in facilitating this process and initiative. South Africa sought to play a dominant role in continental affairs even though it possessed limited capability for that purpose at the time. It therefore sought to establish dialogue with many of the newly independent African countries on a bilateral scale using its various institutions such as the DFA and the South African military. For instance, a close bilateral relationship existed between South Africa and France for many reasons. At the time, despite the end of colonialism, France was able to establish strong political, economic, military as well as cultural interdependent linkages with its former African colonies like Ivory Coast, Gabon, and the Central African Republic. Pfister (2005:48) notes that for France, “the wielding of power in Francophone Africa was central to its ambition of playing an important role in world politics...”

On the other hand, South Africa was able to invoke some influence on the foreign relations of France with African states suggesting some kind of Paris-Pretoria alliance particularly in Francophone Africa from the late 1960s. South Africa was able to establish some form of cooperative engagement with France in Africa. This collaboration therefore afforded South Africa the opportunity to receive military supplies from France which were necessary for it to play a major role within the continent. According to Cuddumbey (1996), France emerged as a primary armament supplier to South Africa until the mid-1970s (See Pfister 2005). In accounting for the importance of these supplies from France, P.W. Botha noted that:

All these helicopters and the aircraft, coming from France, at a time in our history when we were totally isolated; you must not forget the impact of that; it is tremendous. If you are alone on the ocean, and your boat is about to sink, then another ship goes along; that is quite something” (cited in Pfister 2005).

In return for military armament, South Africa was able to provide France with uranium while also making use of its land space for a space tracking station which was sited close to Pretoria. In all, South Africa was able to project its power influence in Africa through the instrumentality of a combination and permutation of its economic and military capacities with the latter made possible by the strategic collaboration of France. We go on to show some of these cases.

Pfister (2005) notes that Chad presented the first instance of Franco-South-Africa cooperation in Africa. At a meeting between the Director of Military Intelligence, Brigadier Pierre Retief and President Tombalbaye in October 1965, Retief’s proposal of geological assistance to explore Chad’s mineral resources was considered. Consequently, there was the offer and acceptance of “two Land Rovers, a rock cutting machine, a diamond driller and the deployment of further geologists” by Chad’s Tombalbaye (See Pfister 2005).

Again, South Africa sought to play an important role in Nigeria during the Civil War⁴² that almost tore the country apart. The recognition of Biafra as a sovereign state by Gabon, Ivory Coast, Tanzania and Zambia contrary to OAU’s position of safeguarding the territorial integrity of member states gave South Africa this leeway

⁴² The Nigerian Civil War lasted from 1967 to 1970.

of playing a significant role in the crisis (Pfister 2005:52). With Nigeria gaining the support of Soviet Union following the reluctance of Great Britain and the anti-communist resistance of Presidents Houphouet-Boigny and Bongo of Ivory Coast and Gabon respectively, there was the perception that the Soviet support of the Nigerian government would perhaps pave way for the infiltration of Africa with communist ideologies. Both leaders were therefore able to collaborate with South Africa in countering Soviet's support for the Nigerian Army. South Africa's military in collaboration with Ivory Coast and Gabon offered military assistance to Biafra. It is reported that P.W. Botha offered \$1.4 million to the Ivory Coast while also providing "more or less 200 tons of unspecified weapons of ammunition" (Pfister 2005:53). This military support continued until October 1969 following Biafra's dwindled chance of winning the civil war.

In 1969, at the peak of the Nigerian civil war, a diplomatic relationship between Ivory Coast and South Africa was established at the instance of President Houphouet-Boigny advocating dialogue with Pretoria. It was significant to note that apartheid as South Africa's domestic problem could not only be addressed by the deployment of force but more importantly by opening up the space for more platforms for dialogue with the South African government. Also, Idi Amin of Uganda sought to establish contact with Pretoria within months of his assumption of power in 1971 following his ousting of President Milton Obote in a successful coup with proposals from the former for a visit of a ten man delegation to South Africa with the mandate "to study conditions prevailing in South Africa and to make a report to me [*Idi Amin*] which will also be submitted to the Organization of Africa Unity" (See Pfister 2005:57). However, as Pfister explained, this request was turned down by Vorster fundamentally because it was perceived to interfere in its internal affairs and would therefore be unacceptable.

As a result of the aftermath of the civil war in Nigeria, Pfister (2005) highlights that South Africa was also able to establish bilateral dialogue with Ghana in the West African sub-region.

Secret Diplomacy

In working together to shape foreign policy strategy of South Africa during this period, the DFA and the SADF played complementary roles in tandem with the

Department of Information and the Bureau for State Security (BOSS). Each of these four institutions attempted to play divergent and individual roles in the conduct of South Africa's foreign policy at the time. In this case, the Department of Information sought to break free from the poor result of the DFA's conventional diplomacy by engaging in "unconventional and unorthodox diplomacy" in bringing about dialogue (Pfister 2005:68). For instance, the Department of Information influenced South Africa's foreign policy in Africa by focusing on establishing dialogue and external relations with Ivory Coast and Senegal which at the time held high political influences in the political configuration in Africa. On the assumption that continental approval would be safeguarded by gaining the support of both countries, the Department of Information sought to use its current affairs magazine *To the Point* (established in 1971) to establish contact.

Détente

In the context of South Africa's usage of détente⁴³, the policy was intended to highlight the conviction of South Africa about the imperative of what must be done to improve the country's foreign relations with Africa. In other words, it was important for South Africa to "settle the situation in Rhodesia and South-West Africa (S.W.A)/Namibia if the strained relation with Africa is to be restored. Pfister (2005) suggests that the confidential access of BOSS to Vorster and its cooperation with Washington's CIA (which clearly supported the apartheid regime) proved critical in inspiring détente. This policy also received significant support from the Afrikaner community particularly the *Broederbond*. To this regard, Vorster showed willingness to sacrifice Rhodesia in pursuit of détente.

South Africa also attempted to draw Zaire into its détente agenda in 1975, during the Angolan war, with Mobutu's support for the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and in opposition of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). South Africa was approached by Mobutu⁴⁴ for military and intelligence support which Zaire benefited from. There were unconfirmed reports that South Africa had undertaken the training of Zairian troops to establish special units

⁴³ The policy of détente was borrowed from the Cold War period referring to United States' policy of seeking cooperation first with Moscow and later with Beijing in order to restore diplomatic relations.

⁴⁴ Mr. Mobutu was the first black African head of state to visit South Africa since Malawian President Hastings Banda's visit in 1971 (Brooke 1988).

intended to harass the political opponents of Mobutu (The Library of Congress Country Studies 2004). Fifteen South African military instructors were reportedly sighted at the Shaba military base near Kitona. Prior to this period, diplomatic relations between both countries were limited to mutual trade relations.

6.2.4 P.W. Botha, (1978-89) (*Destabilization/total national strategy*)

For the eleven years during which Botha was in office as Prime Minister (1978-89), the tenure was largely characterized by heavy reliance on the military as a foreign policy option in countering the total onslaught of continental opposition against it. This was a reflection and continuation of Botha's former position as Minister of Defence (since 1966). Botha drew much of his popularity from his largely "dramatic, forceful political style" (Geldenhuys 1984:36). A major emphasis that typified the Botha administration at the time was the "heavy emphasis on security" often provided by the military. This was in resistance to the "total onslaught on the country". The regime was therefore noted for its "total national strategy"⁴⁵. According to Geldenhuys (1984:38), "The total national strategy involves the mobilization of South Africa's total physical and human resources in a national endeavour to thwart the onslaught".

Botha was concerned with protecting South Africa's security position in the face of increasing instability particularly in the Southern African region. His idea of a Constellation of Southern African States (CONSAS) was therefore an intention to place more emphasis on its relations at the regional level with the rest of the Southern African region (See Breytenbach 1977, 1980:81; Geldenhuys and Venter 1979 and *Rand Daily Mail* 23/11/1979). According to him "The concept 'constellation of states' does not primarily denote a formal organisation, but rather a grouping of states with common interests and developing mutual relationships and between which a clear desire to extend areas of cooperation exists" (DFA; 1979, See Geldenhuys; 1981). These included acts of aggression designed to promote South Africa's intention to create a framework where regional countries would be economically, politically and militarily dependent or reliant on Pretoria. The promotion of foreign policy ties with

⁴⁵ A term largely employed to refer to the huge reliance on the military as a strategic element of South Africa's foreign policy practice during this period and also the policy adopted in addressing the total onslaught strategy of its opposition. For more readings, see Pfister (2005), Mlan (1980), Selfe (1987), and Hanlon (1986).

the other countries within this region therefore became a focal point for the Botha administration.

It is equally important to highlight that the external environment under which the Botha administration operated was one that was characterized by the sharp Cold War pressure between Capitalist West and Communist East. South Africa at this time was faced with the challenge of quelling the insurgence of communism particularly into Africa and of course the Southern African sub-region. Botha was therefore able to draw sympathy from the West in its opposition of the communist incursion into Southern Africa. As McCarthy (1996:65) mentioned, Pretoria offered to play the role “as the Southern African bulwark against communist aggression and on the side of the West in a ‘war of proxy’, between the United States and the former USSR [Union of Soviet Socialist Republics]”.

South Africa’s diplomatic incursion into the rest of Africa guided largely by its military is summarized according to Pfister (2005:106) into three fundamental fields: securing access to the western Indian Ocean islands, sales of military hardware and finally relations further north with Gabon’s President Bongo in exploiting opportunities in Chad and Equatorial Guinea. Technical assistance was provided by the DFA to the Comoros Island as far back as the early 1970s.

In its bid to counter the voluntary arms embargo imposed upon it by the UNSC, the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (Armscor) was set up primarily as a military and security alternative for South Africa to “develop ever more advanced weapons” (Pfister 2005:114). Armscor instituted primarily as a reaction to the international sanctions by the United Nations against South Africa that began in 1963 and formalized in 1967 was therefore able to initiate the exportation of arms and ammunition to such countries like Sudan and Somalia (Knight 2006:11-26; Pfister 2005:114). Somalia under President Said Barre made a request for military support from South Africa with the latter eventually ‘approving’ it.

Pfister (2005) provided an excellent background to the Cold War crisis in which Somalia was inevitably drawn in the middle as a result of its support for the USSR, its invasion of the Ogaden region and, consequently, a switch of support by USSR to Ethiopia all leading ultimately to Somalia’s alliance first with the United States and

later with South Africa. South Africa's confrontation against the communist regime provided a platform for this alliance with Somalia with the leadership of both countries considering themselves as having the same aggressors. Pfister (2005:115) explained that initially, as part of South Africa's Armscor bid to break through the Middle East markets; its interest in Somalia provided this springboard with its eventual extension of \$250,000 worth of humanitarian aid and another \$270,000 for the delivery of light weapons and ammunition to Somalia made in December 1983. Further talks for economic and military collaborations eventually collapsed with both countries failing to come to an agreement over repayment plan.

Just as in the case of Somalia, South Africa's foreign relations with Sudan again centered on securing arms, trade alliance and the establishment of overflying and landing rights in Sudan for South African Airways (SAA) through the initial provision of ammunition and humanitarian aid benefits to the latter. In the same manner, the DFA made available \$245,000 to Sudan to "combat the drought and promote the airline's cause" with no commensurate commitment on the part of Sudan's President Nimeiri as subsequent discussions was cut short following the overthrow of his government (Pfister 2005:118, DFA Vol 4).

Botha further consolidated on cooperation arrangements earlier established with Gabon under President Bongo by the previous government in bringing about further diplomatic relations with countries such as Chad, Equatorial Guinea etc. Particularly in this regard, both countries (Gabon and South Africa), cashed in on the political turmoil Chad was experiencing at the time following the overthrow and assassination of President Tombalbaye in a bloody military coup in 1975 resulting subsequently into a power struggle between two opposing forces. On the instance of Bongo's request for South Africa's intervention into the crisis in Chad, the DFA initially supplied medical equipment to Chad accompanied also by the provision of military supplies in 1982 (Pfister 2005:120). Similarly, Bongo made a second request for the involvement of Pretoria in establishing military presence in Equatorial Guinea. As Pfister recorded, this became possible following an initial visit of a South African delegation to Equatorial Guinea in 1983. In September 1989, President P.W. Botha was forced to step down after suffering a severe stroke that ultimately paved way for his successor F.W. de Klerk to assume office as state President.

6.2.5 F.W. de Klerk [1989-1994] (*Era of reformation*)

De Klerk on assumption of office considered important the imperative to mend the already broken fences of South Africa's relations with the rest of Africa and of course contemplated ways to ameliorate imposed sanctions on the country by the rest of the world. On his inaugural speech after assuming leadership of the party, de Klerk made an unprecedented call for a non-racist South Africa and for renewed re-negotiations on the future of the country. To demonstrate his seriousness, he went on to lift the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and instructed the release of Nelson Mandela. In essence, it was under President de Klerk and at his instance that the walls of apartheid rule crumbled like a pack of cards. According to Pfister (2005:125), de Klerk's foreign policy was largely "aimed at ending South Africa's international isolation, making overseas visits to explain the reform initiatives so that sanctions would be lifted". According to Pfister (2005:130), the major consideration of de Klerk's foreign policy posture was the task of rallying round for the support of the Organisation of African Unity by advancing trade and other economic exchange. It was hoped that this would translate into political dividends for the country. As such, South Africa was able to establish trade and economic agreements while also discussing issues of political reform with neighboring Southern African countries of Malawi (1990) and Madagascar (1991), along with reciprocal bilateral relations with other African countries like Ivory Coast (1990), Democratic Republic of Congo (1991), Gabon (1991), Togo (1990), Sao-Tome and Principe (1991), Kenya (1990), Sudan (1991), Cameroon (1991), Uganda (1990) and finally, Nigeria (1990). His foreign trips to Moscow, Paris, London, Washington and even China were equally directed at gathering enough support for its quest for readmission as recognized member of the international community.

Pfister (2005:139) argues that "economic lever was very important in Pretoria's endeavour to promote contact with African states beyond the region" as according to him "this was relevant in the wider context of strengthening the bargaining position in the domestic negotiations, particular attention being paid to the OAU Chairs Uganda and Nigeria". In other words, de Klerk's central foreign policy objective was no doubt the task of returning and reviving its membership of the international communities and international organizations at all levels. In achieving this, it therefore concerned itself with establishing stronger political ties with the rest of

Africa using the advantage that its relative economic advantage presented. For instance, trade agreements were signed with Malawi in June 1990 following a visit by the Malawian government officials, air transport agreement with Madagascar in 1991, and bilateral relations with Ivory Coast in 1990. Landing rights for SAA along with tourist and agricultural opportunities were also discussed with Sao Tome and Principe in 1991 (Pfister 2005:130-131). To this end, as shown in table 6.1, several foreign trips were made by both the President and also the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Pik Botha) from 1989 until 1994 when he finally handed over power to a democratically elected government under Nelson Mandela. South Africa therefore sought to regain membership of the international organizations that it had hitherto been suspended from.

Table 6.1: De Klerk's foreign visits abroad (1989-1992)

Date and Year of Departure	Countries Visited
1989	
June 21-26	West Germany, Britain
August 25, 28	Zaire, Zambia
October 1	Britain,
December 1-2, 15	Cote d'Ivoire, Mozambique
1990	
May 8-25	Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Great Britain, West Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Greece, France.
August 14	Madagascar
September 24	United States
October 11	Portugal, Great Britain
October 21-25	Luxemburg, Netherlands, Senegal, Morocco,
1991	
April 22, 24	Great Britain, Denmark,
June 8	Kenya
November 9	Israel, Taiwan
1992	
January 30	Switzerland
February 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7	Ireland, Netherland, France, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland
April 9	Nigeria
May 12,	Japan
May 31-June 7	Russia, Japan, Singapore
June 22-24	Spain
July 18	Mozambique
November 14	United Kingdom
1993	
December 10	Norway

Source: Author's compilation. See Schoeman and Schoeman 1993; Pfister 2005:129.

In retrospect, it was clear that South Africa under de Klerk succeeded in restoring the former's position as a player and actor in the international community having gathered enough recognition particularly with the five permanent members of the UNSC (See Pfister 2005). De Klerk was able to turn around the extreme isolation of the country from a pariah state that it was towards a path of recognition as a member of the international system where it could freely conduct foreign relations and establish open diplomatic relations with Africa and the rest of the world (Mills 1997). South Africa's isolation from the international system for over four decades was eventually overturned with de Klerk's efforts to secure its readmission as a full-fledged member of the international community of nations.

In conclusion, foreign policy making and implementation in South Africa for the most part of the 1970s and 1980s was increasingly targeted at responding to South Africa's international isolation. This can be gleaned from the relentless efforts by successive Prime Ministers and presidents to bring the country into mainstream global politics. Again, this (much of the foreign policy efforts) was fundamentally about a government that was attempting to ensure national survival rather than influencing and shaping events in a manner that could be seen as demonstrating any form of hegemony.

6.3 South Africa's foreign policy towards Africa in the post-apartheid period

This section reviews South Africa's foreign policy in the period sequel to the end of apartheid (1994) which kicked off with the commencement of the democratic dispensation of Nelson Mandela (1994-99), and continued in the subsequent leaderships of Mbeki (1999-08), Motlanthe (2008-09) and Zuma (2009-to-date).

6.3.1 Nelson Mandela's idealist foreign policy (1994-1999)

In 1994, South Africa emerged from the shackles of over four decades of apartheid policies thus setting the tone for the eventual end of its international isolation from the international community. The end of apartheid and the beginning of a fresh democratic dispensation that considers all the races and people of South Africa no doubt set an all different tenor for the conduct of South Africa's external unilateral, bilateral and multilateral relations with Africa and ultimately the rest of the world. South Africa's Nelson Mandela on assumption of office was faced with the challenge

of readapting the country's foreign policy to the realities of the post-Cold War era (Schraeder 2001:231, Mandela 1993:86-97). In this regard, Alden and le Pere (2003:11) stresses that "on assumption of power following the election of April 1994, the ANC faced the formidable task of translating the gains of liberation diplomacy into a pragmatic and principles foreign policy". Barber (2005:1083) also remarks that, the general expectation from the international community was that South Africa would begin to assume its role of continental leadership by finding solutions to Africa's many problems of poverty, political instability while stirring economic growth and bringing order to the continent.

Given this, and President Mandela's emergence as South Africa's first democratically elected President in the post-apartheid era, the destiny to midwife this process of foreign policy transition was thus entrusted upon him. Prior to the assumption of office, Mandela in his renowned article titled "*South Africa's future foreign policy*" published in the Journal *Foreign Affairs* in 1993 had clearly spelt out the guiding principles or 'core concern' of the foreign policy conduct under an ANC led government (Mandela 1993, Barber 2005:1079). Among the issues that Mandela sought to promote were the pursuit of human rights ranging from economic, social, environmental as well as political rights, respect for democracy, international law, support for peace and disarmament and universality (Barber 2005:1079). More importantly, Mandela in recognizing the inevitability of the African region to its destiny clearly asserted that "South Africa cannot escape its African destiny. If we do not devote our energies to this continent, we too could fall victim to the forces that have brought ruin to its various parts" (Mandela 1993:89) Evident in this declaration was the careful realization and decision of Mandela to give primacy to Africa in his construction of his foreign policy while in office and the understanding that "South Africa could not flourish surrounded by a sea of poverty" (Barber 2005:1080).

It therefore did not come as a surprise when on assumption of office, Mandela devoted more attention towards consolidating the country's already tainted relationship with the rest of the continent even though much of the groundwork for this had already been done by his predecessor de Klerk who was at the time (Second) Deputy President along with Thabo Mbeki following the formation of the Government of National Unity formed at the end of the elections in 1994 (Barber

2005). South Africa during this period sought to improve political and economic ties with its African neighbors witnessed by substantial increase in its foreign direct investment into Africa since 1994.

Despite the leadership's apparent inexperience with governance and administration,⁴⁶ the Mandela administration was enthusiastic in showing to the whole world its interest in reintegrating itself back into many of international organizations like the Southern African Development Community (SADC), OAU, UN etc. that it had hitherto been banished from. It equally showed willingness to hosting and chairing a number of these international organizations including the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), World Trade Organisation (WTO), Non Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Commonwealth of Nations while also generous in hosting international sporting events like the rugby world cups in 1995⁴⁷.

President Mandela's international personality played a dominant role in the direction of South Africa's foreign policy posture and the pattern of its relations with the rest of the world during this period. As echoed earlier, this meant that the perception of the country and its foreign policy often reflected President Mandela's personality profile. Alden and le Pere (2003:16) remarked rightly that "Mandela's towering personality and international stature meant that he dominated every major foreign-policy decision, overshadowing the DFA, the cabinet and parliament. Mandela's international renown was such that 'it has meant South Africa's image (and its foreign policy) tends to be equated with the president's profile". By all means, Mandela's personality thus influenced the nature, direction and theoretical foundations of South Africa's foreign policy at the inception of the post-apartheid era.

President Mandela therefore settled for performing much of a conciliatory role in international affairs. This resolution was borne out of the conviction that South Africa had to secure a place for itself within the global environment by seeking to play a peace-keeping role as a major actor particularly within sub-regional and regional

⁴⁶ The ANC had overnight been transformed from a liberation movement to a political party in government in office and literally had to learn the rubric of governance both locally and international while in office.

⁴⁷ Particularly, the rugby world cup was reputed as the first major sporting event to be hosted by South Africa following the termination of apartheid and its re-admittance to international rugby in 1992.

politics in the Southern Africa and Africa respectively through ‘active and sustained mediation’ (Alden and le Pere 2003:8-9). Barber (2005:1083) highlights that the new South African government under Mandela devoted much of its attention on Africa even though this attention was largely met with pessimism and ‘suspicion’ from the rest of its Africa neighbors which according to him was due largely to the perceived status of the country to be potentially be a major power in Africa.

Having said this, an examination of some of the issues that emerged under the Mandela administration would perhaps be necessary at this point. Alden and le Pere (2003:21) presented the ‘the Nigerian folly’ as the most serious challenge for the new South Africa’s government’s foreign policy initiative. In a display of the inexperience of South Africa’s leadership in external affairs, it found itself drawn into the political crisis in Nigeria which started since 1993 and worsened in 1995 under General Sani Abacha’s regime leading to a diplomatic glitch between the two countries. The last straw that broke the camel’s back was the extrajudicial execution of Ogoni human rights activists following a protest over environmental degradation of Ogoni due to oil extraction (Tripathi 2005; Barber 2005; Alden and le Pere:2003:21; Adebajo *et al* 2007; 2008). Mandela’s position regarding the killing of the Ogoni nine⁴⁸ by General Abacha was that it violated the principles of human rights and he sought to persuade the international community to exercise diplomatic and economic sanctions against Nigeria.

At the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Auckland, New Zealand, Mandela led the call for the expulsion of Nigeria from the Commonwealth while also canvassing for the extension of oil embargo against the country (Alden and le Pere 2003:22). Though he (Mandela) succeeded in his call for expulsion, however, the boycott of Nigeria’s oil “produced nothing’ as it was not heeded by the West which continued to purchase Nigeria’s oil. Mandela’s unsuccessful attempt in galvanizing enough support from the international community against Nigeria

⁴⁸ The Ogoni Nine popularly refers to a group of nine activists from the Ogoni region of Nigeria, including and outspoken and renowned author and playwright Ken Saro-Wiwa, Saturday Dobe, Nordu Eawo, Daniel Gbooko, Paul Levera, Felix Nuate, Baribor Bera, Barinem Kiobel, and John Kpuine all of whom were found guilty after being tried by a military tribunal and discretionally executed by hanging in 1995 by the military dictatorship of General Sani Abacha.

effectively damaged his reputation and status with many African countries perceiving it as an agent of the West (Venter 1997:94).

Nevertheless, during his leadership, Mandela remained committed to promoting the principles of peaceful resolution of conflicts through persuasion and negotiation and this became evident particularly within the Southern African region. In his effort to foster sub-regional political stability, Mandela made his contribution to peacekeeping initiatives in bringing about political stability to the sub-region particularly with his intervention in the crisis in Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC]) and Lesotho in 1996 and 1998 respectively. For many reasons, Mandela's bold mediatory efforts in resolving the political impasse between President Mobutu Sese Seko and rebel leader Laurent Kabila yielded very little dividends, if any. As Barber (2005:1085) explained, Mandela's peace motives were outmaneuvered by other SADC members particularly Zimbabwe, Angola, and Namibia under the guise of acting within the framework of the SADC.

Similarly, South Africa's intervention stride in Lesotho was met with mixed reaction. In September 1998, its (South Africa) troops intervened to restore order and to a lingering political deadlock within the small landlocked state. The manner in which the intervention was carried out by the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) provoked local and international reaction against this uninvited interference in Lesotho's domestic affair. Firstly, the intervention in Lesotho did not receive the blessing of the SADC and so it was deemed as a case of South Africa singlehandedly choosing to assert its power in a helpless and defenseless state. Secondly, the intervention ran contrary to South Africa's foreign policy precedence and principle of belief for the peaceful resolution of conflict through negotiation and dialogue as against a resort to the use of force. Thirdly, clearly, the intervention was ill-timed as the SANDF acknowledged that it had responded to the call with "ill-trained and inappropriate forces" while it also noted that it was summoned without adequate preparation (Alden and le Pere 2003:21-22). Finally, as fallout of the above, the widespread atrocities committed by the South African soldiers and the deaths recorded left much to be desired about the intervention. In all, even though the Lesotho operation was with good intention, it ended up achieving its end at the expense of much criticism. In a related article, Matlosa (1999:6-10) argues that

underlying motive of South Africa's incursion into Lesotho was the imperative to protect its economic interest in securing the safety of Lesotho Highlands Water Project while also checking the possible influx of refugee through its borders.

As shown above, to a great extent therefore, Mandela's foreign policy in the post 1994 period was one that was canonized on the principles of human rights and democracy and driven largely by an idealist paradigm (Nathan 2005:364; Mandela 1993:87; Alden and le Pere 2003:8). According to Alden and le Pere (2003:8), "there was a logical symmetry between the ethical and normative constructs of its domestic policies and the idealist foundations of its idealist foreign policy". It was clear, however, that even though Mandela's foreign policy was rooted in an idealist principle, it nevertheless remained contradictory in its conduct and as Alden and le Pere (2003:19) asserts, "Rather than be guided by critical and principled perspectives, the inclination was to solve problems as they arose" thus producing in many cases a 'realist pragmatist' reaction in its external relations.

By implication, Mandela's foreign policy often times was immersed in controversies and largely inconsistent in the execution of its foreign policy during this period. In a summary of the foreign policy positions of Mandela, Alden and le Pere (2003:26) asserts that "a palpable tension remained between realism and idealism, between the country's perceived commercial, trade and political interests and its aspirational role as a moral crusader for human rights and democracy". Carved out for the incoming leadership was therefore the task of reconciling these foreign policy trajectories and contradictions that was the character its predecessor's leadership. In retrospect, Mandela's commitment to Africa was mere rhetorical manifested very minimal personal involvement in the continent. Very little evidence exists to show that Mandela indeed prioritized Africa over other regions. Outside of the mixed results achieved in Lesotho, hardly anywhere else was Mandela able to act successfully. This seems captured in his routine relegation of African summits (OAU) to the back burners while pursuing other interests. Mandela often made stops at airports for a few hours to meet with host leaders while on his way from other presumably more important meetings. It was infact Mbeki who carried the responsibility for pushing South Africa's African policy. Mandela's reputed charismatic personalirty was really

rarely employed in the service of Africa and when he attempted to do so, it was usually to lecture target leaders on human rights related issues.

6.3.2 South Africa's foreign policy towards Africa under Mbeki (1999-2008)

It is often said that President Thabo Mbeki emerged as the anointed successor to former President Mandela long before the elections in 1999. Analysts argue that Mbeki was at the time not ready to rule but had the presidency of the party and of the country handed to him on a silver platter as a way of pleasing his father who also, on the other hand conceded that his son was not ready to take up the mantle of leadership. His re-election for another term in 2004 did not also come as a surprise. Before then, Mbeki had been Deputy President under the previous administration and thus demonstrated a measure of depth and grasp of South Africa's policy formulation and implementation prior to his election as President. It goes without saying therefore that, like his predecessor Mbeki thus appeared in 1999 as an equally dominant figure in asserting considerable influence on the context and content of foreign policy formulation and implementation in South Africa particularly in its relations with the rest of the African continent. Mbeki equally wielded an overriding influence on the ANC and its structures thus making it less difficult for him to gain political control over policy choices. As mentioned previously, the incoming leadership of Mbeki was faced with the major challenge of aligning South Africa's foreign policy formulation with its implementation while also seeking ways to reinvigorate and reconfigure its foreign policy priorities to reflect the domestic dynamics and preferences.

In doing this, Mbeki sought to bring an ideological framework to South Africa's foreign policy making by bringing a sense of direction and purpose. Nathan (2005:363) identified three major ideological leanings that characterized Mbeki's foreign policy administration: *'democratic, Africanist; and anti-imperialist'* (cited in Barber 2005:1088). We examine the foreign policy thrusts and implementation of the Mbeki regime in two contexts of the Southern African sub-region and the African continent respectively.

In the Southern African sub-region, Mbeki emphasized in his foreign policy the restructuring of the SADC. No doubt, the emphasis on multilateral institutions such as the SADC was an important part of Mbeki's 'African Agenda' initiative since it afforded it the opportunity to redirect its policy and interest both at regional and

international levels. However, given South Africa's political-economic history and apartheid background with its Southern African neighbors (where much of the relationship between the apartheid state and its immediate neighbors was largely conditioned in aggression and contention), international institutional frameworks therefore provided a veritable sub-regional platform for South Africa to effectively allay the fears of its neighbors. And as Landsberg (nd), explained:

Given the destructive and ruffian-like role South Africa used to play in the region during the apartheid years, post-1994 policy has become sensitive to regional anxieties, and pursued the correct policy which is based "on the principles of equity and mutual benefit" a denunciation of domineering and bossy postures towards the region and the belief that an emphasis on partnership and fairness would more effectively realise foreign policy goals.

South Africa had hitherto played a key role in the eventual transformation of the South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) established in 1980 into the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992. Joining as a full member of the SADC in 1994, South Africa became pivotal, charting in a new development pathway for the SADC (Landsberg, 2006a:255). In the regional context of Southern Africa, Mbeki's post-apartheid foreign policy thus focused extensively on keeping the SADC united and working towards resolving the institutional crisis that plague the SADC.

Mbeki consequently sought means to reassure the rest of the Southern African sub-region of South Africa's non-hegemonic status but rather as a noble participant in developmental initiatives within the sub-region. He displayed his commitment to the promotion and integration of regional economic communities as a panacea and building blocks of strengthening the African Union, thus reinforcing the position of the Abuja Treaty of 1991⁴⁹ which South Africa signed in 1997 and ratified by Parliament in 2000 under the Mbeki administration. His administration focused on ensuring that the gains of promoting regional integration, democratization, peace and security, and exponential pace of economic growth ultimately translated into greater economic and social standards for its people. South Africa's regional strategies thus

⁴⁹ The initial members of the SADCC were Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

placed priority on strengthening governance and improving the institutional capacity of the SADC, and a commitment to regional economic integration in order to ensure that South Africa meets the SADC timeframes (Landsberg; n:d:8). South Africa was also convinced that the establishment of a common currency for the SADC was significant in its strides for economic development even though this has come with little success.

In examining Mbeki's foreign policy towards Africa, we start by emphasizing that like his predecessor, Africa continued to receive significant attention in South Africa's foreign policy construction during this period. Particularly, Mbeki was at the forefront of the African renaissance crusade and was one of the African leaders that sponsored the move for the transformation of the ineffective OAU while also proposing a supporting economic framework in the New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD). Mbeki's International Relations, Peace and Security (IRPS) Strategic Plan features four congruently linked themes to represent South Africa's foreign policy thrust during this period namely: *South Africa's domestic interest, African renaissance; promoting an agenda for the south, and developing an equitable global system* (Malcolmson 2001:12-13; Alden and le Pere 2003:31-32). While as Deputy President, Mbeki had first revisited the idea of an African Renaissance when he highlights at Parliament in 1996, South Africa's obligation to contribute to common continental efforts emphasizing the establishment of state democracies, respect for human rights, end to violent conflict, and a better life for all people of Africa (Lodge 1999:96; Youla 2009:52; Alden and le Pere 2003:60). On assumption of office in 1999, Mbeki thus revived his 'progressive' African Agenda⁵⁰ idea outlining the pivotal roles of South Africa towards the Africa and as the continent's mouthpiece (Schraeder 2001:233).

In relation to Africa, a major concern for Mbeki was the *reengineering of the OAU/African Union, promoting peace and security in Africa, by focus on cooperation by establishing strategic partnership and bi-lateral relations with selected African states* (Alden and le Pere 2003:32). We go on to review and examine Mbeki's foreign

⁵⁰ The progressive African Agenda is a term used to refer to a wide range of measures to make democratic political systems, peace and security, and accelerated economic growth the basis of development in Africa (Landsberg 2007:195).

policy efforts in these two areas in almost a decade that the Mbeki administration lasted.

i) Reengineering and Transforming the OAU

Mbeki using his enigmatic personality and capacity as ‘leader of a relatively powerful state’ remained a dominant actor in continental and regional issues in Africa and Southern Africa. Mbeki’s progressive African Agenda was inspired by the necessity for South Africa to dissuade and respond to the perception of its dominance of the continent by seeking ways for joint collaborative efforts by all states in Africa to collectively respond and find solutions to common problems plaguing the continent (Landsberg 2007:195-196). Recognizing the pivotal role that multilateral institutions could play in the political and economic transformation of the African continent, South Africa under Mbeki thus played an important role in the metamorphosis of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) into the rebranded African Union (AU) in 2002 by securing the “incorporation of key elements of his African Renaissance vision into the AU project” (Landsberg 2007:197). For instance, Mbeki made sure that his Millennium Africa Recovery Programme (MAP) proposal formed a major part of the AU’s Constitutive Act of 2000 while also ensuring that the launch of the new Union was done in South Africa. Eventually, the city of Durban (South Africa) hosted the last Summit and the final interment of the OAU in 2002 with South Africa’s President Mbeki becoming the first Chair of the AU in the same year (Landsberg 2007:198).

A fundamental principle of the AU that marks a remarkable departure from its predecessor (OAU) was the principle of ‘non-interference’ as against ‘non-intervention’. In retrospect, one of the foundational principles of the OAU was the non-intervention of states in the internal affairs of other states within the continent. However, with the inception of the AU, this principle has been recaptured to mean non-interference. Mbeki was at the forefront while also mobilizing other states like Algeria, Ghana, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania to support the cause to give African states the right to intervene in political crisis that may arise in Africa with a bid to arrest the situation before its further escalation into uncontrollable dimensions where states that are contiguous are affected. It is to Mbeki’s credit therefore that the AU Constitutive Act consequently guarantees the intervention of the AU on the basis of four criteria; *genocide, gross violations of human rights; instability in one country*

threatening broader regional instability; and unconstitutional changes of government. (Landsberg 2007:199).

ii) *Promoting peace and security in Africa*

In the quest for the promotion of peace, stability and security, Mbeki's foreign policy continued to emphasize a non-hegemonic posture, cordiality and mutual respect with other African countries. The government made huge investments within the continent in the area of conflict resolution and peace building efforts so as to win confidence of the rest of the continent. The Mbeki government thus prioritized the setting up of 'strategic partnerships' with African states with a view to inspiring collective peace, stability and development. Landsberg (nd:15) on this point, notes that "whereas the Mandela placed the emphasis on peacemaking and negotiating peace agreements, the Mbeki government placed as much an emphasis on peacekeeping as it did on peacemaking". For instance, in 2003, Mbeki contributed troops (1,600 in number) to the crisis in Burundi costing a total of R783 million in one year and over 1000 soldiers to the DRC while also spending R1.4 billion on peace support operations in both Burundi and the DRC (Landsberg 2006:263).

Among the security imperatives that Mbeki emphasized included challenges of peacekeeping and peacemaking interventions, conflict resolution and prevention, early warning signs, human security, the promotion of good governance, human rights, democracy and political accountability (Landsberg 1998:258; The Presidency 2003:57-72). South Africa therefore played a critical role in bringing about peaceful settlement of the disputes in Angola, Burundi, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, the DRC, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Sudan and Zimbabwe.

In essence, in recognizing and addressing South Africa's regional and geo-strategic goals, Mbeki promoted the idea of 'quiet diplomacy' as a means of diplomatic strategy in advancing South Africa's position to the resolution of conflicts as in the case of Nigeria and Zimbabwe under Sani Abacha and Mugabe respectively. According to Landsberg (2006:259) "quiet diplomacy involves engaging the belligerents intense political situations behind the scene and moving them toward negotiated settlements". During this period, South Africa continued to show its willingness to constructively engage with the rest of Africa on a number of

multilateral issues including economic, human rights, economic, peacekeeping and global security, etc. in the pursuit of diplomatic solutions. To a large extent therefore, South Africa's foreign policy preference at this time was for conflict to be resolved not by confrontation or antagonistic positions but for adversaries to take advantage of instruments of negotiations, persuasion and mediation. While the quiet diplomacy engagement was not particularly successful in all cases, it nevertheless proved useful in the resolution of some other conflicts in Zimbabwe, DRC, Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, Gabon, Namibia, Rwanda and generally in the Great Lakes region.

One analyst remarked that former President Mbeki ran South Africa's foreign policy like his personal fiefdom making it increasingly difficult to distinguish the country's strategic priorities from the president's personal ideological idiosyncrasies (Mangcu 2009). The tension within the ANC ultimately led to the resignation of Thabo Mbeki in September, 2008 six month prior to the end of his term as President⁵¹. Of course, since it was certain that President Zuma would assume office in the following year, Motlanthe foreign policy was no less than a continuation of Mbeki's foreign policy.

6.4 Foreign policy under Jacob Zuma (2009-to-2012)

On the assumption of office in May, 2009, there was the general expectation that President Jacob Zuma's foreign policy would be remarkably different in style and represent a unique change in substance in its interactions with the rest of the world. The change of name from the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) into the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) was seen by analysts as one clear indication of the government's resolve to pursue a distinct foreign policy that reflects South Africa's domestic priorities. The newly appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane articulated the rationale behind the change of name by stating the government's intention to "reflect the new focus that our government wishes to place on partnerships and co-operation for development". According to her, the idea was "largely motivated by international trends which require states to put emphasis on co-operation over competition, and collaboration over confrontation" (Nkoana-Mashabane 2009a; see Landsberg 2012:77). Landsberg (2012:77) contends that "[t]he idea behind this was to signal the

⁵¹ Mbeki resigned as President following the decision of the ruling party's (ANC) National Executive Council to recall him.

Zuma government's intention to introduce a new style and approach to the conduct of foreign affairs". In essence, the name change of the Department was intended to bring foreign policy in sync with domestic priorities by bringing the works of the Department to the awareness, engagement and support of the South African people on matters of foreign policy (Nkoana-Mashabane, 2009b).

But as Landsberg argues, "[t]he fight between Zuma and Mbeki within the ANC was a fight largely about style and personality, not one over policy, and since Zuma's emergence as president there has, at least on paper, been more continuity than change in South Africa's foreign policy" (Landsberg 2012:72). Drawing from the speeches and policy documents of President Zuma and his minister (Maite Nkoana-Mashabane), a clear signature of South Africa's foreign policy under Zuma is the imperative to advance the domestic priorities of economic growth and development (State of the Nation 2009; DIRCO 2009; Landsberg 2010). In essence, the administration's emphasis would be on reconnecting its national interest with her relation with Africa and the rest of the world. In examining Zuma foreign policy towards Africa, discussion would revolve around South Africa's involvement, role and contribution at the two streams of Southern Africa and Africa during this period respectively.

We shall attempt to unpack the foreign policy priorities under the Zuma administration in the past four years under the broader foreign policy goals which include:

- closing the gap between domestic and foreign policy, or the national interests;
- promoting Southern African Development Community (SADC) integration;
- prioritizing the African continent through "African advancement";
- strengthening of South-South relations;
- improving strategic relations with the North;
- strengthening political and economic relations; and
- participating in the global system of governance.

The second and third foreign policy pillars highlight the specific focus on Southern African and African relations and forms the concern of this study. As expected, Africa continued to take priority in South Africa's foreign policy focus under Zuma through his "African Advancement" policy which was very similar to Mbeki's "African

Agenda” (DIRCO 2009). As articulated by the Minister, “the consolidation of the African Agenda remains central to our foreign policy objectives” and that the new government “will continue to work towards achieving a vision of Africa which is united, peaceful and prosperous” (Nkoana-Mashabane, 2009c; see Landsberg 2012:81) suggesting the government’s readiness to take further the initiative of foreign policy strategies in relation to Africa. According to Landsberg (2010:279), “[r]elations with Africa constitute a permanent interest for the Republic, and the advantages to the Republic of pursuing close relations with continental partners, and vice versa, are many”.

Outlining South Africa’s special responsibility towards the AU, Zuma’s Government pledged its support and continued contribution towards the organs of the AU and all of its associated frameworks like the African Central Bank, the African Monetary Fund, the African Investment Bank, the African Court of Justice, the African Court of Human and People’s Rights, NEPAD and APRM⁵² as well as the Pan-African Parliament of which it is host (Nkoana-Mashabane 2009c).

South Africa has also contributed its voice to the grand debate about the debate regarding an African government with its preference for a gradual and incremental approach towards a government of the African Union premised on the understanding that the African Union is a union of independent and sovereign states and actions of its members are contingent on the mandate of member states (see Landsberg 2010:280). South Africa therefore supported the proposal for a Union of African States contrary to late Gadhafi’s United State of Africa (USAf).

A major achievement of the Zuma government is in the establishment of the South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA) which was similar in policy to Mbeki’s African Renaissance and International Co-operation Fund. The Fund aims to promote developmental partnerships by coordinating and integrating the several government departments of socio-economic, human resource development into one practical unit and bring order to a previously chaotic process of state intervention (Nkoana-Mashabane 2009c).

⁵² Landsberg (2012) reveals that Zuma’s support for NEPAD and the APRM was muted at the early stage of the Zuma leadership.

In the area of conflict resolution within the continent, South Africa has expectedly continued its foray into Africa in what some termed an extension of its 'soft power' (Nieuwkerk 2009). Zuma showed a preference for non-confrontational and accommodative, mediated solutions to conflict and deadly wars in Africa through its contribution to the promotion of peace, security and stability and sustained involvement in peacekeeping operations in Africa.

In the area of human rights record, it was also anticipated that President's Zuma's administration would move away from the experiences of his predecessors. For instance, while former President Mbeki was opposed to the indictment of President Bashir of Sudan by the International Criminal Court (ICC), Zuma's regime took a contrary position at the initial stage by insisting that the wanted President would be taken into custody by the South African government and handed over if he stepped foot in the country. This was despite the fact that he was invited for Zuma's presidential inauguration in 2009 (Thipanyane 2011). This decision brought the country at logger head with the African Union with the latter's refusal to cooperate with the ICC in arresting Bashir.

South Africa under Zuma has also committed itself to improving political and economic integration within the Southern African region through the SADC. In Zimbabwe for instance, Mills (2011:3) acknowledges that there have been some positive results from the GPA evident in the Zuma era. On the flip side, Mashiri (2011a) argues that there was a general loss of hope by Zimbabweans in President Zuma's mediation efforts evidenced in his rather secretive facilitation style, a lackadaisical approach, probably an apparent conflict of interest, taking sides. Mashiri's sentiments seem to resemble resentment and doubt over Zuma's capabilities as mediator.

In a bid to mend the broken fences between South Africa and Angola, President Zuma's choice of Angola for his first state visit in August 2009⁵³ was intended to demonstrate its determination to restore solidarity with Angola, a country with whom relations had been severely strained during the Mbeki years (Landsberg 2013).

⁵³ Zuma was accompanied by 11 Cabinet ministers, senior government officials, and the largest business delegation to accompany a head of state on a state visit since 1994 (Landsberg 2013:84).

6.5 Conclusion: Comparative analysis of South Africa's foreign policy in the apartheid and post-apartheid dispensations

This chapter assessed South Africa's foreign policy strategy both in the apartheid era (1961-1994) and the period sequel to the end of apartheid [post-apartheid] (1994-to-date) with particular emphasis on Africa. The task was to present an overview of South Africa's foreign policy towards Africa since 1961 when the Nationalist Party came into office. A number of conclusions can be drawn from the critical assessment of South Africa's foreign during this period.

To begin with, South Africa's foreign policy priorities, formulation and implementation during both periods under review were aimed at achieving very contrasting agendas. While in the apartheid period, much of South Africa's foreign policy was focused on containing international opposition, condemnation and sanctions of its domestic apartheid policies post-apartheid era, whereas, Southern Africa and Africa formed key components of South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy. Apartheid extinguished every positive role South Africa could possibly have played in Africa particularly at the time when different regimes under apartheid resorted to finding ways to destabilize the region. According to Brook (2013:1), "[b]y the end of the 1980s, South Africa was one of the most isolated states on earth".

Under apartheid, South Africa's predominance in the Southern African region remained unquestioned. Prime Minister and State President P.W. Botha (1978-89), pursued a policy of dominance and coercive hegemony while equally establishing relations with a few African countries outside the region. Prime Minister B.J. Vorster's (1966-78) policies of *dialogue* and *détente* intended to break dismantle South Africa's international isolation in Africa and internationally proved unsuccessful.

In contrast to previous regimes, South Africa's foreign policy took a new turn following the end of apartheid and the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as president in 1994. The expiration of apartheid afforded South Africa the opportunity to establish normal relations with the international community and in many ways reshaped South Africa's foreign policy behavior towards the rest of the continent. It was therefore possible for Pretoria to establish relations with African states on 'equal terms'. The democratic elections of 1994 changed South African politics remarkably and also

initiated drastic changes in the area of foreign policy making institutions, structure and policies. South Africa's re-emergence into the international space was therefore anticipated to bring back its confidence as a respected 'world citizen'. This in turn brought huge expectations from Africa and the rest of the world that South Africa would begin to make significant contributions towards ensuring peace, democracy, respect for human rights and sustained development on the continent.

Finally, cemented with the end of the Cold-War and the abolishment of apartheid, Pretoria was now able to replace its confrontational African foreign policy with one, emphasizing cooperation. It was expected that in a spirit of African solidarity, a new democratic South Africa would cooperate with the rest of the continent to move Africa towards development. Mandela's foreign policy set the tone for South Africa's foreign policy engagement in the post-apartheid era and is best remembered for its principle of human rights. In principle, the issue of human rights was to be central to the conduct of South Africa's foreign relations. Mandela's charismatic personality inspired a fresh outlook and launch pad for a new and vibrant South African foreign policy.

In the post-1994 era, South Africa had been faced with the problem of reintegrating the country back into the international community of nations as a recognized member following years of international isolationism. Another point is that much of the foreign policy priority of South Africa during this period had prioritized the promotion of respect for human rights, peace and security, and economic development on the African continent. 'Madiba' clarified that South Africa would engage the world with a principled, highly moral foreign policy. However, in the past couple of years; the country has found itself caught between the rock and the hard place. As shown above, foreign policy has been marked by contradiction and dialectical confusion between normative policy principles and implementation. Much of the dilemma it had been confronted with had been finding the balance between policy and principle. South Africa's value for the promotion of human rights has brought its foreign policy under scrutiny.

Again, in the period after 1994, South Africa has equally pursued a foreign policy of economic diplomacy that is usually directed at supporting or strengthening the

domestic economic challenges and highlighted the country's preferences to transform itself into an attractive partner for African states.

South Africa also advanced a multilateral diplomacy by showing its preference for the peaceful resolution of conflicts in Africa through the instrumentality of international multilateral institutions like the SADC, the AU and the UN. However, there is still widespread suspicion about the recognition and acceptance of South Africa in the African region as a regional leader/power as it is often accused as a Western stooge. South Africa for the first time became a member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Non-Aligned Movement and returned as members to international organizations such as the United Nations and its affiliated agencies as well as the Commonwealth.

Consequently, since the start of South Africa's democratic dispensation in 1994, a more pertinent objective of the South African government has been the imperative towards mending and strengthening inter-African relationships and joining other constructive African states in finding African solutions to African problems. Given South Africa's status as the leading African country in terms of economic prosperity and military strength, it has been able to translate both elements of power into political-economic advantage for other African states. South Africa has consequently become a more attractive partner for African states than ever before.

South Africa's foreign policy as articulated since 1994 has been targeted towards an incremental role and involvement in Africa. South Africa has consequently been able to use its foreign policy to draw influence for itself as a leading actor in the African international arena. According to Pfister (2000:1), South Africa's comparative economic prosperity, political stability, and military strength in relation to other African states have placed considerable hope on her to make contribution towards the socioeconomic and political improvement of the continent. The arrival of South Africa as another powerhouse into the geo-political space changed the power configuration of the continent. For instance, Mbeki's contribution in the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was commendable.

However, the trend of foreign policy in the past years evinced evidences of inconsistencies with policy and an attitude of amateurism in the conduct of foreign policy. As remarked by Spector (2013),

[o]ver the past decade and more, however, South African foreign policy has been bedevilled by what could be termed a slow-growing, *ad hoc* amateurism; a too-easy reliance on the formalism of international organisations as a substitute for concrete results; and a growing confusion between supporting economic and commercial goals as a whole - as opposed to acting for the benefit of individual business profits.

South Africa has therefore been able to use its foreign policies through successive regimes to foster cooperation, collaboration, partnership, and competition with many implications towards Africa. It remains to be seen how South Africa's 'African Agenda' policy demonstrates a focus on Africa. The question now is, in almost 20 years since the liberation and the post-apartheid state, what pattern has its foreign policy demonstrated as markedly different from the years prior to the end of apartheid? As articulated in chapter 2, a number of scholars have alluded to a South African hegemony whose form resembles significantly the imperialist foci of its apartheid predecessor and has merely changed its form and that the post-apartheid. By using its economic muscle to pursue a 'South Africa-first' policies and its reluctance to open up its economy to easy African access are evidences of its hegemonic influence.

From the above analysis, it is not inappropriate to argue that clearly inscribed in South Africa's foreign policy is the subtle ambition for continental hegemony with the country in most cases/instances attempting to punch above its weight. Whether South Africa possesses the material resources to sustain such massive role in Africa remains to be seen particularly when viewed in the context of its foreign policy hiccup witnessed in the Central African Republic. The ANC has been quick to discredit this ambition by reassuring African states of the government's non-hegemonic intentions. It would be crucial to investigate whether South Africa (or Nigeria) possesses the

power conditions to play any hegemonic role in Africa. This is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONAL HEGEMONIC STATUS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is a precursor to the next chapter and sets for itself two tasks. First is to comparatively explore the dimension of material (hard power) and ideational (soft power) capabilities of both Nigeria and South Africa with a view to make verifiable inferences on the substance and elements that make up the power configuration for the regional leadership of both countries. It does this by presenting a background to the power profiles of both countries in two concentric circles of sub-regional (West Africa and Southern Africa) on the one hand and in sub-Saharan Africa on the other hand. This leads us to the second agenda for this chapter which is to explore the overt or covert contention for regional hegemony by both countries in Africa. Of interest therefore is the need to gain valuable insight on the outstanding leadership criteria and credentials of military, economic, political as well as moral authority of these two regional powers for leadership in Africa. In essence, the chapter interrogates the connection between power, leadership and capabilities on the African continent.

7.2 Elements of Nigeria and South Africa's national power

The hierarchical status of states within the international system is conditioned by their comparative hard and soft power superiority vis-à-vis other states. In many ways these power capabilities also determine states' national role orientation as well as their level of involvement in the international community (Holsti 1977:109; 1970:233-309; Folarin 2010). We have earlier discussed some of the factors that impinge on a state's capacity to play any meaningful role within the international system through its foreign policy (see previous chapters). A number of factors collectively project the national power status especially of regional powers where such states have devised several means to influence the behavior of other actors in order to attract certain political or economic benefits or of defending certain goals. According to Holsti (1977:165), these goals may include prestige, territory, souls, raw materials, security, or alliances. In foreign policy construction, actualizing the national objectives of a state also demands that the means for achieving these objectives should also be

carefully conceived since the interaction between national goals and the resources for attaining them is the perennial subject of statecraft (Crabb 1972; Chiroro 2012). According to Holsti (1977:169), “the variety of foreign policy instruments available to a nation for influencing others is partly a function of the quantity and quality of capabilities”. States thus that have the capability to extend reward, punish, threaten or persuade others and take advantage of their power profiles in achieving this. Power in this case is seen as a means to achieve a certain goal and not an end in itself.

As explained in Chapter 2, the capacity and ability of regional powers to prevail in conflict situations and to overcome obstacles is conditioned by a number of power equations (Deutsch 1988:20) which Holsti argues provide states with the general capacity to control the behavior of others in the international system. Traditionally, the components that make a state’s power equations include the assessment of its hard power. However, the relevance of soft power in contemporary political calculus in states interaction has gained much attention in recent years. An examination of both concepts is therefore necessary at this point.

7.2.1 Hard power profiles of Nigeria and South Africa

As enunciated earlier, the hard power potential and assertion of Nigeria and South Africa like most other countries includes fundamentally their military and economic components. Other hard power constituents may include size (population), territory, and resources among others (McGowan 2002; see table 7.2 and 7.3 respectively). However, our focus in this chapter will be on the military and economic component of hard power. The national role conception of both countries is to a considerable extent conditioned by the effective appropriation and combination of these factors as a corollary of its foreign policy. In other words, the military and economic variables of states for instance shape “the general kinds of decisions, commitments, ruler, and actions suitable to their state, and of the functions their states should perform in a variety of geographic and issue settings” (Holsti 1977:130). By implication, the policy choices, objectives and options for implementation are predicated upon the availability of state resources. Military and economic instruments of a state can therefore be deployed as useful foreign policy instruments in achieving, advancing political benefits and of projecting state’s influence in the international arena. Of course, the distribution of these capabilities among states is not evenly spread as there are varied degrees of economic and military endowment of countries across the world

resulting ultimately in a reciprocal degree of dependence and hierarchy of states. The military and economic component of Nigeria and South Africa are therefore critical elements of their power profiles and therefore require attention.

7.2.1.1 Economic currency and capabilities of Nigeria and South Africa

The economic capability of Nigeria and South Africa has increased in remarkable proportions particularly in the last decade. For instance, Nigeria although undeniably blessed with abundant human and natural resources has paradoxically failed to evidently maximize the vast potential of its resources and essentially translate this into practical economic growth and prosperity both for the nation and its people. Nevertheless, Nigeria's position as one of the most powerful countries in Africa is made possible by reason of its relative economic strength which is on record the largest in Africa, second only to South Africa. Aside from being the most populous nation on the continent, it is also the largest Black nation in the world, with a population of over 160 million people. Unfortunately, the country's economic potential is grossly under-utilized with poorly articulated economic structures, fiscal and national development policies with dysfunctional economic sectors that are not properly integrated and coordinated. As a result of long years of neglect of proper basic infrastructure that is able to support economic vibrancy, the Nigerian lopsided economy is indeed a shadow of its true potentials; a situation that has invariably translated into poor quality of life and standard of living for its people.

Table 7.1: A Matrix of Key political-economic statistics for Nigeria

Nigeria				
National facts			Social and gov indicators rank/total	
Type of government	Federal republic		Human Development Index (rank)	153
Capital	Abuja		Ease of doing business (rank)	131/185
Surface area (thousand sq km)	1,219		Economic freedom index (rank)	120/177
Population (millions)	162.4m		Press freedom index (rank)	115/178
Main languages	English, Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo		Gini index (income distribution)	48.8
Main religions	Christian (50.8%) Muslim (48.8%) Others (0.4%)		Population below \$1.25 per day (PPP)	54.4%
Head of State (president)	Goodluck Jonathan		Foreign trade	
Head of Government	Goodluck Jonathan		2012	
Monetary unit	Naira (NGN)		Main exp partners (%) Main imp partners (%)	
Economy			US (29.1%) China (17.3%)	
2012			India (11.6%) US (9.1%)	
Economic size bn USD % world total			Brazil (7.8%) India (5.0%)	
Nominal GDP	268		Spain (7.1%) Netherlands (4.9%)	
Nominal GDP at PPP	448		France (5.0%) South Korea (4.7%)	
Export value of goods and services	39.6	0.50	Netherlands (4.3%)	
IMF quota (in m SDR)			Main export products (%) 2011	
Nominal GDP per head at PPP	2661		Petroleum and petroleum products 95%	
Economic structure 2011 5-yr av.			Cocoa, rubber, processed foods etc. 5%	
Real GDP growth	7.4	3.2	Main import products (%) 2011	
Agriculture (% of GDP)	40%		Machinery, chemicals, transport equipment, Manufactured goods, food and live animals	
Manufacturing (% of GDP)	15%			
Oil (% of GDP)	14%			
Services (% of GDP)	30%			

Source: Author Compilation, 2013.

Nigeria at the time of independence was a great producer and exporter of agricultural commodities like cocoa, groundnuts and palm oil cocoa, cotton, timber, rubber, hides and skin etc. (Adeniji 2005:5; Falae 1992:219) and the discovery of its seemingly inexhaustible oil deposits, combined with a huge population presented her as an archetypal and quintessential African state worthy of emulation. As a major sector of the economy at the time, agriculture provided employment for almost 70% of the population while also accounting for about 80% of total government revenue. Nigeria's economy was thus characterized by a huge dependence on the export of raw materials largely involving agricultural and mineral products and a heavy reliance on the importation of manufactured and finished (refined) goods including food. During

this period, Nigeria was the fastest growing economy in sub-Saharan Africa (Salisu 2001:2). It was at the peak of Nigeria's economy in 1975 at the time that the ECOWAS was formed as a regional body with the then leader of Nigeria Yakubu Gowon playing a pivotal role and pledging to finance a third of the funds needed for ECOWAS (Adebajo 2000).

However, in the past couple of decades, Nigeria's economy has transited from being reliant on agriculture to one that is oil dependent and as acknowledged by Adeniji (2005:5), "the emergence of the oil sector in the early seventies as a major revenue earner for the country drastically altered the face of the Nigerian economy". Between 1970 and 1986, the contribution of oil revenue to total exports rose from 57.6% to 97.2%. Thus, the unexpected oil boom of the 1970s which brought about a buoyant economy added an increased impetus to Nigeria's rising continental prominence (*Africa* No.79, March 1978:101). The economic wellbeing enjoyed by the country at the time afforded it the platform to pursue a rigorous and active foreign policy "clearly manifested in the leading roles that it played in the struggle to secure independence for Angola, Guinea Bissau, Zimbabwe and Namibia, not to mention the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa" (Adeniji, 2005:5).

Nigeria is therefore to all intents and purposes endowed with the most crucial ingredients needed by any aspirant of national development to succeed and as pointed out by Salisu (2002:2):

[d]uring the oil boom period of the seventies Nigeria made headlines with her oil wealth, as the country is richly endowed with oil and natural gas resources capable of financing a number of important projects to meet basic consumption and development needs.

Nigeria is also the biggest oil exporter in Africa and has the largest reserve of natural gas in the continent. With these large reserves of natural resources, Nigeria is able to build a prosperous economy and significantly reduce poverty, and provide health, education and infrastructure services to its population needs (World Bank 2013).

At the geo-political realm, Nigeria's geo-political significance is intrinsically tied to its economic superiority and comparative economic advantage which it enjoys among the countries within the West African sub-region. According to Uzodike *et al* (2013: nd), this advantage affords the country the potential to play a leading role in the

region while also not forgetting its sacrosanct responsibility (as enshrined in the Nigerian constitution) of a mandate to protect and maintain peace among its contiguous states. All these are informed by the country's strategic economic clout. Nigeria today stands as the fastest growing economy in Africa and features prominently in the depictions of 'emerging' Africa (Enweremadu 2013). Nigeria's economy no doubt has witnessed significant economic boom since more than a decade of the restart of democracy in 1999.

Suffice to say that Nigeria's economy and economic value is conditioned by revenue generated from the exploration and exportation of crude oil. Today, oil exportation accounts for over 90% of Nigeria total revenue. As a result of the oil revenue, the country is able to assert its influence on the international scale. For instance, through its membership of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Nigeria has been able influence the currency of international events as a critical actor in global economic affairs.

Again, Nigeria's economy equally accounts for almost 60% of the West African Gross Domestic Product (GDP), with an estimated GDP of more than \$407.042b (Uzodike *et al* 2013; see table 7.2). This substantial economic prowess gives the country the wherewithal to intervene in regional conflicts in order to protect its economy both within the sub-region and in Africa. It goes without saying that since its attainment of independence in 1960, Nigeria has been able to use its vibrant economy to support a dynamic foreign policy which has ultimately contributed immensely to the growth and development of the continent (Uzodike *et al*, 2013). To a considerable extent, Nigeria's diplomatic behavior is rooted in its economic strength which affords it the opportunity to provide focus and leadership particularly for the African continent as displayed over the years in its commitment to the eradication of slavery, colonialism, apartheid and all forms of racial oppression. More so, as a result of its economic strength, Nigeria is also able to participate in multilateral institutional arrangements like the AU, UN, ECOWAS etc. noticeable for example in its leading role in the formation of the defunct OAU; AU; ECOWAS and not to mention the prominent role it played in the liberation of many of Southern African states.

Over the years Nigeria's economy was dealt mortal blows by continued bad governance and state theft. After a period of ebb in its economy, Nigeria has currently

regained its economic advancement although it remains to be seen whether or not the newly revived economy will percolate to the less privileged. Presently, Nigeria stands as a promising economy in Africa. However, it is not the only one in Africa. In the aftermath of the 2008 global economic session, African economies have shown remarkable resilience (Shaw 2012) and since Nigeria is not offering something novel by its economic improvement, the claim to regional leadership will no doubt be challenged by this precarious security situation.

It is thus explicable that Nigeria, whether covertly or overtly, aspires to be Africa's recognized leader armed by the strength of its comparative economic advantage and ability to control or set economic agendas in a way that reflects its own preferences. This aspiration has been there for decades. One time Nigerian consul to Washington – Olu Sanu – was unequivocal in stating that Nigeria has “to be recognized as a regional power in West Africa” Magyar and Conteh-Morgan (1998) and quite controversially he goes on to say that West Africa is Nigeria's region and the country “has the right to go to war”. He also likened this to the Monroe Doctrine which Shagari cited (see Adebajo 2000).

On the flip side, South Africa in barely two decades since the end of apartheid in 1994, has been able to remarkably transform itself into unarguably the strongest economy in Africa while also being the largest investor on the continent with business presence; corporate expansion of multinational corporations and parastatal investment into many parts of Africa (see Table below). To be certain, in 2010, South Africa's GDP was \$527.5b and ranked 26th largest in the world and the largest in Africa (Boulle 2011:135). There is no contesting the superior economic currency and dominance of South Africa in Africa as its “superior economic competitiveness offers an economic clout and in fact bequeaths significant amounts of diplomatic capital to South Africa's leadership potential” (Zondi 2012:7; Habib; 2010). South Africa today accounts for close to a third of Africa's economic strength and by virtue of this no doubt plays a critical role in trade relations within the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the African continent in general (Adebajo 2007:213; Chiroro 2012; Makoia 2001).

South Africa's economic incursion into Africa in the post-apartheid period is not only driven and supported by the coordinated public sector support but also more

importantly facilitated by the private sector with a significant number of corporate forays of South African businesses into the African markets ranging from retail; food; banking; telecommunications; tourism; infrastructure; power; franchise; construction; and mining. According to Grobbelaar (2005:30), this has helped to “unlock the business potential of the countries that they are involved in”. Suffice to say however that this is much limited in francophone countries due partly to the restriction of language and different legal systems and business cultures (Hudson 2007; Games 2004).

Table 7.2: Matrix of key political-economic statistics for South Africa

South Africa			
National facts		Social and gov ind rank / total	
Type of government	Federal republic	Human Development Index (rank)	121/187
Capital(s)	Capetown, Pretoria & Bloemfontein	Ease of doing business (rank)	39/185
Surface area (1000 sq km)	1,219	Economic freedom index (rank)	74/177
Population (millions)	50.5m	Press freedom index (rank)	53/178
Main languages	English, Zulu, Afrikaans (9 local languages)	Gini index (income distribution)	63.1
Main religions	Christian (68%), Traditional African (29%) Other (3%)	Population below \$1.25 per day (PPP)	14%
Head of State (president)	Jacob Zuma	Foreign trade 2010	
Head of Government	Jacob Zuma	Main exp partners(%) Main imp partners(%)	
Monetary unit	Rand (ZAR)	China 13	China 15
		US 9	Germany 12
		Japan 8	US 8
		Germany 8	Saudi Arabia 6
		Main export products (%) 2011	
		Platinum	14
		Gold	12
		Coal	9
		Cars & other components	6
		Main import products (%)	
		Petrochemicals	17
		Equipment components for cars	7
		Motor cars & other components	6
		Petroleum oils and others	5
		Openness of the economy	
		Export value of G&S (% of GDP)	27
		Import value of G&S (% of GDP)	28
		Inward FDI (% of GDP)	1.4
Economy 2011			
Economic size bn USD % world total			
Nominal GDP	405	0.59	
Nominal GDP at PPP	552	0.70	
Export value of goods and services	110	0.50	
IMF quota (in m SDR)	1869	0.86	
Nominal GDP per head	8272		
Nominal GDP per head at PPP	11257		
Real GDP per head	6081		
Economic structure 2011 5-yr av.			
Real GDP growth	3.1	3.2	

Agriculture (% of GDP)	2	3
Industry (% of GDP)	31	31
Services (% of GDP)	66	66

Source: Author's Compilation, 2013

Table 7.3: Comparative economic and military indicators for Nigeria and South Africa

Indicator		Nigeria	South Africa	
Military	Age/Manpower	18 years	18 years	
	Manpower	18-49 (26,804,314)	18-49 (10,354,769)	
	Expenditure	\$544.6 million (2004)	\$3.172 billion (2004)	
	Expenditure % of GDP	1.5%	1.7%	
	Strength	85, 000	60,000	
	Branches	Nigerian Armed Forces (NAF); Nigerian Navy; Nigerian Air Force; Joint Task Force (JTF)	South African National Defence Force (SANDF); Army, Navy, Air Force, Joint Operations, Joint Support, Military Intelligence, Military Health Service.	
Economic	Size of Economy (in GDP)	\$369.8 billion (2010 est.)	\$527.5 billion (2010 est.)	
	Foreign Exchange Reserve	\$43.36 billion (December 2010 est.)	\$45.52 billion (December 2010 est.)	
	Debt – external	\$11.02 billion (December 2010 est.)	\$80.52 billion (30 June 2010 est.)	
	Electricity – production	21.92 billion kWh (2007 est.)	240. 3 billion kWh (2007 est.)	
	Oil	Reserves	34 billion bbl	7.84 million bbl
		Production	2.356 million bbl/day	196,200 bbl/day
		Consumption	275,000 bbl/day	460,000 bbl/day
	GDP	Purchasing Power	\$125.7 billion	\$491.4 billion

		Parity (PPP)		
		Real growth rate	6.2% (2004 est.)	3.5% (2004 est.)
		Per capita: PPP	\$1,000 (2004 est.)	\$11,000 (2004 est.)
	Industries/Key Natural Resources		Crude oil, natural gas, coal, tin, columbite, iron ore, limestone, niobium, lead, zinc, arable land, palm oil, peanuts, cotton, rubber, wood, hides and skin, textile, cement and other construction materials, food products, footwear, chemical, fertilizer, printing, ceramics, steel, small commercial ship construction and repair etc.	Mining, (world's largest producer of platinum, gold, chromium), coal, iron ore, manganese, gem diamonds, copper, natural gas, nickel, phosphate, tin, uranium, automobile assembly, metal working, machinery, textile, iron and steel, chemicals, fertilizer, foodstuffs, commercial ships repair etc.
Political	Membership of key multilateral organizations		UN, AU, ECOWAS, Commonwealth, OPEC, ADB, IMF, UN, World Bank	UN, AU, SADC, SACU, BRICS, G20, BASIC, IBSA, ADB, IMF, World Bank
	Contribution to AU		15%	15%
Factor	HDI Ranking		142 out of 169 (2010 est.)	142 out of 169 (2010 est.)
	Literacy (total)		68%	86.4%
	Unemployment rate		4.9% (2007 est.)	23.3% (2010 est.)
	Population below poverty line		70% (2009 est.)	50% (2000 est.)
	People living with HIV/AIDS		3.3 million (2009 est.)	5.6 million (2009 est.)

Source: Author's compilation (Adapted from Zabadi and Onuoha 2012:390-391 & Fledes & Wojczewski (2010)).

South Africa's Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) has made tremendous investment in over 60 projects in 21 African countries. Following from this, South Africa enjoys marginal and comparative trade advantage over all of the countries in Africa with the exception of Egypt, Nigeria and Tunisia indicating that its balance of trade with Africa remains skewed in its favour. Hudsin (2007) attributes South Africa's economic prosperity in Africa particularly to two key factors: the inadequacy

of the South African market to absorb its own products coupled with the inability of its companies to effectively compete on an international scale beyond Africa. Secondly, the international isolation and seclusion of South Africa with a concomitant diplomatic and economic sanctions invoked on the country during the apartheid period meant that the country had accumulated surplus capital during this period which it in turn needed to invest in available markets following the end of apartheid. It therefore did not come as a surprise that African markets thus presented a veritable destination for this massive flow of capital investment from South Africa.

On the international political-economic front, South Africa is today the only African member of the Group of Twenty (G20) and its inclusion as a member of BRICS is no doubt in recognition of its vast economic potentiality and superiority *vis-à-vis* other countries within the African continent. And as the only African member of the BRICS economic bloc, this representation comes with many expectations and obligations particularly when viewed in the context of South Africa being the gateway to investment potentials into the rest of Africa. As a result, South Africa is thus currently the European Union's (EU) largest trading partner in Africa. In 2010, South Africa's exports to the EU were at €17 912 million which presents extensive possibilities for the integration of African economies into the global market (Chiroro 2011:9). We move on to assess South Africa's economic superiority in two important contexts of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and international regional corporate presence.

(a) *Foreign direct investment (Inward and Outward)*

Without reservation, South Africa has in the past couple of years, been able to attract enormous Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) into its local economy while also responsible for the same in many African countries. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), "In absolute terms, the amounts invested in African countries [by South Africa] may be small, but they account for a significant share of FDI for some African economies (e.g. Mozambique)" (Daniel, Naidoo and Naidu 2003). In essence, no other African country has invested more in Africa than South Africa. A similar report by the UNCTAD World Investment Report (WIR) of 2011 equally shows that "the large share accounted for by FDI projects within sub-Saharan Africa suggests that South African investors are playing a large role" and (as the table below shows) are having an exceptional propensity to invest within the region.

Table 7.4: South African outward stock of FDI (US\$ mn and %)

Year	In Africa	In World	Share in Africa
2000	1768	35276	5.0%
2001	1631	26899	6.1%
2002	1353	19286	7.0%
2011	3017	36 826.0	8.2

Sources: Figures derived from EIU, CIA World Factbook, UN, Heritage Foundation, Transparency International, Reporters Without Borders and World Bank.

According to the report, most of the intra-regional flows of FDI are attributable to investment from South Africa into neighboring countries in East and Southern Africa. Its share of Africa in its outward FDI stock rose from 8% in 2005 to 22% in 2009. In addition to this, South Africa is the third largest investor in Africa behind only United Kingdom and United States. For example, investments from South Africa account for more than 50 percent of all FDI flows into Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland (Rumney and Pingo 2004; UNCTAD 2006). Besides this, South Africa is also the second largest recipient of FDI inflow into the continent following after Nigeria.

(b) *International corporate presence of multinational corporations*

Closely connected to the above point of the inflow and outflow of foreign direct investment is the post-apartheid trend of northward economic incursion of South Africa's multinational corporations and parastatals into the rest of Africa. As the curtain closed on the apartheid system, Davies (1991; 1992; 1993) suggested three possibilities that could arise as a result of the new political-economic order that was to emerge. According to him, South Africa could begin to pursue a policy of economic expansionism where state capital is directed to achieve specific national interest. Second would be a policy that enforces a hegemonic ambition and domination for South Africa using platforms of regional multilateral frameworks and finally would be the strategy to adopt a non-hegemonic posture which emphasizes cooperation and integration where its national interest is sacrificed on the altar of continental and collective interest. With the benefit of hindsight, it would seem that South Africa whether by policy choice or through an unintentional action opted for a mixture of the first and third positions where in the first case, its economic expansion particularly into Africa was cemented by the investments of South Africa's businesses into Africa and in the second case presented a more benign posture with emphasis on cooperative

economic and political integration for the continent rather than its own pecuniary interest.

A number of factors account for the northward penetration of South African markets, especially in Africa (Daniel, Naidoo and Naidu 2003). For instance, the political transition from an apartheid era to a democratic period helped set the country on a stage of international respectability which ultimately increased the momentum for economic penetration. Scholars have also alluded to the fact that the transition period also coincided with the end of the Cold War with “a concomitant demise of the state-directed commandist economic model and the triumph of its neo-liberal alternative” (Daniel, Naidoo and Naidu 2003). Against this background, one of the remarkable effects that the post-apartheid period thus brought along with it was the dramatic incursion of South Africa’s multinationals and parastatals into Africa. Lutchman and Naidu (2004) reports that South African companies have a huge presence in the African continent in almost all sectors of the economy (see Table 7.5 below). As a result of the political and economic transformation in South Africa since 1994, economic relations between the country and the rest of Africa in particular have improved exponentially and cemented by the presence of multinational corporations in many parts of the continent in what has often been referred to as the “South Africanisation of the African economy” (Lutchman and Naidu 2005)

Table 7.5: Sector representation of major South African multinational corporations

Sector		Companies	Located
Aviation & airport services		Airports Company of South Africa (ACSA)	Management contracts in 9 countries
Airlines		South African Airways (SAA),	SAA has a 49% stakes in Air Tanzania and is negotiating a 30% stake in Nigeria's national carrier, Eagle Airline. In SAA flies to 20 African destinations.
		Nationwide Airlines	Contracts to provide aircraft for five national airlines (Tanzania, Malawi, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique)
Banking and Financial services	Private enterprises	Stanbic	In 18 African countries
		Absa	In 5 countries
		Stanlib (joint venture between Standard Bank and Liberty Life)	In 9 countries
		First Rand (FNB) and its subsidiary Rand Merchant Bank	Retail operations in 4 countries; corporate operations in 25 countries and project financing in 12 countries
		Nedbank	In 7 countries
		Investec Ltd	In 4 countries
		Metropolitan Life	In 5 countries

	State-owned enterprises	DBSA	Funding ventures in 7 countries
		IDC	Funding ventures in 20 countries
Construction		Murray and Roberts	Permanent offices in 3 countries and 13 country Contracts
		Group 5	13 country contracts
		Grinaker LTA	9 country contracts
		Concor	9 country contracts
Energy		Sasol	4 country contracts. Planned merger of its liquid fuels sector with Malaysia's Petronas marketing and distribution businesses means it will have operations in 14 sub-Saharan African countries
Manufacturing		Nampak	In 10 countries
		SAB Miller	18 beer breweries in 14 countries, 35 sorghum breweries in 5 countries
		Illovo Sugar	In 5 countries
		Barloworld	In 7 southern African countries
		AECI (subsidiaries African Explosives Ltd [AEL] & Dulux)	AEL companies in 7 countries Manufacturing Dulux products in 5 countries
Media & broadcasting		Multichoice	TV and subscriber services in 21 countries
Mining		Anglogold	The merger with Ashanti Goldfields and Anglogold gives it a mining presence in 8 countries

	Randgold Resources	In 3 countries
Retail trade	Shoprite Holdings Ltd	162 outlets in 15 countries with planned expansion into Nigeria in 2004
	Massmart (Makro, Game, Dion, Cash & Carry et al.)	Over 300 outlets in SACU states
	Metcash	In 3 countries
	Wooltru/Woolworths	52 stores in 19 countries
	Truworths Limited	Stores in 13 countries
	Famous Brands (Steers, Debonairs, Fish Aways, Church's Chicken, Pouyoukas Foods)	Franchises in 22 countries
	St. Elmo's	Franchises in 7 countries
	Pepkor Holdings (Pep Stores and Ackermans)	Present in 6 countries
	Ellerine Holdings Ltd. (Ellerines, Town Talk Furnishers, Furn City, Rainbow Loans, CPI, Foreign, Wetherlys, Osiers, Roodefurn)	94 stores in 5 countries
	JD Group (Abra, Barnetts, BoConcept, Bradlows, Electric	28 stores in 4 countries

	Express, Hi-Fi Corporation, Joshua Doore, Morkels, Price and Pride, Russells)	
Research & Development	V&A Waterfront	Contracts in Mauritius, Gabon, Nigeria for the development construction of waterfront complexes
	CSIR	Conducting research projects in 17 countries
Telecommunications	MTN/M-Cell (MTN posted net profits of R4.3bn from revenues of R23.9bn from all of its African operations in fiscal 2003–04. Up 23% on previous year)	Cellular-fixed line contracts in 5 countries (Uganda 50%, Rwanda 31%, Nigeria 94%, Cameroon 100%, Swaziland (a joint venture). Has 9.5 million African customers. Its non-SA contribute 64% of revenue compared operations to Vodacom's 6.4%
	Vodacom	11.2 million African customers and contracts in 5 countries but only functional in 4: Lesotho, DRC (51%), Tanzania (65%) and Mozambique; its Zambian licence has been non-operational for two years. In 2003–04 it posted a profit of R3bn from Africa-wide revenue of R23.5bn. Attempts to move into Nigeria collapsed in May 2004
	Transtel (a division of Transnet)	Runs a telecommunications network in 19 countries with South African multinationals including banks, railways, retailers, local telecoms, and civil and security networks
Transport	Transnet: 9 divisions (African involvement is through divisions such as Spoornet International Joint Ventures and subsidiaries, Comazar, Transwerk and Transtel)	20 country contracts
	Unitrans	7 country contracts

Tourism & leisure service		Protea Hotels	Resorts in 10 countries	Collectively these hotels operate in 14 countries
		Southern Sun	Resorts in 6 countries	
		Sun International	Resorts in 4 countries	
		Imperial Car Rental		110 outlets in 8 Southern African countries
Utilities	Power	Eskom Enterprises	A presence in 33 African countries (via utility management contracts in Malawi, Mali, Uganda and Nigeria, joint venture companies in Morocco, Mozambique, Libya and Zambia and contracts in 25 other countries) means that Eskom is Africa's largest power utility. Its biggest initiative is the 'Grand Inga' project where, together with the national utilities of Angola, Botswana, the DRC and Namibia, Eskom has formed a joint venture company known as Westcor. The project aims to generate enough energy to light up Africa and create excess to export to Europe	
	Water	Umgeni Water	3 country contracts	
Information technology		Arrivia.kom (state-owned)	3 offices in Nigeria, Ghana and Botswana, 1 joint venture with Seven Seas Technologies in Kenya Contracts in Namibia, Malawi, Zambia and Uganda	
		Mustek	Authorised dealerships in 8 countries	

Source: HSRC Corporate Mapping Database. See Daniel, Lutchman and Naidu, 2005.

Without any reservation, there is an undeniable presence of South African companies operating in African markets in countries like Nigeria, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda Cameroon etc. with business presence in areas ranging from transport, mining, financial services, manufacturing, retail, and hoteling to construction, entertainment, telecommunication, tourism, utilities etc. For instance, MTN and Vodacom dominate the telecommunication market in Nigeria and Ghana respectively. In essence, there is hardly a sector of the South African economy that has not a corporate presence in the broader African market.

South Africa is a developing country, albeit being more developed than other African countries. Since the apartheid period, it has been able to use its strategic economic and military advantage to compel an acceptance of its regional hegemony in such a way that makes other countries especially within the Southern African region dependent on Pretoria. Among the members of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), South Africa enjoys prominence. Landlocked countries like Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe are heavily reliant on South Africa's sea ports for their export and import needs (Abebajo and Landsberg 2003). Lesotho for instance is completely surrounded by South Africa while Swaziland is almost entirely within South Africa as well. During apartheid Namibia was a 'colony' of South Africa and Botswana was also hugely influenced by the apartheid regimes. Granted this historical affiliation and the physical size disparity between South Africa and other SACU members, it is understandable that South Africa's place as a de facto leader of SACU is assured. However, its leadership in Southern Africa and Africa is debatable. Problems of hegemony do not come under particular attention among SACU members because the free passage of locally produced goods among SACU members has been beneficial to the countries involved (Gibb 2006). This is in contrast to South Africa's position in SADC and Africa.

South Africa's relationship with Africa particularly in the post-apartheid era is further conditioned and expressed in deliberate public and private economic incursion into African markets for the purpose of anything but altruism. What is however obvious is that South Africa-Africa trade relations has been undoubtedly beneficial to both parties particularly the host countries which are the recipient of massive foreign direct investments.

It is important to consider how South Africa has appropriated its economic and material resources either to its advantage in achieving political outcomes or in providing public goods for the rest of the continent. South Africa's reputation in terms of economic, technological and military superiority is not in doubt. This is so because the country is endowed with countless mineral and as a result of its strategic geographic position; it is surrounded by a number of landlocked countries in the region which depend on it for coastal transport. These facts have given the South Africa an enviable picture. Currently, the influence of South Africa among other African countries is only appreciated through its superiority in mineral resources and economic advancement.

7.2.1.2 Military currency and capabilities of Nigeria and South Africa

In contrast to its neighbors, Nigeria unarguably enjoys substantial military hegemony as a result of its overwhelming military strength with reasonably well-equipped armed forces capable of defending the country against any likely external threat or internal insurgence. The Nigerian military comprises of the Army, Navy, and Air force and the Joint Task Force saddled with the responsibility of protecting Nigeria's territorial integrity and national security⁵⁴. As table 7.6 demonstrates, in the 2012 GFP military power indicator, Nigeria is ranked 36th.

Table 7.6: Military indicator of Nigeria

Military Manpower	Total Population: 162,470,737 Available Manpower: 72,319,838 Fit for Service: 40,707,659 Reaching Military Age Annually: 3,455,147 Active Frontline Personnel: 100,000 Active Reserve Personnel: 0
Land system	Tanks: 363 Armored Fighting Vehicles: 1,407 Self-Propelled Guns: 48 Towed Artillery Pieces: 680 Rocket Projectors (MLRS): 0 Portable Mortal System: 300 Portable AT Weapon: 120 Logistical Vehicles: 6,000

⁵⁴ As outlined in Section 217 of the 1999 Constitution, the protection of the country against all forms of internal and external danger/threat or attack is a primary responsibility of government performed through the armed forces (military) in collaboration with the civilian population.

Air power	Total Aircrafts: 294 Helicopters: 84
Naval power	Total Strength: 37 (including auxiliaries) Aircraft Carriers: 0 Frigates: 2 Destroyers: 0 Corvettes: 4 Submarines: 0 Coastal Craft: 16 Mine Warfare: 2 Amphibious Assault: 0
Military Budget (in USD)	Defence Budget: \$2,215,000,000

Source: Global Fire Power (2013)

Over the years, the Nigerian military has continued to improve upon its military stock of weaponry while equally engaged in numerous military adventures targeted towards improving their readiness for battle (Omede 2012). The country is therefore able to project its military power without much restraint within the region with a total strength of about 200,000 men and an estimated 300,000 paramilitary personnel (IISS 2007; Omede 2012:293). Interestingly, Nigeria's military is arguably reputed to be the largest, best-equipped and professionally trained in the sub-region (Alli 2012) while also being the most sophisticated military power in sub-Saharan Africa behind South Africa (Bach 2007:301). To its credit, before the period of the Persian Gulf War (1989-1990), Nigeria was the only country in West Africa and Central Africa to sponsor and sustain military operations abroad.

Nigeria's military industrialization project began in 1964 with the establishment of the Defence Industries Corporation (DIC) aimed at building Nigeria's self-reliance in the local production of small arms, ammunition, and the maintenance and repair services in order to support its defence, security and strategic foreign policy goals with international best standards (DICON 2012; www.countrydata.com). As far back as the 1970s, its facilities in Kaduna had produced West German-designed HK G-3 rifles, BM-59 and PM-12 handguns, and 7.62mm and 9mm parabellum ammunition. In many ways and for many years since its independence, Nigeria's diplomatic behavior and national role within the region and beyond has always been defined and shaped by its military capabilities. The commitment of the Republic to regional peace, stability and security is essentially tied to the responsibility of its military. As

remarked by Alli (2012) Nigeria's "considerable military capabilities bestow on her, as it were naturally, the role of a regional hegemon". In other words, over the years, Nigeria's foreign policy emphasizing regional security has been largely influenced by the adequacy of its military. Without doubt, it becomes easy to infer therefore that the country's military plays a significant role in the regional security framework of the region which it finds itself.

Furthermore, perhaps no other country in Africa has contributed to international peacekeeping more than Nigeria (*The Guardian*, May 31, 2009). Since 1960 when it became a sovereign state and joined the United Nation as its 99th member, Nigerian military has participated in many peacekeeping operations with its first troops involved in the UN Peace Mission in Congo barely days after its independence (Isiaq 2012). Fawole 2003:98) equally notes correctly that "the most visible and prominent employment of Nigeria's armed forces in pursuit of the country's foreign policy goals and objectives was in support of UN peacekeeping operations around the world". In line with its national foreign policy objectives, the country has contributed significantly to building sustainable peace particularly within the African region demonstrated in a long history of commitment in finance, manpower, leadership and involvement in peacekeeping operations across the world under the auspices of UN, AU and ECOWAS. As of today, Nigeria has over 17000 peacekeeping military personnel contributing to peace-building outside its borders in countries such as Angola, Iraq, Kuwait, Liberia, Rwanda, Western Sahara etc. Nigerian troops have also previously served in peacekeeping operations in Cambodia, Chad, the Congo, India-Pakistan, Lebanon, Mozambique, and Somalia.

There is no disputing the fact that Nigeria has gained a considerable level of respectability and international prestige among the comity of nations as a result of its extensive international peacekeeping involvement. There is hardly any major peace-keeping or peace-enforcement mission carried out under the auspices of the UN, AU or ECOWAS that the Nigerian military has not been involved in. However, the progressive withdrawal of the military from politics during the transition to the Third Republic equally changed the level of involvement of the military in the foreign policy trajectories of the country.

On the other hand, while South Africa cannot be regarded as a global military force, it nevertheless can be considered as a regional military power particularly in the regional context of Southern Africa on the basis of its impressive military capability (Neethling 2003:95; 2004; DoD 2004; 2006). As table 7.7 below shows, according to the 2013 Global Firepower (GFP) 'Power Index' ranking of military powers, South Africa is ranked 34th in the world (GFP 2013) (see table below). Traditionally, and on paper, South Africa has remained the military powerhouse of the African continent with an unequalled level of military investment, budget and unparalleled capacity which supersedes any other country within the continent. This is despite the fact that its military expenditure has reduced significantly since the post-apartheid and post-Cold War eras respectively. Nevertheless, South Africa has always presented an image of a formidable military powerhouse in Africa especially.

As outlined in Chapter 11 of the South African Constitution of 1996, the defence force comprising of the army, air force, navy and the military health service and has a responsibility to defend and protect the Republic, its territorial integrity and its people in accordance with the constitution and the principles of international law regarding the use of force.

The South African Defense Force (SADF) was established in 1957 and was later renamed as the South African National Defense Force (SANDF) in 1994 after a process of post-apartheid restructuring. Prior to the end of the apartheid era, South Africa emerged as a regional power particularly within the Southern African region partly as a result of its military capacity economic and dominance which it also used to further its apartheid racial policies especially within the Southern African region. As a result of many years of military clampdown and 'total strategy' targeted at squashing communist and anti-apartheid sentiments within the region, South Africa was perceived by the international community as possessing significant military capacity.

Table 7.7: Military indicator for South Africa

Military Manpower	Total Population: 50,586,757 Available Manpower: 25,913,422 Fit for Service: 14, 093, 327 Reaching Military Age Annually: 967,139 Active Frontline Personnel: 74,000 Active Reserve Personnel: 0
Land system	Tanks: 250 Armored Fighting Vehicles: 1,590 Self-Propelled Guns: 43 Towed Artillery Pieces: 74 Rocket Projectors (MLRS): 240 Portable Mortal Systems: 1,320 Portable AT Weapons: 1,153 Logistical Vehicles: 2,220
Air power	Total Aircrafts: 235 Helicopters: 91
Naval power	Total Strength: 24 (including auxiliaries) Aircraft Carriers: 0 Frigates: 4 Destroyers: 0 Corvettes: 0 Submarines: 3 Coastal Craft: 6 Mine Warfare: 4 Amphibious Assault: 0
Military Budget (in USD)	Defence Budget: \$4,827,000,000

Source: Global Fire Power (2013)

As amplified by Mandrup (2008:5), the international role played by the armed forces in the current government is somewhat different from the one they played during the white minority rule of the apartheid era. In other words, the South African military that had hitherto been infamous as a source of conflict can now begin to play a much appreciable and benign role of a peace builder. By implication, this military superiority has remained intact even since the post-apartheid period as it was envisaged in the immediate aftermath of the transition in 1994...that South Africa “would be able to play a central part in the resolution of future conflicts in Southern Africa” (Mandrup 2008:5). South Africa’s re-acceptance into the international scene thus set the stage for the re-direction of the role of its armed forces in consistence with

Pretoria's foreign policy mandates of promoting global peace and security under multilateral frameworks such as the SADC, AU, and the UN (DoD 2005b).

In relation to foreign policy, the leadership of the country itself acknowledges the imperative of the military as a significant instrument in its attempts to bring to reality the country's post-1994 foreign policy ambitions of reform, stability and development in Africa (Mandrup 2008:5). As a consequence, the achievement of South Africa diplomatic goals of creating peace, stability and development in Africa would almost be impossible without the willingness to exert its coercive instrument in furtherance of these goals. It is in doing this that the SANDF becomes critical to the foreign policy trajectories of South Africa (Zuma 1999).

Like the case of Nigeria, South Africa's military is therefore crucially tied to the execution of its foreign policy and as rightly noted by DFA (1999:30), "any form of participation in peace operations is an extension of South African foreign policy". As a member of the UN, AU, and the SADC, part of South Africa's major international commitments to Africa and of course the rest of the world is collective security in the form of Peace Support Operations (PSOs), most notably in Darfur (Sudan), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Chad, Mozambique to mention but a few).

Another factor that highlights the military strength of South Africa is its functional military industrial base capable of supporting its weaponry production set up since 1940. The Arms Corporation (Armscor) was established in 1977 following the merger of the Armaments Production Board and the state-owned Armament Development and Production Corporation. As a result, South Africa's arms industry has grown to become one of the largest in the developing world. According to the report of the South Africa's Department of Defence:

in 1989, South Africa ranked 13th in total world-wide military expenditure, 44th in world military spending as a percentage of Gross National Product (GNP) and 63rd in world military spending as a percentage of total government spending. South Africa also ranked 49th in the size of its armed forces, but only 103rd in terms of the size of armed forces in relation to population.

South Africa has the largest military budget within the Southern African region; however, its dwindling defence budget has become a source of concern regarding the actual capacity of its armed forces. Statistics show South Africa's defence budget as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is indeed one of the lowest in Southern Africa. Since 1989, its defence budget had been reduced from 4.4% to 1.2% of GDP by 2009 (Parliament 2007; Mandrup 2008:5).

Nevertheless, to be sure, the available statistics of South Africa's military capacity points us to the potential power superiority of the country in comparison to its Southern African neighbors. Like other powerful nations of the earth, the military advantage that a state enjoys gives it certain privileges over and above its other contemporaries in the international system. South Africa can therefore be in a position to effectively use its military superiority complex to achieve its political agenda at the international stage. South Africa's armed forces can therefore play a pivotal role in promoting peace and stability as fundamental conditions for development within Africa (Mandrup 2008:14) and according to Cornish (2003), "there can be no African renaissance without the military". As Sidiropoulos (2004:59) further mentions, the leadership ambitions of South Africa is therefore intricately tied to and dependent on its military capabilities. In all, the advent of South Africa in the post-apartheid era has renewed expectations in Africa and beyond the continent regarding its potential role as a peacekeeper in African conflicts due largely to its military competences (Neethling 2003).

7.2.2 Soft power profiles of Nigeria and South Africa

Even though the analysis and debate on Nigeria and South Africa's power is almost entirely focused on the economic and military aspects of its rising power, a reasonable account of the power portfolios of Nigeria and South Africa would be incomplete without an estimation of their soft power capabilities. This is because one of the major requirements for a regional power status is the location, presence and deployment of a state's sources of soft power which may vary from culture, political ideology, and diplomacy to sporting achievements, foreign policy, tourism, media, language etc. An account of Nigeria and South Africa's soft power status is therefore necessary and imperative notwithstanding the fact that very minimal literature exists on the soft

power assortments of both countries. That there is little discussion on the soft power potentials of these countries should not imply that this does not exist.

7.2.2.1 Nigeria's soft power profiles

Does Nigeria have any meaningful soft power potentials that it could wield on an international scale? Accounting for the soft power profiles of Nigeria is indeed an onerous task as it is incredibly difficult to point to anything that can yield some sense of soft power influence for Nigeria in the context that Nye has used the term. However, what makes a regional power must necessarily include a state's soft power attributes and Nigeria as a regional power must by default have this conditions like every other regional power. It may however prove very difficult to locate soft power attributes of Nigeria. Having said this, despite that very little or no literature existing on Nigeria's soft power profiles, we can from hindsight, foresight and insight account from some evidences pointing to Nigeria's soft power profiles which it can wield if properly yoked with its hard power capacities. This means therefore that Nigeria would most likely gain more influence on the international arena when it begins to properly and creatively articulate and mobilize its soft power just like other countries such United States, China and South Africa. What are then Nigeria's soft power potentials? To start with, Nigeria's soft power may potentially be coupled from attributes such as its cultural export (Nollywood); its political and iconic personalities; sporting accomplishment; international peace keeping role; delivery of public good, Afrocentric foreign policy; good neighborliness etc. We shall consider Nigeria's soft power opportunities on the three scales of cultural attraction, political values and foreign policy as used by Nye.

7.2.2.1.1 Nigeria's soft power of cultural attraction

In the area of cultural export particularly in terms of media export (the royalties and fees earned from the export of goods such as films, music and books) Nigeria's valuable contribution can be propelled to improve its international public image from music, art, entertainment, fashion, language, literature. For instance, Nigeria's entertainment industry particularly in the area of film, and music productions permeates virtually every nook and cranny of the African continent and beyond. Nigeria can boast of international renowned artists who have made their mark in their respective music genre. Living musical legends like King Sunny Ade, Asa, Tuface, P-

Square, D-Banj, and many others have songs that are aired in virtually every major street and public place in the continent. Nigeria's massive and attractive music and entertainment industry is very much the envy and point of attraction for many nationalities especially within the continent. These artists have no doubt become international celebrities with major music collaborations with international artistes across Europe and America.

Again, the general popularity of Nigeria's 'Nollywood' as Nigeria's film industry is dubbed after America's Hollywood is also one attribute of soft power potential that Nigeria can draw from. This is because Nollywood showcases the beautiful varieties of the Nigerian cultural heritage and its people to the point where other nationalities begin to admire the rich culture and history of the Nigerian people. Nollywood actors and actresses like Stephanie Okereke, Genevieve Nnaji, Patience Ozokwor, *Mr. Ibu*, Osita Ireme (Aki and Pawpaw), Pete Edoche, Omotola Jolade, Mercy Johnson, Richard Mofe Damijo, Ike Owo, Funke Akindele and many others are widely popular and celebrated among the African people for their animating qualities and can become ambassadors for promoting the Nigerian brand and initiative. This can also be complimented with popular Nigeria's soap operas like *Jacobs Cross*, *Tinsel*, etc. that are widely admired and watched by millions of viewers within the African continent courtesy of Dstv. A number of Multichoice/Dstv Africa Magic channels (AME 150, AMMov 152, AMM1 153, AMag 154) are dedicated Nollywood channels which constantly broadcast Nigerian films and programs which often present the rich culture and societal landmarks of the Nigerian people. Little wonder why the first ever Africa Magic Viewer's Choice Awards (AMVCA) was held in Nigeria in 2013.

The Nigerian government can in fact take advantage of the vast representation of its people through these platforms to project a cultural acceptance of its people. No doubt, the films, soaps and programs paint an admirable image of the Nigerian societal standards, intrigues and moral values.

Added to the above, is a variety of international legendary icons and popular authors of Nigerian origin with landmark literary works spanning across generations. Worthy of note among these are late Chinua Achebe whose famous book "Things Fall Apart" remains perhaps the most translated and relevant African literature; Wole Soyinka (Africa's first Nobel Laureate for Literature), Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (author of

Half of a Yellow Sun and Purple Hibiscus) and many more. By implication, Nigeria's international status has improved considerably by virtue of the good representation of these personalities.

Another measure of Nigeria's soft power would perhaps be its rich multi-ethnic identity and ethno-religious diversity which undoubtedly gives it a considerable moral platform to champion the cause of conflict resolution efforts on the basis of its own historically shared experiences. Nigeria can therefore take advantage of its ethnic and religious attributes in presenting itself as a moral authority for conflict resolution especially within the African continent. By implication, other countries with similar conditions are able to connect with the specific experiences of Nigeria and rely on its proposed strategy for resolving these kinds of conflicts. Aside this, Nigeria's Muslim population which is the largest in world outside the Arab world is considerably crucial in its soft power capacities as it can use its Muslim identity as a member of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) to negotiate international acceptability for its foreign policy strategy.

The same also goes for the rich and vibrant Christian population of Nigeria. Countless of elite Nigerian pastors are today renowned internationally for their miracle and healing working powers e.g. Pastor Chris Oyakilome, Prophet T.B. Joshua, Bishop David Oyedepo etc. Paradoxically so, Nigeria and Nigerians despite widespread corruption and poverty, 2010 Gallup global poll ranks the country as happiest and most optimistic people in the world respectively. It may be indeed wise for other countries to begin to learn from Nigeria the secret combination of happiness and spirituality as indices for development.

Furthermore, Nigeria's soft power potentials can also be distilled from its rich language culture. In South Africa for instance, it is not unusual to find South African giving themselves Igbo names like *Adaeze* (meaning first girl in the family), *Chibuzo*, *Femi* (meaning love me) etc. in recognition of their admiration of the Nigerian language in general. This is not unrelated to their exposure to the Nigerian culture on numerous Dstv channels and their fraternization with the Nigerian people who are not hard to find in any part of the world. It is also not uncommon to notice many Africans attempting to speak with the regular Nigerian pidgin tone using common expressions like "*how you dey now*" and "Abeg O!" which loosely means "how are you" and

“Please” respectively. In general, the Nigerian Pidgin language is one that is widely spoken and admired in many parts of West and Central Africa with an adulterated version of it equally spoken in many parts of Southern Africa especially in South Africa. And as Nye acknowledges, this can potentially be an important source of Nigeria’s soft power as culture has the capacity to attract people and produce soft power in conditions where similarities exists rather than differences (see Huang and Ding 2006).

Nigeria’s soft power potential is also highlighted in the reality that it is perhaps in Nigeria’s population. Even though this seems to be a hard power profile it can be channelled to attract soft power status for a country when used creatively. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Nigeria is the largest African country in terms of population and also the most populous Black country in the world meaning that every six black person and every 4 Africans is a Nigerian. Today, Nigeria is arguably the most educated country on the African continent and is among the most qualified professionals both in Africa and across the World in general. The health service sector in South Africa for instance is practically kept alive by Nigerian medical doctors while Nigerian students top the list of foreign African students both in the United Kingdom and United States. In general, hardly would you find any country today without a mass of Nigerians contributing substantially to the economic life of their host country. This educational and professional indispensability can be harnessed and transformed into soft power conditions for Nigeria. It is not surprising therefore to see also that Mr Aliko Dangote; a Nigerian is also Africa’s richest man highlighting the fact that Nigerian are also among the most prosperous people in the continent.

According to Nelson Mandela in one of his speeches, “Sport is probably the most effective means of communication in the modern world, bypassing both verbal and written communication and reaching directly out to billions of people worldwide” (cited in Beck 2004:77). Beck (2004:90) argues that “modern sport represents a major political, economic, social and cultural force in today’s world” (Beck 2004:90). Sporting laurels and hosting of mega sporting events has the capacity to enhance the international prestige of the host nation (Marx 2004:1). Levermore (2004:21) argue that aside the membership of the United Nations, membership of international sports

association is a major signal for the recognition of states by the international community. This is particularly true for South Africa during its exclusion from many international sports associations as a result of its apartheid policies. By implication, there is an enormous measure of soft power potential in the arena of sports as it serves a host nation the opportunity to subtly announce itself as an emerging power or even signal to the international community its level of development and economic progress made so far (Black & Van der Westhuizen 2004). For instance, West Germany used the hosting of the Olympic in 1936 to advance its international prestige (Roche, 18, 104). These actions can raise international prestige, while at the same time yield other potential benefits for the host nation.

Nigeria's lofty contribution in sports in both areas of participation, winning medals, bidding to host and hosting mega sporting events also presents a viable platform for it to increase its international reputation in the eyes of other global stakeholders. During the Cold-War period, sports was used by contending states as a political weapon to exert influence. Nigeria since independence has performed to an appreciable standard particularly in the area of participation and organizing major sporting events, particularly football. In this sense, its sporting achievements can therefore be converted into soft power potentials for achieving its external strategies. Recently, Nigeria emerged African champion after she won the CAF Orange African Cup of Nations coincidentally hosted by South Africa in 2013; a feat that it last achieved almost 2 decades earlier.

7.2.2.1.2 Nigeria's soft power of political values (Ideology)

As a result of the long years of military rule, Nigeria's political values were anything but ideal or admirable. However, the advent of democracy in 1999 has brought fresh perspective into the global identity of the Nigerian state. In examining Nye's soft power attribute of political values in the Nigerian democratic context, we can infer that the country promotes such internationally acceptable political ethos of liberal democracy; rule of law and fundamental human rights, constitutionalism; respect for constitutionally enshrined values of human rights, equality and justice for all people. Nigeria's democratic consolidation efforts since 1999 have therefore presented a platform to begin to imbibe these values and principles that were invariably strange or missing under successive military eras.

Nigeria's soft power potential in political values can also stem from the political goodwill and international status of many of its past and present political leaders and iconic characters like Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo, Tafawa Balewa, General Olusegun Obasanjo (rtd), General Abdulsalami Abubakar (rtd) etc. Archbishop Peter Akinola (former Anglican Primate of the Church of Nigeria) and the current Nigerian president Goodluck Jonathan both feature in the 2006 and 2012 Times Magazine 100 most influential people respectively. Renowned author Chinua Achebe also tops Forbes list of 40 most powerful celebrities in Africa accompanied by noble Nigerians such as Wole Soyinka (6th), Femi Kuti (10th), Genevieve Nnaji (19th), Chimamanda Adichie (32nd), Tuface Idibia (34th), P-Square (35th), Don Jazzy (36th), D'Banj (37th), 38. Nneka (38th) and Asa (39th) (see Forbes 2013). These international iconic characters can no doubt attract abundant global public profile which the country can in the first instance convert into benefits and in the second place, begin to reduce drastically the huge cost of achieving the country's foreign policy objectives (Mustapha 2008:41). I argue in line with Mustapha (2008:52) that the national reputation of Nigeria and Nigerians can have tremendous implication for the cost of Nigeria's foreign policy particularly when it is creatively and positively channeled. Conversely, a negative national character has a destructive consequence thus making foreign policy extremely difficult and frustrating to accomplish.

Nigeria's bloodless transition from military to civilian rule also offers a successful political recipe for democratic transition and the peaceful resolution of internal political conflict and particularly for authoritarian and military states. This has offered a remarkable change in the international perception of Nigeria in the international system.

Another possible potential soft power variable for Nigeria would also be its population clout as the most populous Black nation in Africa and the world at large. Nigeria's commitment to promoting the values of good neighborliness through peaceful resolution of dispute as exemplified for example in the twin cases president Obasanjo's decision to grant asylum to Liberia's warlord and former president Charles Taylor of Nigeria's and the peaceful resolution of the Bakassi peninsula dispute with Cameroon and in 2003 and 2008 respectively. These gestures can no doubt translate into subtle forms of power for the country especially in the long term

where certain global benefits like a UN seat can be attracted. Nigeria's many decades of foreign policy incursions into Africa has been dedicated towards improving the quality of lives of its African neighbors especially by often expending its oil wealth, military resources as well as human capital for the development of many parts of Africa (see chapter 3 for more details). Similarly, Nigeria's "strong political will and financial support has also helped to transform ECOWAS from its trade-based foundation to a security-based Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG)" (Uzodike 2013:11). Summarily as Oshuntokun (2008:157) remarks, "Nigeria's relations with its neighbours have largely been friendly...."

As echoed earlier, Nigeria can begin to consolidate upon its progresses in development and economic growth offered as a result of a stable democratic space aided by the noticeable improvements in its foreign relations since 1999 from an almost international bellicose state to one that is accepted as a qualified member of the international system thus increasing its international prestige.

7.2.2.1.3 Nigeria's soft power of foreign policies

No country can boast of having a better record in diplomatic engagements in Africa other than Nigeria. As discussed in the previous chapters, Nigeria's robust foreign policy particularly in the area of peacekeeping and peacemaking provides a valuable platform for advancing its international image and respectability. The country today has the highest contribution of troops among West African states and is also the 4th largest contributing country to the United Nations troops. Without doubt, since its first peace-keeping operations baptism in the Congo in 1960; "Nigeria has been at the forefront of a number of peace building and conflict resolution initiatives in Africa...championing the cause of peace and unity" (Uzodike *et al* 2013:1). At the West African sub-region, Nigeria has played an enviable role bringing solutions to many conflicts as shown its intervention and contribution of military, humanitarian, diplomatic, financial and material resources in zone of wars like Chad, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Sao-Tome and Principe, Sierra-Leone, Sudan and more recently in Cote d'Ivoire, Mali and Central African Republic. Its involvement in in many of these sub-regional conflicts have helped to shape its international perception as a regional

benevolent power thus gaining respectable international *kudos* among its contemporaries (Uzodike *et al* 2013:11).

As stated earlier, its concern for the wellbeing of its African neighbors has motivated an exceptionally benevolent foreign policy posture that prioritizes the progress of the African people. Fundamentally, the general principle of Nigeria's foreign policy on the continent and further afield is not one throws its weight around considering its power capabilities (Osuntokun 2008:157).

Related to the above is Nigeria's extensive record at the decolonization process and liberation struggle in many African countries which at the end of the day made huge contributions to the independence of African states particularly in the Southern African region. Nigeria was at the forefront of a number of decolonization struggles in Africa exemplified in its uncompromised support towards several liberationist movements in Southern Africa including African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia, the Zimbabwe Africa National Union-Patriotic Front, (ZANU-PF) and the Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola (MPLA) etc. (see Uzodike *et al* 2013:2; Chinade 2013:4-7).

Nigeria's afrocentric foreign policy premised on the underlying principles of a total commitment towards advancing the spirit of African unity thus meant that Africa will receive priority in the foreign policy consideration of Nigeria; a principle which has largely remained the same in the annals of the country's foreign policy over several administrations. As a result, Nigeria has unrivalled contribution to the growth and development of its African neighbors since its attainment of formal independence in 1960 (Akinyemi 1989). Nigeria's has also been able to use the offer numerous economic incentives along with numerous bilateral and multilateral treaties and commissions for participating countries to attract international benefits.

Unmistakably outlined in the 1999 constitution are the foreign policy priorities of Nigeria and since the return to democracy in 1999 under president Obasanjo, these priorities have been used to advocate international respectability and acceptance from a pariah that it was particularly during the Babangida and Abacha military administrations. Democracy, rule of law, governmental accountability, popular

sovereignty and ultimately regional and continental economic integration are gradually beginning to form a cardinal component in the conduct of the country's foreign policy (Osuntokun 2008:157). There is no denying the destructive effect that military rule brought to Nigeria's international image; however Nigeria in the past decade and half has made substantial progress towards revitalizing its dwindling international image beyond mere official rhetoric.

The government's emphasis on the importance of rule based multilateralism has been at the fore front of its foreign policy implementation. It has continued to participate actively in the reformation and functionality of a number of multilateral initiatives such as the creation of the African Union (AU), the New Partnership for Africa's development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).

Summarily, while acknowledging the difficulty in estimating the soft power potentials in concrete terms, we suggest that Nigeria possesses considerable soft power potentials many of which are yet to be properly channeled to accrue any meaningful the possible benefit for both country and people. A number of impediments pose serious threat to the valuable use of these soft power potentials that if addressed may reduce the country expenditure and cost on actualizing its foreign policy and the heavy reliance on hard power of coercion. Nigeria can therefore no doubt attract great public image by focusing first on building a positive international respect for itself where every Nigerian begins to "consider him- or herself an ambassador of the country. The image of the 'ugly' Nigerian' has become a significant obstacle to good relations, not only with Nigeria's neighbours, but also on the continent and further afield" (Osuntokun 2008:158).

The formal institutions of foreign policy processes are not in themselves sufficient to further the cause of Nigeria. There is a huge responsibility on the part of the citizens to help build a positive image for the country.

7.2.2.2 South Africa's soft power profiles

In extrapolating the above 'soft' power context into South Africa, we need to ask whether South Africa indeed possess any meaningful soft power potentials or capacity that it could wield on an international scale to attract certain strategic gain. In my estimation, while it is possible to infer that South Africa indeed has incredible soft

power potentials, it may prove difficult to be able to locate the effective, calculated and empirically measurable translation of this potential into actual influence or strategic advantage for the country. On the other hand, South Africa's soft power potentials may in fact be far enormous than its hard power assets. Indeed, South Africa's soft power has incredibly grown in proportion outside the direct diplomatic calculation and strategy of Pretoria. It therefore becomes imperative for the country to begin to deliberately find means to enhance and optimize its soft power profile particularly within the continent in order to maximize its comparative advantage and advance its global reputation while equally attracting the necessary accruable benefits. South Africa is therefore capable of achieving more and gaining more influence through the mobilizing its soft power which in any case is often less expensive and controversial to fronting its external strategy. In my account, its soft power potential may therefore include such sources as its media export, political freedom, constitutionally enshrined values of rule of law, the bill of right etc. its vast array of iconic powers and political goodwill, multinational companies, prestigious universities, cultural export, sporting attraction, hospitality among many others.

Without mincing words, South Africa can clearly be seen as a soft power state having the soft power attributes to avoid the use of coercion and force in ensuring that the attractiveness of its own ideas and preferences is reflected in the choices of other states particularly within Africa. This it can do "by taking cognisance of its racial past; the richness of its diverse culture; the contradictions in socio-economic development; the fight against poverty and inequalities; and adherence to constitutionalism and the rule of law in setting the agenda and ensuring that the multilateral system can implement policies that are people-centred" (Chiroro 2012:2). According to Chiroro, South Africa can confidently exercise its geopolitical influence by exercising its "values, culture, policies and institutions and use these effectively in attracting other nations to want what South Africa desires for its people; this is the ultimate display of soft power" (Chiroro 2012:3). In this way, it is able to gain acceptance and voluntary compliance where force is not needed. We shall explore the three contexts of soft power as espoused by Nye in its application to South Africa.

7.2.2.2.1 South Africa's soft power of cultural attraction

South Africa possesses enormous cultural exports in the area of music, art, media, literature etc. that if properly harnessed are capable of transforming the role it plays in its diplomatic engagement with the rest of the international community. For instance, South Africa has an attractive music and entertainment industry that is very much the envy and point of attraction for many nations especially within the continent. Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town are increasingly becoming the hub for the production of several hit music videos and films many of which portray the country in a respectable and admirable image. There is also the general popularity of South African soap operas like *Generations*, *Isidingo*, *Rhythm City* etc. which often paint a pleasant and intriguing scenario of the country's societal standards and values. These can be blended with a number of admirable popular international artists, authors, poets, sportsmen, etc. of South African export some of which include Charlize Theron, Alan Paton, Antjie Krog, Leon Schuster, Miriam Makeba, Zapiro, John Maxwell Coetzee and many more (see Smith 2012:73) that collectively give a good image to the 'South African brand'. As a result, South Africa's international image has improved tremendously through the projection of these serene impressions of the country and this can no doubt present a platform potential for international acceptability of what it stands for.

Again, South Africa's ethnic diversity and multi-racial cultural background gives it an extra edge of cultural attraction for other countries within the international system. Today, South Africa is one of the most multicultural and multi-racial countries in the world. As a result of its racial past and particularly the adoption of non-violent transition process towards an all-inclusive democracy, it becomes less difficult for other nationalities to identify with the political and ethnic challenges which invariably inform preferred recommendations for global solutions on related issues. South Africa's cultural heritage is also one respected aspect. Particularly, the Zulu culture is one that generally permeates and dominates many parts of the Southern African region. According to Nye, this can potentially be an important source of South Africa's power as "culture is more likely to attract people and produce soft power in situations where cultures are somewhat similar rather than widely dissimilar" (see Huang and Ding 2006). A good example is the adoption of the term "Ubuntu", a Zulu

word and concept which cuts across ethnic different ethnic groups and political parties in South Africa.

South Africa's soft power potential is also evidenced in the general continental preference for its higher education institutions. Today this educational preference is also endorsed by the reality of the fact that South African Universities are represented in at least 8 of the top 10 highest ranked Universities in Africa with University of Cape Town (UCT) ranked highest (Webometrics 2012). Enrolment figures into South African Universities particularly from Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Swaziland and even India has increased remarkably since the post-apartheid period as a result of the delivery of high level of education. Even though this soft power potential is often punctured by incidences of xenophobic attacks within the country, however there is little to show that this has deterred the preference for South Africa Universities. While it is admissible that this influx of international students into South Africa can be attributable to the country's comparatively rich and buoyant economy, its exponential increase in total enrolment of foreign students reflects more importantly South Africa's increasing soft power role as a safe haven and centre of cultural attraction for the rest of Africa.

However, it is important to equally consider the impact of South African educational institutions on the perceptions of foreign students about their South African host. It might be interesting to know whether foreign graduates from South African universities become ambassadors for South Africa in projecting its image or are repulsive and critical of its system. For instance, literature shows that foreign students who end up studying at American universities end up being critical of the American capitalist system while the same also applies to the Communist styled system in the then USSR.

Furthermore, South Africa uses soft-power resources of cultural investments to "draw others into a system of alliances and institutions" (Nye 2004:2). This is displayed in its commitment to the propagation of the cultural heritage of other states in a way that promotes its good image and hence its soft power potential. Chief among this list is the South Africa-Mali Timbuktu Manuscript project which is an initiative entirely bankrolled by the South African government as part of its NEPAD cultural project to protect Mali's Timbuktu historical relics.

In the area of sports as a global cultural phenomenon, the transformation of sports generally from leisure into a billion dollar industry has created a soft power space for any willing nation to tap into. Without doubt, we see powerful states using sports as a tool to reinforce and announce their dominance in the international system either during the Olympics or at major sporting events across the world. In fact, during the apartheid period, international sporting sanctions also became a critical tool of coercion of the South African apartheid government. Particularly since its re-admittance into the international sporting arena following the advent of democracy in 1994, South Africa has successfully been able to announce its arrival using the sports platform translated in its capacity to excellently host major sporting events in line with international standards and best practices. The country equally has an impressive sports tradition in the area of participation of global sporting events. A typical example is South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup held in Africa for the first time (see table below).

Table 7.9: International Sporting Events hosted by South Africa (1998-2013)

Year	International Sporting event
2013	CAF Africa Cup of Nations
2010	FIFA World Cup
2010	BMX World Championships
	UCI MTB World Cup
2009	ICC Champions Trophy
	FIFA Confederations Cup
2009	Indian Premier League
2007	World Twenty20 Championships
Since 2006	A1 Grand Prix
Since 2003	FINA Swimming World Cup
1999-2008	Red Bull Big Wave Africa (1999-2008)
	Six-star rated surfing events (annual)
2006	Paralympic Swimming World Champs
2005-2008	Women's World Cup of Golf
2003	2003 President's Cup
	Cricket World Cup
1998	World Cup of Athletics
1996	World Cup of Golf
	CAF African Nations Cup
1995	Rugby World Cup

Source: South Africa Info (2013)

Also, since 1995 and 1996, when South Africa successfully hosted and won the Rugby World Cup final and the CAF African Nations Cup respectively on home soil, the country has continued to take advantage of the international sporting arena to attract international acceptance and gain international prestige.

The use of sports as a political tool for the accomplishment of certain external strategy is therefore increasingly becoming useful for South Africa's diplomatic engagement. For instance, South Africa stepped in to save Mozambique from the embarrassment of backing out from hosting the last All Africa Games as a result of paucity of funds. However, this did not come without an insistence on the category of sporting events to be included in the Games thus serving as a vivid assertion of its capacity to use sports for strategic advantage. Nevertheless, perhaps because South Africa has not been able to effectively take account and maximize its soft power potential in sports in terms of direct policy goals, it often becomes difficult to assess the impact for instance of South Africa's hosting of different sporting events. Whether this sporting investment yields any particular dividends is yet to be empirically verified. Analysts point to the fact that despite South Africa's landmark hosting of Africa's first World Cup and Danny Jordaan's superb role in bringing this great achievement to past (as Chairman of the Local Organizing Committee for the 2010 FIFA World Cup), this did little to win him and his country a seat in the CAF Executive Committee following his loss to Madagascar's Ahmad (*Daily Independent* March 11, 2013). It would have been imagined that a membership in CAF's Executive Committee would have been a suitable reward for South Africa's role in football development in Africa also taking into account more recently its acceptance to rescue CAF from the humiliation of the Libya's reluctance to host the African Nations Cup in 2013. Added to this blow is South Africa's tendency to always complain when it is at the losing end of these processes which invariably further compromises and contradicts any soft power benefits it could invoke in the area of sports.

The South African media also presents a huge potential for the appropriation of soft power. The media is able to influence the perception of the international community about South Africa and thus improve its image. Like the CNN of United States and the BBC of the United Kingdom, *Multichoice*, *SABC 1, 2, 3*, *Enca/E-tv* are some of South Africa's media platforms that project South Africa's image both within the

Southern African region and the African continent in general and are therefore able to condition the general perception of foreigner about the image of South Africa.

7.2.2.2.2 South Africa's soft power of political values (Ideology)

It has often been argued that South Africa's economic success has presented Africa and indeed the developing world with a political recipe for success. In the context of Nye's soft power condition of political values, South Africa's soft power is distilled in a number of factors like its liberal democratic ideals; respect for constitutionalism; political goodwill and the international status of its political leaders and iconic characters; its transition process and national struggle history; domestic policies; constitutionally enshrined values of the Bill of Right, respect for human rights, equality of all people and global justice; its international image, its role as a North-South bridge builder etc. South Africa can use a combination of these soft power potentialities to launch its influence in the global arena (Smith 2012:73).

In the first place, South Africa can deploy the political goodwill and the international status of many of its past and present political leaders like Nelson Mandela, Jan Smuts, Steve Biko, Albert Luthuli, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Thabo Mbeki, O.R. Tambo etc. to highlight its international soft power status. These national super heroes are international reputable statesmen who wield a massive international political clout by virtue of their contribution to the political development and transformation of the South African state. South Africa can therefore climb on the back of the memory of these achievements as launch pad for its external strategy. At the same token, there are several other international iconic characters beyond the political sphere where South Africans enjoy extraordinary international goodwill by reason of their achievements for the country in different spheres of society. The international reputation of such renowned men and women like Enoch Sontonga (1873-1905), composer of the song "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika", which went on to become the anthem of three countries and generations of Africans; Chris Barnard (1922–2001), the first surgeon in the world to perform a human heart transplant in 1967; J.M Coetzee, a professor of Literature and author who became the double winner of the Booker prize in 1983 and 1999 respectively and Nobel Prize for Literature in 2003 among many others.

In the same vein, South Africa's status as a liberal democratic state where the rights of the individual and equality of all people under a free market economy are promoted within a democratic political system equally affords it the legitimate basis among the comity of nations. The South African state thus makes provision for constitutionally enshrined values which prescribe certain universal political ideals which are generally upheld principles among civilized nations. Similarly, the South African constitution is also remarkable for its provision of sacrosanct values such as the Bill of Right, respect for human rights and racial equality etc. Aside this, the South African democracy is founded on the principle of constitutionalism where the constitution takes precedence and serves as a guiding light for political actions and inactions. As a corollary, the country is able to champion these principles of fundamental human right, justice and racial equality on a global scale across the world and can therefore secure international collaboration on the basis that these same norms and ideals are inherently and strongly respected within its own political system and structures. South Africa's classification by the Freedom Charter (2008) as a "liberal democracy" adds to its political acceptance providing it with "more international legitimacy" much more than Nigeria for instance which is categorized as an "electoral democracy" (Flemes and Wojczewski 2010:20).

South Africa can also build upon the transformation of its international image from a pariah state to one that is munificent where it shows its commitment not only to the concerns of its own people but also that of Africa and the developing world in general (Smith 2012:73). Since the post-apartheid period, South Africa's relationship with the rest of the world has not only improved dramatically but also its international prestige and popularity has been enhanced greatly particularly under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. Smith (2012:73) equally agrees that South Africa's new international status cannot be unconnected to the "high ground held by the then president Nelson Mandela...presenting itself to the world as the newest 'good international citizen' on the block" (see Graham 2008). South Africa's international image also received a boost by virtue of its national struggle history and incredible violent free transition process to an all-inclusive democracy.

South Africa has also sought to play the role as a bridge builder under a unevenly skewed global international economic order between the Global South and global

North by bringing to fore the plights of the former through its membership of multilateral frameworks like BRICS, NAM, G20 etc. to “becoming more sensitive to the needs of Africa and the global South by emphasizing cooperation and interdependence’ (Chiroro 2012:3).

7.2.2.2.3 South Africa’s soft power of foreign policies

As clearly articulated in the 1996 policy document of South Africa, the South African government is committed to the ideal of a new global order based on greater peace and prosperity for all mankind, working to reform the United Nations (UN) and other international institutions to serve as more efficient instruments in the service of such a global order (Chiroro 2012). Since the mid-1994s to date, South Africa through its foreign policy has moved from total isolation from international organizations to countless membership numbers. A direct implication of the entrance of post-apartheid South Africa into the international space is its dramatic increase and participation in international institutions and organizations. The government has continued to emphasize the importance of multilateralism and the urgent need to revitalize and reform the UN and international financial institutions by allowing the developing world to gain a voice in such Western-dominated institutions. According to Chiroro (2012:5), “South Africa has aptly used its relations with countries of the North to put issues such as free and fair trade on the international agenda, and used its soft power to call for ‘global solidarity’”.

Keenly aware of the damage caused by the foreign policy radicalism under the apartheid period, South Africa has worked extremely hard through official rhetoric and diplomatic practice to promote a view of itself as a new kind of regional power; one that is not a pariah nor aggressive in nature. It now places emphasis on universally recognized norms governing international relations of peaceful settlement of disputes through negotiations, mutual beneficial economic contracts etc. South Africa’s increased and active participation in regional multilateral frameworks and participants in regional security networks such as the SADC, SACU, AU equally backed up by a level of compliance with the rules, norms, and goals of these institutions is indicative of cooperative and responsible actor in the international system. Borrowing from Johnston’s codification of five major international normative regimes: sovereignty, free trade, nonproliferation and arms control, national self-

determination, and human rights, South Africa perhaps fairs well in average standards of presenting a foreign policy that is in conformity to international norms and standards. As echoed by Smith (2012:73), “the instrumental role that it played as a norm entrepreneur in a number of multilateral initiatives such as the creation of the African Union (AU), the New Partnership for Africa’s development (Nepad) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)...” are some of South Africa’s contribution to building its soft power since 1994.

By implication, due partly to its rigorous foreign policy, South Africa has been able to also exercise effective leadership in “multilateral fora on behalf of its region, Africa, and the developing world” (Smith 2012:74). Particularly, South Africa has a foreign policy priority that focuses on Africa.

Understandably, actors are more likely to cooperate out of self-interest; nevertheless, the extent of their cooperation is likely to be enhanced depending on the attractiveness of South Africa’s soft power strategy in obtaining this cooperation at a lesser cost and without much stress. The point here is that the rise of South Africa’s power status is not due to just its hard power profiles but more importantly by aggregated efforts to optimize its soft power of attraction along with the traditional hard power competences. South Africa therefore needs to prioritize the importance of its attractiveness abroad by placing more emphasis on its soft power potentialities as driving force for this international acceptance. This is because South Africa’s soft power is what accounts for its global popularity and acceptance in the international system whether as a representative of the Global South and developing world or as contending aspirant for an African representation at the UN Security Council. When South Africa’s policies lose their legitimacy in the eyes of others, the tendency is that doubt increases thus reducing its leverage in international affairs.

7.3 A comparative assessment of Nigeria and South Africa’s power profiles

From the above discussion, a number of comparative deductions can be drawn from Nigeria and South Africa power equations. Firstly, it is clear that the roles that Nigeria and South Africa play at the three concentric circle of regional, continental and global scenes are conditioned by their estimation of power potentials and secondly, as a result of their capacity to effectively mobilize specific power variables in achieving its respective foreign policy objective. As we would later show, both countries have no

doubt been able to use their power elements to promote economic and peace diplomacy respectively with mixed outcomes.

Secondly, there is no denying that both Nigeria and South Africa possess an appreciable degree of both hard and soft powers in terms of potential and capacity. However, while Nigeria's military power might not be as advanced as South Africa's in terms of sophistication and hardware, it has no doubt been able to achieve more through the instrumentality of its military power than South Africa obviously has. Nigeria's peacekeeping efforts in many parts of Africa is testimony to this effect and its military experience over the years is one that South Africa can borrow from particularly viewed from the recent context of the events in Burundi, DRC and even CAR where South Africa has had to abandon its mission in these countries. On the contrary, Nigeria on record has never aborted any military operation mid-way and has reputedly seen through to the end all of its military incursions without backing down. On the contrary, South Africa does not have the experience militarily that Nigeria has despite the former's military superiority. In essence, by virtue of the fact of Nigeria's acceptance in the international comity of nations following its independence and South Africa's suspension about the same period, Nigeria has enjoyed more international reputation as a result of the greater role its military has played in its foreign policy both in West African and Africa vis-à-vis South Africa particularly in the periods under study. South Africa on the other hand only became a democratic state in 1994.

Conversely, South Africa's soft power potentials and capacity seem more enormous and attracting huge international respect for the country particularly given its tainted apartheid history. As stated above, in many ways, South Africa's well-articulated soft power agenda therefore dwarfs that of Nigeria. South Africa has therefore been able to gain more from its strategic soft power disposition through concerted efforts to promote its international prestige among the comity of nations. In comparison therefore, while Nigeria has benefitted immensely from its military hard power capacity, the same cannot be said for its economic component which even though appears to be fairly organized; thrives on the informal sector. Nigeria's almost absent soft power potentials is also evident given the country overemphasis on hard power capabilities. There is yet very minimal appreciation of this potential for appropriating

foreign policy benefits and more importantly minimizing the cost of foreign policy. On the other hand, South Africa's military and economic capacities appear to be sophisticated, advanced and organized as a result of years of heavy investment and rich economic endowment. However, I argue that both countries would perhaps achieve exponential and better results when they result to consolidating each other's power potentials and capacities for the greater good of Africa. Nigeria and South Africa's enormous power potentials is contradicted by inherent internal contradictions and rising domestic problems which both countries are struggling to grapple with (Adebajo and Mustapha 2008). This has continuously raised doubt about any possible hegemonic ambition which both countries may have in Africa.

Table 7.10: Comparison of South Africa's and Nigeria's material resources

South Africa's Material Resources		Nigeria's Material Resources	
Military		Military	
Military expenditure (US\$ million) 2007	4,040	Military expenditure (US\$ million) 2007	825
Sub-Saharan ranking	1	Sub-Saharan ranking	2
Total armed forces (thousands) 2008	62	Total armed forces (thousands) 2008	80
Sub-Saharan ranking	5	Sub-Saharan ranking	4
Energy		Energy	
Oil production (million barrels/day) 2007	0.2	Oil production (million barrels/day) 2007	2.35
Sub-Saharan ranking	7	Sub-Saharan ranking	1
Natural gas production (billion cm) 2007	2.9	Natural gas production (billion cm) 2007	34.1
Sub-Saharan ranking	2	Sub-Saharan ranking	1
Economy			
GDP (US\$ billion) 2008	485.5	GDP (US\$ billion) 2008	335
Sub-Saharan ranking	1	Sub-Saharan ranking	2
Global Competitiveness Index Rank 2008	45	Global Competitiveness Index Rank (2008)	94
Sub-Saharan ranking	1	Sub-Saharan ranking	7
Demographics/Geography		Demographics/Geography	
Population (million) 2008	43.768	Population (million) 2008	138.2
Sub-Saharan ranking	4	Sub-Saharan ranking	1
Land area (thousand sq. km)	1,219.1	Land area (thousand sq. km)	923.8
Sub-Saharan ranking	6	Sub-Saharan ranking	10

Source: Flemes and Wojczewski's (2010:20-21)

Another remarkable point of comparison for both countries is in the area of the direct correlation of its hard power and economic power in terms of gains and loss. While Nigeria's emphasis has been on using its military power as a foreign policy strategy, it has regrettably failed to translate this into economic benefits for its people. Nigeria

thus has yielded very minimal benefits from its military advancement. In the second place, the mobilization and appropriation of power by both Nigeria and South Africa demands attention. In the case of Nigeria, the country has not shied away from mobilizing its hard power especially in military and economic terms particularly for the benefits of its African counterparts. South Africa on the other hand has a mixed identity of the appropriation of its power component due largely to its staggered political history as a result of apartheid (Adebajo 2007:214). According to Adebajo (2007:214), “The apartheid era army’s destabilisation of neighbours has left a profound distrust of South African military interventionism which remains strong today”. Under the apartheid period, South Africa used its military as an instrument of destabilization of the South African region. However, this has changed under the post-apartheid administrations as South Africa is more careful with the option of military engagement as a result of the suspicion of the previous years, the fundamental change in regime type, ideology and political institutional configuration as well as the adoption of universal human rights. South Africa therefore has been able to use its hard power coefficients to attract economic benefits for itself.

In all, despite the fact that South Africa accounts for about a third of Africa’s economy and is more prosperous than Nigeria, it nevertheless faces extreme military challenges and political rivalry particularly from its Southern African sub-region due in part to the destabilization policies of the apartheid government.

Furthermore, there are a number of factors that the power profiles of both countries are dependent on. For Nigeria, it is no doubt a heavy reliance on oil along with its long years of military rule and in the case of South Africa, one can point to the discovery of gold in the country. Both countries have been able to use these resources to appropriate and develop their power potential and extend their influence further afield. South Africa’s economic and political stature since 1994 has seen it emerge as one of the key countries that could drive thinking and influence developments in regional and continental structures (Ngwenya 2012:153). This is an irrefutable fact buttressed by hard evidence which is traceable in many areas as shown above.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter examines the power profiles of both Nigeria and South Africa in terms of their traditional hard power and soft power potentials and capabilities. In doing so, it

comparatively analyzes both countries' power capacities at the sub-regional and continental levels and how this informs the aggressiveness of their foreign policy. Of note at this juncture is the fact that the foreign policy trajectories of both countries is carved out as a function of power capacities. Again, we conclude that both countries would perhaps achieve more when or if they begin to pay more attention to the subtle soft elements of their power potentials as this has tremendous capacity to change or transform their international image remarkably judging by both countries' military and apartheid past respectively. Soft power is increasingly becoming significant for countries who wish to wield significant power in the international system and it becomes imperative for these two powerhouses of the African continent to likewise begin to make serious soft power investment that would no doubt improve their international perception.

Again, while South Africa may perhaps be seen on paper as the military stronghold of the African continent, Nigeria however, has played more reputable role militarily within the continent particularly seen in the context of its many years of peacekeeping efforts. This is mainly because Nigeria obtained political independence in 1960 and joined the international community immediately thereafter whereas South Africa only became a democratic country in 1994 after many years of isolation. We can therefore conclude that the possession of military might or hard power does not necessarily equate to actual power as what matters is the ability to mobilize and appropriate this power to achieve a particular end or benefit.

In the area of soft power, despite the fact that South Africa seemingly has enormous soft power potentials, it does not appear that this was as a result of careful creative planning of the government as the soft power potential seems conferred by happenstance. In other words, South Africa would achieve more through its soft power with concerted efforts to pursue policies to advance its global public image.

Nigeria and South Africa undoubtedly remain Africa's economic colossuses (Adedeji 1999:5), as remarked by Kissinger (2001:208-209), "No state except Nigeria or South Africa is in a position to play a major role outside its immediate region...." (cited in Adebajo 2007:215). In terms of material resources, Flesmes and Wojczewski (2010:20-21) for instance classify Nigeria as a secondary power in comparison to South Africa (see Flesmes table above).

Both countries have therefore been considered as capable of playing roles that can propel the continent towards the path of development. Having outlined the series of factors that shape the roles African regional powers play particularly within the continent, the ensuing chapter undertakes a critical analysis of the roles that these regional powers play as a result of their power profiles and investigates what implication this has for the African continent and their leadership aspiration.

Political leadership in the international system has created different theories and criteria of leadership. While the United States of America remains an undisputed – albeit insufficient – global leader, recognizing regional or middle powers is not easy. In Africa, South Africa and Nigeria are looked up to as possible leaders in Africa. However, each of these countries comes with a negative history that causes suspicion from other African countries. This becomes difficult for these nations to be regarded as leaders especially judging from many theories of regional leadership which posits that an aspiring leader has to proclaim its leadership intent – and has to receive acknowledgement from other states within its region.

The apartheid history will bother South Africa's image as a leader of Africa for many years to come. Similar to this is Nigeria's history as a conflict-riddled country which has had a lot of *coup d'états*. Other African states are equally unsure about accepting countries with such histories as representative of the African region.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PROMOTING HEGEMONIC ORDER AND REGIONAL STABILITY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: A PARADOX FOR NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

8.1 Introduction

All nations aspire to greatness. Political hierarchy and the anarchic nature of the international system often necessitate conduits through which states are able to navigate and aggregate their power currents in order to advance a self-inspired aspiration for greatness. This is true especially for Nigeria and South Africa. In the previous chapter, I have examined the variables that (potentially) determine the power (or otherwise) of Nigeria and South Africa in the international arena. This chapter turns the analysis towards the influence of both countries in Africa particularly since the emergence of democratic dispensations in 1999 and 1994 respectively. Particularly, the concern is with empirically estimating how the hard and soft power elements and capabilities of Nigeria and South Africa have been invoked to fan the embers of hegemonic ambitions within the continent. It aims to underscore whether there has been a deliberate use of hard and/or soft power to establish regional hegemony in Africa. On the other hand, it sets out to interrogate the conditions that impact on hegemonic ambition and in essence, questions Nigeria and/or South Africa's (assumed) hegemony in the context of the theory of hegemonic stability. This it does by extrapolating and connecting the theory's prescriptions to empirical evidences of both countries' relations with Africa.

While scholars and leading opinion holders have attributed Nigeria and South Africa's influence in Africa as typical of a hegemon, this thesis interrogates the efficacy and substance of this argument/claim in the context of the nature and pattern of both countries' foreign policy relations in Africa. For Nigeria, our remit is to be able to determine whether there is indeed a dwindling influence of the country in Africa *vis-à-vis* South Africa's rising political-economic capacity. On the flip side, it is interesting to also know if this scenario still portrays Nigeria as Africa's undisputed hegemonic/leader or a secondary power within the continent. Again, for South Africa, it is equally important to ascertain whether Pretoria's hard and soft power credentials

essentially guarantees a hegemonic presence in Africa. This thesis equally considers a number of conditions that increasingly poke holes on the fabric of Nigeria and South Africa's capacity to play any meaningful hegemonic or leadership role in Africa. In doing this, we attempt to assess the inherent internal and constraining external conditions that enhance or diminish these claims or credentials for regional hegemony or leadership.

8.2 Interrogating the question of hegemony in Africa: Nigeria and/or South Africa?

Does Nigeria and/or South Africa harbor any aspiration for regional and continental hegemony and do both countries project any clearly articulated continental plan and will to manifest or bring to fusion this desire? What is the impact and implication of Nigeria and South Africa's foreign policy strategies for their hegemonic ambitions (if any) within the continent? In other words, does South Africa's increasing economic and political clout or superiority coupled with its rising profile as a major regional power in Africa and of the developing world enthrone upon it the identity of a regional hegemon in Africa? Or can we in fact, lay claim to the presence of two regional hegemonies (of Nigeria and South Africa) within a particular period of hegemonic dispensation? Again, is Nigeria and/or South Africa playing the role of a continental leader, partner, power or hegemon or do these four possibilities mean the same thing or are mere intellectual jingoism. And does South Africa's power credentials disqualify Nigeria as a major contender of hegemony in Africa? Is there a single dominant state capable of articulating and enforcing the rules of interaction among most important members within Sub Saharan Africa? How has post-apartheid Africa's political-economic calculus cemented with the ushering in of South Africa into the political-economic space configured or reconfigured the dynamics of power within the continent?

In short, these related questions point to our interest in exploring how Nigeria and South Africa's foreign policies particularly in relation to Africa have comprehensively evinced evidence of an African hegemony or otherwise. And if the contrary is the case, it would be interesting to contemplate what conclusions can be drawn about the motive of both countries' external relations with Africa. In investigating this dilemma, the chapter turns to some of the internal and external undercurrents that advance or

constrain the legitimization of hegemonic influence in Africa by both countries given the clarity of their ambition.

Theoretically, we have established the linkage between the hegemonic presence of a powerful state and the corollary existence of stability within a specific region (Nye 2004) and that Africa needs a regional hegemon capable of addressing political, economic and security issues bedeviling the continent is not in doubt (Habib and Selinyane 2004; Sidiropoulos 2007). This assuredly would have the propensity to restore Africa's respect in the international sphere. Dwelling on the argument that African states must take responsibility for their development, regional hegemonic powers therefore have the potential to promote hegemonic order and hence regional stability within the region where they are located. Particularly, we are concerned to know how both countries have perceived and pursued their responsibility towards their African neighbours and how these responsibilities have consequently helped to advance continental ambition for regional hegemony. It is from this standpoint that we move on to investigate how both countries have used their leadership capabilities (discussed earlier) to address endemic African issues and challenges. We move on to extensively examine the questions raised above.

There is the general understanding that what makes a regional hegemon or power is not necessarily the potential for hard and soft power but more importantly the capacity and effectiveness at mobilizing this power coefficient either for its own material benefit (of national interest) or for the general advantage of the whole (Africa) in the provision of public goods both in the short or long term. The leadership role that regional powers play cannot therefore be unconnected to their superior military and/or economic strength vis-à-vis other states within the region and as Flesher and Wojczewski (2010:8) asserts, “[b]oth material and ideational resources have to be taken into account in order to assess whether the regional power possesses the necessary resources to make a difference in regional and international bargains”.

Again, a number of scholars have interrogated the issue of hegemony and leadership in different contexts particularly in relation to Africa, identifying hegemonic presence at the sub-regional level (Naidoo 2000; Bach 2010); the context of relationship between regional hegemonic powers (Amusan 2009; Nieuwkerk 2012); role of regional powers in multilateral institutions [AU, ECOWAS, SADC] (Landsberg

2008b); regional powers and external influences (Alao 2011); context of regional hegemony (Prys 2008); national role conception (Folarin 2010) etc.

In the African context, at the root of many of these discussions and analysis is the focus on Nigeria and South Africa as regional powers. Issues discussed revolve around the question of whether either of these two countries by any standards qualifies to be called a hegemon or leader armed by the trajectories of the roles they play in Africa. Another issue that arises as a result is perhaps the dilemma of supplanting the use of hegemony with the appellation of leadership with the argument that leadership presence perhaps presents a more subtle reference to the character of these two regional powers' foreign policy influence within the continent.

Scholars have referred to the pattern of these roles (of Nigeria and South Africa) in Africa as hegemonic, leader, pivot, behemoth etc. (Ahwireng-Obeng & McGowan 2001:55-80; Schoeman 2007:92-104; Nieuwkerk 2012:84-111). Despite these extensive and sometimes controversial debates, it has been extremely difficult to locate literatures that empirically apply the theory of hegemonic stability (like many other theories) at the regional level of analysis. Prys (2008:5) agrees that "theories and concepts that are tied to the regional level of analysis are nevertheless in short supply... [as] the literature has largely failed to properly incorporate 'the region' into the concept of hegemony". It is argued in many quarters that South Africa's role in Africa is construed as an imposition of *Pax Pretoriana* on the rest of the continent suggesting that the future of Africa is intrinsically tied to South Africa (Adebajo and Landsberg 2003:172; Landsberg 2000). Of course, there has been a bitter and oftentimes heated debate on the role conception of both countries' within the African continent with many post-apartheid literatures (with most origination from South Africa) subscribing to a South African regional hegemony in Africa (Tjemolane 2011; Prys 2008). In Tjemolane's (2011:161) view, this 'conceptual controversy' about the role of South Africa (and Nigeria) in Africa is important to understand whether either or both countries reflects the character of a (regional) hegemon and if it does; what character of hegemon is demonstrated.

In essence, it is interesting to know what the reference to regional hegemony implies particularly in the African context. To what extent do states categorized as regional hegemons act according to the general prescriptions expected from them in terms of

provision of public goods of order and stability? And what measure of impact (if any) do these states have on the behavior of other states in their region (Prys 2008:6). Is there an acceptance and followership of the hegemonic influence of these states? Hence, in the light of this study, exploring the usefulness and distinction between these two concepts of hegemony and leadership from the standpoint of advanced theoretical insights becomes critical particularly for the purpose of further analysis.

At the close of the 20th century, the celebrated re-entry of South Africa into the international political landscape accompanied also by regime transformation in Nigeria from long years of military rule into an acceptable democratic civilian regime impacted on the political-economic realm particularly within the African continent. According to Tjemolane (2011:1), for South Africa, “[t]his rapid political change led to the perception of South Africa as a leading economic, political and military influence on the continent and around the world. Since South Africa is conceived to be a “leader”, it is also expected to demonstrate its leadership capacity on the continent”. In Africa, South Africa undoubtedly enjoys international recognition as a regional leader. It shares this recognition alongside Nigeria, a country which has one of Africa’s fastest growing economies. Both countries are thus shouldered with the responsibility of helping Africa “to chart its own alternative developmental course” (Cheru and Obi 2010:1).

Black (2003) avers that if African self-sufficiency – as intended by the African Renaissance - is to materialize, “the emergence of relatively secure, democratic, and continentally committed political economies in Nigeria and South Africa will be a necessary though not sufficient condition”. In 1999 the ANC awaited Nigeria’s return to democracy declaring that “[t]his is important both for the people of the largest country on our Continent as well as the Continent itself, given the contribution that democratic Nigeria will make to the common project of Africa's renewal”. Nigeria as well as South Africa are thus regarded as the economic and political powerhouses of Sub-Saharan Africa, and within their respective sub-regions. Shehu Shagari declared that Nigeria and Africa should be gifted with the latitude to attend to their matters uninhibited by external forces. This was tantamount to what President Monroe had meant when he inveighed against Europe’s incursion in the Americas (Shagari 1981). This stance by Shagari attests to the fact that the newly revived cry for regional leadership started decades ago and Nigeria was at its forefront in Africa. Hence, if any

hope for Africa's economic and political improvement, Nigeria and South Africa are the linchpins. However:

[t]hey are also potential rivals for continental leadership, and the leading claimants to any future permanent African seat on the UN Security Council. It is therefore both ironic and fitting that one of the first major foreign policy challenges faced by the 'new' (post-1994) South Africa was how to deal with the profoundly rights-abusive and anti-democratic Nigerian military regime of General Sani Abacha (Black 2003:36).

Within Africa, there seems to be an unwillingness to accept Nigeria and South Africa's 'claim' to regional leadership. This has also led both countries to recoil from overtly claiming leadership and resorting to multilateral frameworks to advance their interests. Thus, in interrogating the question of hegemony in Africa, we bring to fore the confusion about whether or not the influence of Nigeria and/or South Africa permeates a hegemonic boundary that cuts through the entire Sub-Saharan Africa. Fundamentally, it would be important to examine the degree to which Nigeria and South Africa (as regional powers) succeeds in influencing to their advantage the processes, structures and institutions of the international system in relation to Africa? We apply our understanding of hegemonic stability theory to these questions particularly in order to gain a grasp of the character and feature of the leadership role that both countries play in Africa. This analysis would be insightful when viewed within the purview of the dimension of both countries' influence beyond their immediate West and Southern African sub-region respectively.

This thesis recognizes and submits the position that (overtly or covertly) inherent within the foreign policy articulation of Nigeria and South Africa is a manifest ambition for hegemonic influence in Africa. It is this continental ambition that serves the motivation of foreign policy priority in Africa. Already, in the previous chapter, we have sufficiently articulated two major internal contexts of economic and military capacities in examining the argument of regional hegemonic status for both countries. However, any meaningful evaluation of hegemonic influence must begin with a clear estimation of the conditions that impact on the 'official' and 'unofficial' hegemonic claim by both countries. This we shall do by looking at the internal and external factors that advance or constraint the pursuit of regional hegemony.

8.2.1 Nigeria in Africa: Secondary or continental power?

Post-colonial Nigeria has always perceived itself as a major actor in international politics. It is this strong awareness as a formidable global player that has inspired its active involvement in Africa through its foreign policy in important international issues (Osuntokun 2008). Wright (1998:133) admits that:

successive administrations built a diplomatic case for Nigeria to fulfil its own 'manifest destiny' and be considered the 'champion' of Africa . . . The term champion used but rarely defined, implied that Nigeria was a country that the Western powers would listen to, and that could champion causes that other nations were too weak to defend (cited in Bach 2007:303).

As discussed later, Nigeria has had to grapple with stymieing complex conflicts within its borders (IPA 2003:1). Resources like oil, large population and diverse identities have produced polarizing effects and consequently have been the gain and bane of Nigeria's ambition for continental hegemony. Based on its credentials, would it be appropriate to refer to Nigeria as a secondary power or continental hegemon? Flandes and Wojczewski (2010:20) argue that in terms of material resources, Nigeria can be categorized as a secondary power in Sub-Saharan Africa as it "cannot compete with South Africa's economic leadership in the long term". Additionally, Kappel (2011) discounts Nigeria as a regional power because it does not meet all the criteria that according to him typify regional powers. Despite its huge population, Nigeria does not fit Kappel's benchmarks probably because of its physical size and other economic-political factors.

Going from the above discussion, it therefore becomes problematic to allude to Nigeria hegemonic status in Africa. In essence while its hegemonic ambition and willingness may not be in doubt as evidenced in many of its foreign policy forays in Africa (see chapter four), it is hard to concede that the country (Nigeria) commands any outstanding capacity to effectively carry out hegemonic roles within Africa given obvious internal and external constraints. By implication, even though Nigeria may not particularly be tagged a secondary power to its South African rival (as we would later show), it cannot also be seen as a regional hegemon. To be sure, we shall examine a number of factors that advance or constrain Nigeria's contention for African hegemony in six selected thematic areas: texture of polity, international

public image and reputation, foreign policy articulation, legality of population, the question of 'followership' and acceptance of leadership and finally its membership and leadership of multilateral framework.

(a) Texture of polity

One of the major detractions to Nigeria's ambition as a regional hegemon in Africa is the rough texture of its polity right from the first six years of its independence. To begin with, the intermittent insurgencies that beset Nigeria created a history of sustained instability which kicked off with the military overthrow of Balewa's regime eventually culminating in the Biafran Civil War in 1967. Till today, the Biafran War remains an indelible scar on the annals of Nigerian political history. Discomfited by series of military interregnums, inter-ethnic discord and violence, "the predominately Igbo-speaking region of south-eastern Nigeria attempted to secede, declaring the independent state of Biafra" (Smith 2005:30). The Civil War thus became at the time a climax of social tensions, political upheaval and ethnic disillusionment which had been simmering for a long time aggravated by the 1966 coup (Egya 2012:425). Today, 'Biafra' conjures the grotesque imagery of starved people, mostly children. The war and the instability it created was enough to disentangle the modest strides that post-colonial Nigeria was making. The Biafran War was understandably taken as a presage of what would be the condition of postcolonial African states. Identity politics in Nigeria configured by religion, region, ethnicity, native-settler question continuously threaten national peace and stability and its capacity to exert influence beyond its borders.

Because of this sensitive situation, security in Nigeria remains volatile, at best. Paden (1971) explains that interethnic violence, which is traceable even today, was rife in Kano – northern Nigeria. What happened in this indigenously Hausa area is instructive in understanding contemporary Nigeria and "are relevant for understanding how collective memories about Biafra impinge on and are recreated in the context of contemporary political events" (Smith 2005:36). The fact that many Igbo speaking individuals are Christian while the many Hausa speaking people are Muslim has been a notorious accelerant of internal conflict. The insistency of Igbo to retain their social life and to maintain close affinity with their tribesmen even in alien land (Smith 2005) has often been construed as ethnic arrogance; this, needless to say has excited the anger of non-Igbo speaking people. In the long run, Nigeria has not been an

authentically integrated society but rather a faulty colonial fabrication. Perhaps it is this ignoble character of the Nigeria state that continued to mold and configure the limits of its foreign policy. For a country that has been tipped as a prospective regional leader, it is obvious to note why episodes like the Biafran one stamp a negative impression on this honour.

The gruesome murder of its first (and only) Prime Minister – Abubakar Tafawa Balewa in January 1966 followed by another gory coup in July of the same year presented Nigeria as a ‘violent giant’ of African politics and a bad example to prospective independent states. During the last decade of the twentieth century, Nigeria was yet again faced with undignified military rule which was intolerant to the universal tenets of democracy. The military takeover by General Buhari on New Year’s Eve in 1983 was viciously detrimental to Nigeria’s image in West Africa and beyond. Nigeria barred its borders with other countries in its ECOWAS region which ultimately disrupted the flow and exchange of economic interaction among the nations within the region. Worst still, the 1985 forceful and unnecessary deportation of foreign nationals from Nigeria presented the country as an intolerant host to people of different nationalities and exuded deep resentment especially from the affected quarters (Adeniji 2005:5).

Also, the injurious effects of military rule were most profoundly felt by ECOWAS states that share physical geographical proximity with Nigeria. Inasmuch as the country still retained the biggest military force in the region, the military profile of its regime at the time seriously tainted the country’s image. General Ibrahim Babangida tried to salvage some good reputation for Nigeria by managing to convince Africa and the world that Nigeria could once again be counted as a reliable political and economic ally. However, he (Babangida) was politically dishonest and was not one to honour his promise. His empty promise to return Nigeria to civilian rule was clouded in endless procrastination. Many Nigerians became restive and other countries grew suspicious of his regime sincerity to hand over power to a democratically elected civilian regime. This trepidation was confirmed by Babangida’s invalidation of the 1993 elections which were supposed to usher the country into its first democratic dispensation in almost two decades.

After Babangida ceded the presidency to Ernest Shonekan – a civilian leader - in August 1993, this obnoxious spell did not last three months before Sani Abacha wrested the reins of power leading to another round military regime for five years. Abacha's half a decade military despotic rule was yet another stain on the already compromised fabric of Nigeria's integrity. Unarguably, Abacha was reputed to have led one of Africa's most corrupt governments. The incessant abuse of human rights was a further knock on the reputation of Nigerian. Particularly, the hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa and other members of the oppressed Ogoni tribe of the Niger Delta attracted a barrage of world criticism resulting in Nigeria's expulsion from the Commonwealth for three years. Other allies of Nigeria severed their ties with the country and Nigeria resorted to broker alliances with non-European and mostly Islamic countries. All these factors aggregated to form an ominous picture of Nigeria in the international arena and from the foregoing, it is difficult to argue that Nigeria is deserving of regional leader. Despite being a country of great promise, it flounders on many grounds. From the time of independence, the country has been subjected to military rule for most of its postcolonial existence.

The ascendancy of President Obasanjo to power in 1999 undoubtedly elevated Nigeria's image and his extensive trips abroad was in a bid to salvage what was left of Nigeria's pariah status. Pogoson (2009:67) remarked that:

[a]lthough many of such trips have been criticized as unnecessary and wasteful it no doubt underscores the fact that the horizon of Nigeria's foreign policy under Obasanjo was broadened by the desire to achieve national or domestic industrial development as a necessary tool for consolidating Nigeria's strategic position in the region of Africa and west African sub region.

In essence, despite wide local criticism, Obasanjo's anti-corruption and the establishment of the anti-corruption commissions (Economic and Financial Crimes Commission - EFCC and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission - ICPC) further enhanced the country's image in its commitment to fighting corruption. However, as remarked by Bach (2010:1), "[t]he end of military dictatorships has not helped calm the internal tensions intrinsic to the operation of a federal system explicitly based on highlighting and codifying geo-ethnic identities and divisions under what is called the "federal character" doctrine".

Recently, Nigeria is yet again confronted with having to contend almost on a daily basis with a strong and violent sect of Islamic insurgency known as Boko Haram. Boko Haram is an extremist Muslim group, which has increasingly been wreaking havoc in contemporary Nigeria and presents a big challenge to Nigerian security (Bagali et al 2012:34). Using terrorism as a means to sabotage the federal and secular Republic of Nigeria, the sect aims to foist Islamist rule on the country. Boko Haram vehemently and violently opposes all manner of Western infiltration by seeking to entrench Sharia law in Nigeria. This group brings a form of militancy that is reminiscent of the Maitatsine sectarian group which - in 1981 - had also flirted with the idea of bending Nigeria towards religious rule (Abimbola and Adesote 2012:16). With the passage of time, the carnage wrought by Boko Haram has become so destructive that it cannot be ignored. On 17 February 2011, the Nigerian National Assembly adopted the Anti-terrorism Act which was almost tailor-made to curtail Boko Haram terrorism.

The augmented violence and sabotage of Boko Haram raised the question of Nigeria's capacity to resolve its own internal conflict. The country has struggled to contain domestic violence and so it begs the question whether or not it has the muscle to subdue more complicated and broad based conflict (Bagali et al 2012:34). Another side effect of Boko Haram is that it has resurrected the old cries of a possible separation of Nigeria. The status of a united Nigeria is receiving serious possible reviews from non-Muslims (Bagaji et al 2012:33). Boko Haram is arguably a consequence of poor governance; and its continued acts of terror are a portent of poor security in Nigeria. The absence of sustained internal cohesion evidenced in continued strife continuously stifles Nigeria's contention as an African leader and hegemon (Adebajo and Landsberg 2003).

However, to local citizens, the responsibilities that come with regional leadership i.e. international charity in the provision of public goods and conflict transformation could be an exercise in wastefulness. Many contend that the nation has enough domestic crises to cope with. Adebajo (2000) noted that "the reactions of ordinary Nigerians" to Nigeria's foreign policy, especially military intervention "ranged from lukewarm to hostile" (Adebajo 2000:196). It has to maintain its current democracy if it is to prescribe good governance to other countries. This will be an improvement from Abacha who claimed to support democracy in Liberia while keeping his own

people away from it. If led by a responsible government, Nigeria has boundless potential to be a regional leader. It has a wealth of intellectual and academic talent scattered all over the world. However, political and economic leadership demands more than academic intrigue. The internal threats to Nigerian security are real and have bearing on its claim to regional leadership. The unstinting corruption committed by leaders has precipitated despondency among local people. This has provoked the proliferation of anarchic and violent groups which imperil individual, national and regional security (Obi 2009). Bolstering insecurity and foiling corruption have been the hallmarks of successive governments after the discovery of oil (Egbo *et al* 2012:599). It is thus off-putting that crime continues to elude the grasp of what the government throws to it; corruption has also continued unrelentingly, with government officials being the main players. By failing to address and arrest internal violence and conflict by bringing perpetrators to book, it is unlikely that African nations would accept a leader whose house is in turmoil and whose center is failing to hold all the contending forces of statecraft together.

(b) International public image and reputation

How does the ‘Nigerian image’ and international reputation impact on the country’s hegemonic credentials? To use more communicative terms, what ‘tone’ does Nigeria’s reputation ‘dial’ in connecting through the ‘signal’ of its international profile? In international politics, one of the factors that determine the level of influence and relevance that a nation commands in the international system is a positive image and reputation. According to Ajayi (2005:51):

[f]avorable image ensures a level of credibility and respect for a nation in the comity of nations and [c]ontrarily, bad image and suffering of integrity and credibility crisis deny a nation the required respect by other states, and portrays the concerned nation as a pariah, which does not deserve to be respected and honored by other civilized states.

The global perception of states in the international arena is often bolstered by the consistency of a state’s behavior and that of its people towards other states (Ajayi 2005). North Korea for examples is regarded as a pariah state because of its constant disregard for international norms and principles. Nigeria’s international image took its root at the launch of its emergence as a sovereign state and of course deepened through the years of its political development. There is no doubt that its international

image posed far-reaching implications for the country's foreign policy profile. In short, Nigeria's global reputation impacts on the cost of its foreign policy and consequently its hegemonic ambition within the continent. The fundamental questions to ask at this point are: what are the positive and negative charges of Nigeria's global reputation that give spark or clout to its international status and how do these sources impact on the country's potential for hegemonic influence?

At independence, Nigeria made clear its intention on how it intends to relate with the rest of the world (see chapter 3 and 4) and as concluded by Ajayi (2005:52), "Balewa's pioneering efforts at foreign policy-making and implementation laid the foundation of Nigeria's role and influence in international politics, and inadvertently, in casting a niche and credible image for the country in the comity of nations". This foreign policy standpoint has been complemented and reinforced by successive regimes evidenced in Nigeria's condemnation and fight against colonialism, racism and apartheid rule as crime against humanity; its active involvement as a front runner in the establishment and transformation of the of OAU (now AU) in 1963 and 2000 respectively and ECOWAS in 1975. Overall, Nigeria's international image as a major contributor to global peace and stability over the years has been positively projected and advanced through these efforts. To date, (as shown in table 8.1 and 8.2 below) Nigeria's sustained involvement in peace-keeping initiatives and the promotion of democratic governance among troubled neighbours like Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and recently in Mali is notable. Nigeria's credentials at international peace-keeping force exceed that of any developing world having contributed over 200,000 troops to the United Nations peacekeeping operations (Obayuwana 1999:40).

In 1990, at the instance of Nigeria, members of ECOWAS converged in Banjul, Gambia to form the military conglomeration of ECOWAS (ECOMOG) in response to the conflict that engulfed Liberia from 1989-1996 (Alli 2012:8). Nigeria was particularly leading in this initiative through human and financial sponsorship (Shaw *et al* 1996:31). Analysts claim that ECOMOG would be an impotent international army without the support of "a leading nation like Nigeria" (Dokubo and Joseph 2011:575). This responsibility is commensurate with Nigeria's status as "the richest country in the sub-region" (West Africa) (Alli 2012:9) and has consequently reinforced Nigeria's global reputation as a leading peace loving nation in the world.

Table 8.1: Nigeria's participation in global peace missions, 1960 – 2011

Area/Country	Acronym	Operation	Start date	End date
Congo	ONUC	United Nations Operation in the Congo	July 1960	June 1964
Guinea	UNSF	United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea	October 1962	April 1963
India-Pakistan	UNIPOM	United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission	September 1965	March 1966
Lebanon	UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon	March 1978	Present
Iran-Iraq	UNIIMOG	United Nations Iran-Iraq Military August 1988 Observer Group		February 1991
Namibia	UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group	April 1989	March 1990
Angola	UNAVEM I	United Nations Angola Verification Mission I	January 1989	June 1991
Yugoslavia	UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force	February 1992	March 1995
Angola	UNAVEM II	United Nations Angola Verification Mission II	June 1991	February 1995
Cambodia	UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia	March 1992	September 1993
Mozambique	ONUMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique	December 1992	December 1994
Sierra-Leone		Bilateral Special Protection Force in Sierra Leone	1991	1997
Chad		Nigerian Neutral Force, Chad (Bilateral)	1979	
Chad		OAU Peacekeeping Force, Chad	1981	1982
Somalia	UNOSOM I	United Nations Operation in Somalia I	April 1992	March 1993
Somalia	UNOSOM II	United Nations Operation in Somalia II	March 1993	March 1995
Liberia	UNOMIL	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia	September 1993	September 1997
Angola	UNAVEM III	United Nations Angola Verification Mission III	February 1995	June 1997
Ouzo strip	UNASOG	United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group	May 1994	June 1994
Rwanda	UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda	October 1993	March 1996
Sierra Leone		ECOMOG Task Force in Sierra Leone,	1997	1999
Sierra Leone	UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone	October 1999	December 2005
Liberia	ECOMIL	LIBERIA	2003	
Congo	MONUC	United Nations Organization		June 2010

		Mission		
		November 1999		
		in the Democratic Republic of the Congo		
Liberia	UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia	September 2003	Present
Sudan	AMIS	African Mission in Darfur	2004-	2008
Sudan	UNAMID	African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur	July 2007	Present
Sudan	UNMIS	United Nations Mission in the Sudan	March 2005	July 2011
Chad	MINURCAT	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad	September 2007	December 2010
South Sudan	UNMISS	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan	July 2011	

Source: Compiled by the Author with references from the list of the United Nations Peace Keeping Operations from 1942-2012.

Similarly, table 8.2 below shows how Nigeria has taken control of the leadership of these missions in a bid to reinforce its leadership and intention within the continent.

Table 8.2: Nigeria's contribution of Peace Commanders and Chief Military Observers, 1960 – 2009

SN	Commanders	Name of Organization	Operation Code	Date	Location
1.	Maj. Gen. J.T.U Aguiyi-Ironsi	UN	ONUC	1960-1964	Congo
2.	Brig. Gen Ademulegun	Bilateral		1964	Tanganyika (Tanzania)
3.	Col. J. Dongoyaro	Bilateral	HARMONY I	1979	Chad
4.	Col. M. Magoro	Bilateral	HARMONY I	1979	Chad
5.	Maj. Gen. G. Ejiga	OAU	HARMONY II	1981-1982	Chad
6.	Maj. Gen. E. Unimna*	UN	UNAVEM I	1991	Angola
7.	Maj. Gen. Chris Garba*	UN	UNAVEM II & III	1992-1995	Angola
8.	Maj. Gen. E. Opaleye	UN	UNAMIR	1993	Rwanda
9.	Maj. Gen. J. Dogonyaro	ECOWAS	ECOMOG	1990-1991	Liberia
10.	Maj. Gen. R. Kupolati	ECOWAS	ECOMOG	1992	Liberia
11.	Maj. Gen. I. Bakut	ECOWAS	ECOMOG	1993	Liberia

12.	Maj. Gen. A. Olurin	ECOWAS	ECOMOG	1994	Liberia
13.	Maj. Gen. J. Inienger	ECOWAS	ECOMOG	1995	Liberia
14.	Maj. Gen. S. Malu	ECOWAS	ECOMOG	1996-1997	Liberia
15.	Maj. Gen. T. Shelpidi	ECOWAS	ECOMOG	1998-1999	Liberia
16.	Maj. Gen. G. Mujakpero	ECOWAS	ECOMOG	1999	Liberia
17.	Maj. Gen. G. Kpambe	ECOWAS	ECOMOG	1999-2000	Liberia
18.	Maj. Gen. S. Iliya	UN	UNMONUC	2003-2005	Congo (Zaire)
19.	Maj. Gen. J.O. Owonibi	UN	UNMIL	2003-2005	Liberia
20.	Maj. Gen. F. Okonkwo	AU	AMIS	2005-2006	Sudan
21.	Maj. Gen. C. Ihekire	AU	AMIS	2006-2007	Sudan
22.	Maj. Gen. C. Obiakor	UN	UNMIL	2006-2009	Liberia
23.	Maj. Gen. M.L. Agwai	UN/AU	UNAMIS	2007-2009	Sudan

Source: Compiled by the Author.

* Chief Military Observer

** Chief Military Observer and later Force Commander

In both military and civilian regimes, Nigeria continued to remain a prominent player in peacekeeping initiatives both at the international, continental and sub-regional levels. Nigeria has never shied away from an active engagement in the affairs of the continent and it is this foreign policy character that ceded to her the treatment as a regional power and a pivotal state for West Africa (Bach 2007). Particularly, Nigeria's vital role and record at peacekeeping and conflict resolution in the ECOWAS sub region is a model and signature of many sub-regional peacekeeping efforts and has therefore accentuated the country's status as a regional power and pivotal actor in the political equations within the continent in general.

However, the country's foreign policy is often faced with the challenge of overcoming the travails of an image crisis. Even though Nigeria is widely regarded as the most populous Black country in the world, the respect that its popularity deserves does not trickle down to advancing the reputation of the country. Arguing from this perspective, Nolte points out that even though Nigeria could be called a deserving power because of its populous army but it can never be called a leader because of its questionable and controversial moral and political reputation. The respect that Nigerians earn in the international arena is in suspect. Its international dignity in recent years has dwindled remarkably partly as a result of years of military rule which institutionalized corruption and other vices. As remarked by Mustapha (2008:41),

Nigeria's global identity as a country notable for cybercrimes, poor human rights record, massive corruption, institutional and infrastructures decay, drug trafficking and until recently incessant regime change imposes additional and unnecessary costs on the realization of formal foreign policy objectives.

As explained earlier, the successive military regimes of Buhari, Babangida and Abacha elevated bribery and corruption to a level of state policy and cultural practice thus denting Nigeria's image as a corrupt country (Ajayi 2005). In every sense, the country lost its international respect and prestige particularly under the military regimes. Nigeria's punctured reputation thus makes difficult the realization of any possible ambition for hegemonic influence. In many ways, its international dignity and profile during the military era was bedeviled by non-conformity to international legal principles and standards for international behavior among civilized nations earning Nigeria the label of a pariah state.

However, much of the redemption of Nigeria's international prestige comes from the turnaround of its regime type from military to civilian administration which has thankfully been consistent since 1999. President Obasanjo had in 1999 inherited a nation battered by long years of international disrepute and through his shuttle diplomacy across many parts of the world, attempted to remedy what was left of the country's ailing diplomatic status. Through his 'ajala' diplomacy, Nigeria was consequently readmitted to the Commonwealth in 1999 and successfully hosted CHOGM in 2003. However, the poor sense of articulation and lack of assertion of foreign policy goals in the last two administrations since the departure of Obasanjo has no doubt reduced Nigeria's force as an African mouth piece in the global scene coupled evidenced with an African substitute in South Africa whose domestic credentials dwarves that of Nigeria.

On the other hand, Nigeria has featured on the global spotlight persistently since its independence in 1960. Apart from the economic boost it enjoyed during the decade following independence, Nigeria is currently known more for its notoriety than positive commentary. According to Salisu (2000:2), "[t]he succession of dictatorial regimes, disregard of human rights, political instability and economic mismanagement have all contributed to cast Nigeria in a bad light internationally". As

discussed previously, in the recent past Nigeria has had to grapple with Boko Haram terrorism, which is taken as part of a global network of Islamic fundamentalism.

Apart from civil war and other side effects of military leadership, corruption is another negative feature for which Nigeria accedes to its notorious reputation as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. Corruption has stymied growth and the likelihood of development. These perceptions indicate alarming levels of corruption in Nigeria that no doubt deflate Nigeria's international ego and accompanying such depressing perceptions is the likelihood that ordinary people are extorted for illicit payments in exchange for basic services like health and education (CPI 2012). It should be mentioned, however, that Nigerians are apprised of how grand corruption has affected the country's reputation. No wonder why most times, Nigerians do better in diaspora than they do living within their country (Mazrui 2006).

After returning to civil rule in 1999, Olusegun Obasanjo took up the fight against corruption in order to salvage some good review from the international community. The Presidency called on all 'Nigerians to collectively support the Federal Government's efforts to stem corruption and redeem Nigeria's image with the international community' (Agence France-Presse, October 27, 1999).

Digressing a bit here, it fits well to argue that Nigeria fits into the paradigm of Sachs and Warner (1995) who infer that resource-rich countries are likely to succumb to corruption. In Nigeria, oil has been the main lubricant and accelerator of corruption. In the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sierra Leone, many of the conflicts crippling these countries have been stoked by the exploitation of minerals. These examples lend credence to the linkage between minerals, bad governance and resultant conflict (Ikelegbe 2005). Adebajo (2008:2) also decries the overconcentration on crude oil. This was going to be understandable if this lack of diversification was beneficial to the country as a whole. Sadly, most of the dividends earned from oil have benefitted the powers that be, while ordinary citizens continue to wallow in unremitting penury. The selfishness portrayed by the elite of Nigerian politics has also provoked a storm of resistance, open and violent rebellion from people of the oil rich Niger-delta region. The local people have argued that they do not benefit from their oil deposits. The Niger-delta conflict has caught the attention of the international community. Local people are reportedly amok with illegal oil trading

and abductions of international visitors in order to extort ransoms. This shows the extent to which Nigeria is characteristic of state failure in parts of the region.

Nigerians are all too aware of how much money has been embezzled by government officials in recent decades. The systemic emptying of government coffers has left Nigerians unbelieving of any claim of honest loss of public resources. It is understandable then, that people were unbelieving of the \$4billion that was reportedly lost through individuals who punctured oil pipelines. Adebajo (2008:12) deepens the doubt by arguing that the government of Obasanjo failed in a lot of other respects. Electricity, which has been a major problem for Nigeria, still continues to plague the country even to this day. How can a country laying claim to hegemonic ambition not able to provide electricity for its own people?

(c) Foreign policy articulation

Taking a cursory look at the national role conception of Nigeria's foreign policy priorities, one common thread over successive military and civilian administrations has been a sustained and consistent emphasis on Africa as the centre piece of its foreign policy albeit with different measures of alacrity. Very clearly articulated in Nigeria's foreign policy trajectories since independence, is the messianic allusions to a natural Nigerian leadership in the affairs of the African continent (Bach 2007). A number of deductions can be made from this fact. First, as demonstrated in chapter four, Nigeria's hegemonic ambition is facilitated by its long years of a charity of foreign policy diplomacy across Africa. The country's dedication to the cause of ensuring that its role as Africa's 'spokes-state' remain unfettered and continue to command and maintain the respect of African countries. For instance, in Babangida's inaugural speech as Head of State; he noted that "African problems and their solutions should constitute the premise of our foreign policy" (Babangida, August 27, 1985:3). This undoubtedly demonstrates a clear premise of moral suasion upon which successive regimes had conceived national roles for Nigeria to assume in the continent cemented in its continuity in an Afrocentric signature of its foreign policy since the Balewa era (Folarin 2010:255). In other words, the international perception of successive administrations is in most cases synchronized with the ambition and drive that the founding fathers had originally conceived at independence (Folarin 2010).

Secondly, Nigeria has demonstrated clarity in its foreign policy articulation by a successfully constructed and implemented foreign policy priority of Nigeria over the years in areas such as the eradication of apartheid, advocacy for debt relief and reparation for Africa, decolonisation in Africa, and the reformation and transformation of the OAU into the AU, the establishment of the ECOWAS as a sub-regional multilateral framework through which it is able to launch an ambitious hegemonic ambition among many others. For instance, in the 1960s and 1970s, Nigeria through its proactive policies and actions played an unforgettable and central role in the liberation struggles in Angola, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe and against de-colonialism of Angola and later, Zimbabwe. To a large extent, the independence and total liberation of these countries would (probably) never have been possible without the aid and assistance from Nigeria (Folarin 2010:268). Osuntokun (2008:142) puts it better by asserting that "...without Lagos steady support for the forces of liberation, the entire southern African region – including South Africa – might have spent longer years battling the forces of colonialism, settlerism and racist oppression". In other words, particularly under the successive military regimes Nigeria pursued a foreign policy whose *raison d'être* was aggressively concentrated on African and thus earned her universal acknowledgement and approval (Pogoson 2009:60).

Foreign policy over the years has therefore been explicitly accentuated to advance Nigeria's place in the centre-stage of the African politics and thus was able to transform its potential for continental leadership into substance (Otubanjo 1989: 240–244). After 15 years of unbroken military rule and an unstable political landscape, Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy moniker was strengthened with the advent of democracy in 1999. In fact the general expectation at the time was that the liberation of the democratic space would further deepen Nigeria's commitment to the cause for Africa (Pogoson 2009:63).

By implication therefore, clearly inscribed in the foreign policy mind-set of Nigeria's leadership has been the prescription of the country as Africa's 'anointed and special one' to proffer solutions to resolve the plethora of Africa's socio-economic and political problems and its manifest destiny to lead the continent to the promise-land long conceived by the founding fathers and pursued with vigour by subsequent

Nigerian leaderships. By corollary, for Nigeria to do nothing would imply the desolation of the 'dark' continent (Bach 2010).

In the third place, the fusion between policy and practice in the foreign policy articulation and implementation of Nigeria (and in most cases at the expense of its own people) adequately reflects the huge inestimable sacrifices the country has made in its dedication to the entirety of the continent.

On the flip side of the coin, leadership ineptitude has characterized Nigeria's political scene and constituted a let off for the country's quest for hegemonic status. For instance, much of the good works of Babangida in the international arena were subsequently marred by his annulment of the June 12 Presidential election widely acclaimed till date as the freest and fairest in Nigeria election history. Also, considering the military regime of General Abacha which marked probably the lowest moment in Nigeria's foreign policy history, his despotic rule and gross disregard for human rights of the Nigerian people banished the country into international isolation which further dwindled its international image for many years. This is not to say that the regime did not further the Afrocentric orientation of Nigeria's foreign policy as his administration's roles in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and towards the resolution of on-going conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone were remarkable (Akinterinwa 2006).

Initially, the Nigeria military was less inclined to be involved politically. Its services were largely consigned to public ceremonies and protection of the country's territorial sovereignty. The military was exemplary in its discipline, a trait which it inherited from the rigour of colonial instruction. This was to change six years after independence (Janowitz 1971). With hindsight, the military has been a strong political component of Nigeria. Starting from the first six years of independence, the Nigerian military has occasionally seized governing power altogether. The first time the military took explicit control of the country was in 1966 when it 'claimed to end the misrule, ineptness and corruption of the preceding five years of the civil rule' (Osoba, 1996). The government which was ousted was that of civil leader Abubakar Tafawa Balewa who was gruesomely murdered on January 15, 1966. Over the coming years, the military would disrupt civil leadership on the same pretext of correcting misgovernment; the urgency to stem political malfeasance and corruption (George *et*

al 2012:45). For the fifty three years that Nigeria has been independent, the military has governed for approximately thirty years out of these. This suggests that, thus far, Nigeria is more inured to military rule than civil leadership (George *et al* 2012:45).

If there is anything that compromised the illustrious fame that Nigeria enjoyed after independence, it was military rule. Despite their arguments to the contrary, military personnel in Nigeria amassed unbelievable amounts of wealth and even after the current hiatus in military rule, which started in 1999, military persons still wield influence in their political forums. Sani Abacha has often been used as the prototype of how personal cupidity in a leader can besmirch the image of a country. After his demise, the government of Nigeria managed to wrest \$700 million dollars from Abacha's assets which were allegedly state funds commandeered by Abacha. This amount was reportedly a fraction of the total \$3billion which Abacha had taken as private property (Guest 2004:121). Apart from the wealth that Abacha accumulated, he also showed an impatience for opposition. He liquidated his opponents in a violent way, necessitating Nigeria's isolation from its traditional trade partners in North America and Europe.

As echoed earlier, despite his rule being littered with political controversy and violence, Abacha's tenure came to international limelight for bad reasons including his decision to execute the Ogoni activist Ken Saro-Wiwa along with eight others. The execution was in defiance of all pleas made by the international community and to accentuate the arrogance of this act, it coincided with the eve of the Commonwealth meeting in Auckland, New Zealand (Gervisser 2007; Okonta 2008). With this crude way of governance, it is understandable that other African leaders show suspicion of Nigeria's credentials for regional leadership. A meeting was convened in the aftermath of Saro-Wiwa's and his colleagues' execution and Nigeria was duly suspended from the commonwealth. According to Ekineh (1997), the hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa sent the most gruesome shockwaves of Nigeria to the world. The Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group was galvanized to expressly monitor how Nigerian leaders would comport themselves in their expected objective to return to the Commonwealth fold. For the rest of Abacha's leadership, human rights were flagrantly ignored and state-sponsored repression continued unabated.

(d) Legality of population

What is in a population that conveys regional power credence to a state? The argument put forward here is that there is a connection between the population of a country and its capacity to play any meaningful role and achieve international prestige and power in the international arena (Kegley and Wittkopf 2001). Nigeria is an important and highly endowed Anglophone African country. Its power is even more reinforced by the fact that it is surrounded by relatively weak and poor Francophone countries. A major reason why Nigeria is referred to as the giant of Africa is its demography. Population measured in terms of size, age distribution, health and education are critical ingredients for the assertion of power. There is thus a strong correlation between a large, youthful, healthy and well-educated population and a state's capacity to project power in the international arena.

To all intents and purposes, Nigeria's population size, quality and position present considerable legal qualification and moral suction to represent the rest of Africa. The country's demography has since independence invoked on its leadership a historic sense of responsibility and an equal perception by other states of Nigeria as an inspiration for development within the continent. To put Nigeria's population in perspective, Ethiopia's population of about 70 million is second in Africa and barely half of Nigeria's estimated population. As at 2012, Nigeria's population of 166.2 million people from 45.2 million in 1960 represented a 268% percent increase in the last 50 years (Nigeria National Bureau of Statistics). Numerically, Nigeria's population also equals that of United Kingdom, Spain and Italy put together. It also accounts for 47% of West Africa's population and approximately one sixth of Africa's population or one fifth of Sub-Saharan African population. The population of Nigeria also represents 2.35% of the world's total population which arguably implies that one of every 43 people on earth is a Nigerian (Trading Economics 2013).

Aregbeshola (2013:2) however makes a controversial point that it is for the reason of Nigeria's massive and intimidating population that it enjoys the nickname 'giant of Africa' and not so much because of its economic potential. In any case, the ascription to Nigeria as 'giant' of Africa is rooted in its large population relative to the other African countries and of course this has implication for large market for goods and services as well as creating an abundant source of human resources necessary for development.

Nigeria's permanent representative to the UN, Ambassador Humphrey Ojiakor alluded to Nigeria as "the real face of Africa" (Interview). According to him, it is only in Nigeria you would find over a 170 million Africans living in one geographical space called Nigeria. It is this numeric awareness that "qualifies Nigeria to (actually) to be the face of the African continent in the United Nations system" (Interview, Amb Ojiakor). Nigeria's overwhelming population has triggered hegemonic ambitions within the continent and as already expounded in chapter one, Nigeria derives its legality from being the most populous country in Africa. Nigeria has over 30% of Africa's entire population and equally possesses a large population size relative to its large territorial size which has invariably trickled down into its large military service, economic workforce and intellectually (academic capacity).

Again, Nigeria's proportionate Christian and Muslim demographic mix affects its power base because it "serves as a unique model for interreligious political accommodation and as a bridging actor in global politics between the West and the Muslim world" (Paden 2008). Besides this, its Muslim population of over 80 million (2005 est.) exceeds that of any Arab country and the Black world including Egypt (Mazrui 2006). In the entire Middle-East and Arab world, Nigeria's Muslim population is second only to Indonesia. Nigeria can therefore use the religious mix of its population as launch pads to project its hegemony. It is projected that by 2030, Nigeria's population would be the 3rd largest in the world behind only India and China. Nigeria's population currently is the 7th highest in the world and its population growth rate between 1990 and 2010 at 62.4% is also the highest in the world (World Bank 2013). From Cairo to Pretoria, the dominance of Nigeria's population is not in doubt.

The preponderance of Nigerians and Nigerian languages by their host countries also suggest this point. However, whether this translates to hegemony remains to be seen. Much that could be accounted for remains the potentialities of Nigeria's population as a powerful source of national power. The material possession and economic shrewdness of Nigerians in diaspora which sometimes exceeds the indigenous people often make them targets of xenophobic attacks, an envy and threat to local communities. The international migration of Nigerians all over the world has also deepened their ethnic hegemony and made them susceptible to racialization. According to the UNDP statistics, Africa remains the major continent of destination

for migrants from Nigeria with 62.3% of emigrants living in the continent (UNDP 2009; Aregbesola 2011). Stimulated by Nigerians in diaspora across Africa, Nigeria's demographic weight makes it a point of attraction to neighbouring economies (Bach 2010).

There is also the internationalization of Nigerian languages specifically Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa and Pidgin English. Yoruba for instance is spoken in Benin Republic while locals from many parts of Africa and indeed the world often try to gimmick the various language nuances of the Nigerian people. For instance, in many parts of Africa, it is often not surprising to notice traces of the Igbo dictum like 'Igwe', 'Chineke' in public conversations or even religious gatherings among people.

It goes without saying that no nation can afford to ignore Nigeria and Nigerians, if for nothing else its high nuisance value is worthy of attention. Nigeria's population presents a huge market for business to thrive and its people are perhaps one of the most vibrant people on earth with a capacity to rebound from challenges. The Nigerian state has overcome some of the most devastating crisis in its lifetime without significant upheaval. Some other countries that have experienced similar political crisis have exhibited more serious dislocation and fissures than Nigeria has gone through. That in itself indicates the indomitable spirit of the Nigerian to conquer and overcome all kinds of strains and stress. In essence, Nigeria's population is a latent force that once effectively unleashed is capable of bringing the country in concert with nations that drive political-economy processes on a global scale.

However, while Nigeria's population has been a blessing in inspiring a form of legitimization, claim and power base to project its influence, it has nevertheless also served as the bane of Nigeria's capacity to play a pivotal role in Africa. In essence, acknowledging that Nigeria may be ceded in terms of size and perhaps quality of its population (to a certain extent), its people and government however remain un-ceded in many respects. For instance, Nigeria's sprawling population makes it increasingly difficult for its government to effectively cater for everyone and hence the massive exodus of Nigeria. The enormous pressure mounted on scarcely available resources by its population creates unpleasant discomfort for the people thereby leading to a disconnect between the people and its government. The reality of this is a cascading of an offensive sense of apathy and lack of commitment and patriotism towards the

country. To say the least, the pride and honour in being a Nigeria is dissipated through long years of neglect of the priority of the Nigerian people. The dignity of carrying the Nigeria's passport has over the years been increasingly extinguished through long years the unscrupulous activities associated both with the people and government of Nigeria. A typical Nigerian traveler is exposed to the ridicule of extensive immigration search and treated like a possible suspect. The emphasis here is that the population of a country only makes sense only where the country is able to translate the positive gains of its population into valuable assets for exerting power and clearly Nigeria has not been able to feature in thus realm.

(e) Membership and leadership of multilateral framework: ECOWAS, OPEC, AU, UN etc.

Nigeria has always demonstrated its preference for cooperation rather than confrontation in recognition of its foreign policy principle of respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states. It is important to examine how Nigeria has been able to project its influence through its membership of these multilateral institutional frameworks. Is Nigeria able to use these institutions to project its national power? There is a strong believe over the years of Nigeria's confidence in multilateral frameworks which have also provided a platform for Abuja to subtly launch its hegemonic ambition. Nigeria's reintegration into the international system on the backdrop of President Obasanjo's shuttle diplomacy, manifested in its reacceptance into the Commonwealth in 1999 and being given the hosting rights and Chairmanship of the Commonwealth Heads of Governments Meeting (CHOGM) in 2003 as well as the Chairmanship of the G-77 in 2000. Obasanjo sought to use these multilateral platforms to rekindle Nigeria's interest within Africa and of course the Global-South. It also had the course to represent Africa on four occasions⁵⁵ in 1966/67, 1978/79, 1994/95 and 2010/11 as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council which ultimately puts it in strong contention for one of the two slots for Africa in the proposed enlarged permanent membership of the UN Security Council (Saliu, 2006b: 243-262).

⁵⁵ Aside being the one of the first country to represent African at the UNSC in a non-permanent capacity, Nigeria's four time representation is also the highest by any African nation. Although Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire served at the UNSC in 1962/63 and 1964/65 respectively, both representations were based on their membership of the Commonwealth. On the other hand, Egypt's membership in 1946 and 1949/50 respectively was ceded to the Middle Eastern region.

In recognition of Nigeria's effort towards ensuring peaceful coexistence within the African and on the strength its previous record at the UN, Nigeria was elected unopposed with total vote of 186 out of a possible 193 to secure a fourth tenure at the UNSC. According to the presidency, this is "glowing expression of support and encouragement for Nigeria's active participation in the promotion of peace, security and political stability in Africa and other parts of the world" (Channels Tv; October 17, 2013). Remarkably so, this election makes it the second time under Jonathan's presidency that Nigeria would be elected as a non-permanent member of the Council (2010-2011 and 2014-2015).

In the area of continental multilateralism, Nigeria played a quintessential role (along with South Africa) in the transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union and establishing the New Partnership for African's Development (NEPAD) as part of an African initiative to find African solutions to African problems (Pogoso 2009:68). Nigeria was also instrumental to the introduction of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and was among the first countries to subject itself to peer review in 2007.

Nigeria has equally successfully elevated ECOWAS (whose origin dates back to the Lagos Charter of 1975) to the status of a celebrated, recognized and perhaps the most active sub-regional organization in Africa (Bach 2004:69-92). Through the ECOWAS framework, Nigeria has also been able to successfully use the sub-regional body's Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) as an instrument to perpetuate its power politics within the sub-region particularly in conflicts in Côte D'Ivoire (2003–2004), Guinea Bissau (1998–1999), Liberia (1990–1998 and 2003) and Sierra Leone (1997–2000). Nigeria used the ECOMOG "to stamp its authority in West Africa, fester its national security and defence nests, and promote the political whims of the Nigerian military cabal, thus undermining the real object of regional peacekeeping" (Howe 1997:65 cited in Folarin 2010:271). Tavares 2011:166) already demonstrated how "national and individual interests (of Nigeria), rather than any institutional principle, served as the basis for the interventions". According to him, Nigeria's interest was primarily with demonstrating or enhancing its status as "meaningful players in the broader community and achieved this goal by pursuing regional hegemonic strategies. To say the least, Nigeria in its sub-hegemonic capacity has capitalized on its membership in ECOWAS to extract national dividends. As evident in many of these

cases, it becomes incredibly difficult to engage in any military intervention without the support from Nigeria given particularly the extensive material and financial challenges involved (Taveres 2011).

Again, examining the case of Nigeria intervention in Liberia in Sierra Leone, Taveres (2011:155) notes correctly that “Nigeria aspired to accentuate its Africanist policy and its role as hegemonic power. Since the country’s national interests are intertwined with the interests of its neighbors, and also since the seismic waves of the conflict would inevitably hit Nigeria hard in terms of refugee flux and economic recession. According to the ECOMOG’s Nigerian Chief of Staff in Sierra Leone, General One Mohammed, “we had to put out the fire in order to stop it from extending to our own houses” (cited in Adebajo 2002:92). Taveres (2011) equally avers that Nigeria’s involvement in these crises was perhaps borne out of the need to resuscitate its battered international image establish its domestic democratic credentials while also strengthening its international credibility and silence his critics, in particular after the (see Francis 2006). In all, Nigeria’s involvement through ECOMOG has been conjectured to as a weapon “for managing power in the face of a threat to its interests” (Taveres 2011:152).

Olusegun Obasanjo today is feted in many African countries as a mediator between conflict-riven polities and also as an election observer. He played a big role in the formation of the NEPAD, and when the OAU was transmuted into the AU, Obasanjo served as the first Chairperson of the Union. These roles gave Nigeria a somewhat leadership role in Africa. Apart from its role in international forums, Nigeria influences African politics, economics and academics through its human resource and intellectuals of international renown.

However, by virtue of its membership of these international organizations, Nigeria is also handicapped by its inability to effectively play any dominant role without key external actors. It is thus forced to resort to negotiating through its own agendas within the broader framework of the collective goals of the organizations it belongs to.

(f) The question of followership and acceptance of leadership

Adebajo (2000) affirms that ‘[s]ince its independence from Britain in 1960, Nigeria has nursed hegemonic ambitions in West Africa and sought to achieve a self-declared

manifest destiny in its sub region' (Adebajo 2000:186). He further argues that for Nigeria to deepen its claim of regional leadership, it has to be seen to match or preferably surpass French intervention in West Africa's security concerns. To this day, France seems to be a major force in attempts to quell West Africa's conflicts and wither Nigeria's influence within the sub-region. With the shifting global world order, less dependency on Western intervention has been touted as a conspicuous way of showing the West that different regions have internal powers capable of solving regional problems without recourse to traditional helpers. Nigeria's military intervention in Liberia and Sierra Leone showed Nigeria's capability and willingness to rise to the challenge of leadership (Adebajo 2000). Despite Nigeria laying claim to natural hegemon of West Africa, the country has to contend with the francophone countries that maintain amity with France and consider Nigeria a regional bully (Adebajo 2000). This reluctance on the part of African countries to accept a fellow African nation as leader is balanced by the fact that Nigerian leaders of all respects are influential in African politics.

For instance, even though West African countries are loath to accept it, Nigeria remains a major power in the region with the most sophisticated military and the largest population. What stands in the way of Nigeria's ambition is how a hegemon or regional leader can be defined. In terms of military preponderance and economic stature, Nigeria would easily pass for a regional leader. The country's military is obviously limited in its capabilities if it was to be deployed in all West African warring countries, but it is still incomparably better than other countries in the sub-region. Secondly, Adebajo (2000) claims that Nigeria had the opportunity, at the turn of the twenty-first century, to project itself as a regional leader because its stumbling block - France - was receding in its political interventions of its erstwhile colonies. By his own admission, Adebajo points out that this chance was inauspicious because it came at a time when Nigeria's economy was under severe strain, unlike the early 1970s when the country's economy was flourishing. Apart from this, however, France today continues to be a major power in resolving West African crises. Through NATO, and sometimes individually, France has maintained its role in West Africa, a region replete with its former colonies. The recent French intervention in Mali is a stark reminder of just how dependent West African countries are on France and not Nigeria.

The most political thing that Nigeria can do to win the cooperation of francophone West Africa and Africa at large is to show evidence of bilateral and multilateral political ambition. French influence still lingers in West Africa, and so Nigeria has to make no pretensions of being a lone achiever. It should support French interventions, especially when it is politically defensible to do so. The worst that could ever happen is if Nigeria is aiding and abetting odious regimes. Additionally, Nigeria should be careful not to be hypocritical in its foreign policy.

8.2.2 South Africa in Africa: Bulldog without teeth?

Reference to South Africa as the peripheral centre of African politics is wide in post-apartheid literatures with much of these arguments underscoring Pretoria's economic and military dominance in Africa as credentials that elevate her to a status of regional hegemony in Africa capable of influencing international agendas to its favour. In fact, Habib (2009:144) and Adebajo (2003) were emphatic on their prescription of South Africa as a regional power and hegemon in Africa on the supposition that Pretoria's comparative and aggregate advantage in economic, diplomatic and military capacities in the continent uplifts her to this prominence by default. Again, there is the contention that international acceptability of South Africa in recent years noticeable with the mass influx of Africans into the country who perceive South Africa as a safe haven from the notoriety of devastating conflict within their own countries. In other words, South Africa's projected material, structural and ideational power in Africa is considered to be unparalleled and can be equated with the dominance of the United States in global politics.

Within SADC, South Africa is considered as the 'celebrated' regional leader and as a result, the rest of the world have "an anticipation of South Africa's role in resolving and addressing regional disputes" (Habib 2009:155; See also Seymour 1996:1; Siridipoulos 2007:1). Of course South Africa's influence is more conspicuous within the Southern African sub-region and specifically among the SADC and SACU member countries with Pretoria holding economic sway for well over a century (Alden and le Pere 2004:284). By 2000, South Africa was generating over 80% of Southern African Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Kariithi 2000:45; Fledes 2007:18) and until recently, its economic and technological gradation was much higher than other countries in the same region. There is also no disputing South Africa's position

as the most developed and industrialized state on the African continent (Solomons n:d:1; Flesmes 2007:18).

However, Alfred Nzo, the first Minister of Foreign Affairs in post-apartheid South Africa was quick to deny the smudge of regional power over other African states stating that the devotion to human rights was to be the cynosure of South Africa's foreign policy and the Rainbow nation would not hesitate to preach the same to all corners of the world (Landsberg 2000:108). To reinforce this position, Nelson Mandela on assumption of office in 1994 was also unwilling to make a claim of South Africa's leadership in Africa pointing rather to the imperative of Africa to South Africa's foreign policy agenda. He instead emphasized that the foreign policies of Pretoria in Africa have to reflect the objectives and aspirations of other African countries (Flesmes 2007:19). According to him, this is not only due to South Africa's geographic position but that African countries had particularly played a crucial role in supporting the anti-apartheid struggle at the time when the ANC was proscribed in South Africa. E.g. Countries like Zambia where these banned parties ensconced themselves became occasional target of the brute force of the apartheid regime (Siridipoulos 2007:2).

Schoeman (2003:359) holds that South Africa's strength in Africa is alluded to but not directly stated for fear of rejection by other African countries (see Flesmes 2007:20). South Africa's identity as a regional hegemon is consequently still a subject of contention, hence, any explicit claims to hegemony or even leadership may be interpreted as a another brand of colonialism. Any claim to regional leadership may cause consternation especially among the frontline states that had first-hand experience of apartheid (Adebajo and Landsberg 2003). South Africa thus recoils from calling itself a leader lest it incurs the cynosure of regional rejection (Flesmes 2007:20). Siridpoulos (2007:2) adding to this point reiterates that South Africa's obvious leadership spot is a source of apprehension both to the ANC ruling party and countries like Angola and Nigeria who see themselves as having the power sufficient to rival that of South Africa's. It is for this reason that Pretoria is disenchanted about using material power to prove its strength and rather opts for conversational means and multilateral frameworks to approach African challenges (Flesmes 2007:7). However, the inevitability of belonging to a wider African consensus should not obviate South Africa's higher status compared to other nations within the continent.

Its mineral reserves and political history offer something incomparably unique from other African states. The infrastructure that the country boasts of is clearly also the best in the continent. Hence, South Africa's "aggregate capabilities in terms of economic, diplomatic and military capacities, in relation to other African nations, automatically define it, at least for now, as a regional power or hegemon" (Habib 2009:144).

From a conceptual position, South Africa in the Strategic Plan 2006-2009, "defines itself as democratic developmental state" (cited in Bischoff and Serrao 2009:373). Nevertheless, scholars have referred to South Africa as a regional power, regional hegemon, emerging economy or anchor state, depending on the attributes and perspective the observer chooses to concentrate on. Bischoff and Serra (2009:365) for instance prefer to classify South Africa as an "emergent democratic middle power" even though, as will be shown later, it has not been quick to promote internal sovereignty in other countries. Nel, Taylor and van der Westhuizen (2001:16) on the other hand, submit that South Africa can be deemed an "emerging middle power". Jordaan (2003) agrees with this view by certifying South Africa – along with Malaysia and Argentina – as emerging middle powers in contrasts with Australia, Canada and Norway that are traditionally accepted as middle powers. Kagwanja (2009:2) also contends that "South Africa's regional power is hardly in doubt" while Nel and Nolte joins Kagwanja (2009) in conceding to South Africa's status as a regional power but disagrees that it is an emerging power, partner or donor. His view is in tandem with the opinion that South Africa is more ambitious in its intercontinental aspirations, and hence does not partner more with fellow African countries. However, Sidiropoulos (2008:110) disagrees with this position by arguing that through the African Renaissance Fund established in 2000 for instance, South Africa was making modest financial aid to fellow African countries.

South Africa's main leverage on the rest of the SADC region is its imposing economy (Kagwanja 2009:2) and as Chiroro (2012:1) remarks, the country can use its "soft power" leverage to influence Southern Africa, Africa and the shifting world order. Pretoria's global involvement has therefore been qualified by its representation and membership in the G20 and BRICS as the only African member-nation belonging to both groups (Chiroro 2012:2). It is interesting to also note that even during the reign of apartheid South Africa was considered a leading power in Africa. Ian Smith,

Governor (from 1965-1979) of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), repeatedly alluded to South Africa as the “Persian Gulf of strategic minerals of this earth” (Smith 2001:271). This might as well be true given the fact that South Africa tops the world in gold, manganese and platinum reserves (CSS Analysis 2011:2). Smith was equally bold in his assertion that South Africa was the richest African nation and the ultimate goal of communist encroachment during the prominence of African nationalism.

In terms of military sophistication and status, South Africa is second to none in the African continent. Nigeria – another contested powerhouse of Africa – and Angola are the only other African states that come close to matching the South African Defense architecture. Despite the challenges that confront South African troops, the more than 60,000-strong army is of substantial importance on the continent (CSS Analysis 2011:2). Proportionate to its military prowess, South African sentries have been conspicuously present in conflict-riddled countries that are torn apart with violence like Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, and (recently) in Central African Republic (CAR). Although these military interventions have produced mixed and sometimes humiliating results as evidenced in the CAR case, they are however testimony to the broad range of South Africa’s military presence in warring nations. Its leading role against tortuous African conflicts is in tandem with the country’s clarion call that international bodies acknowledge (South) Africa’s ability to defuse African conflicts. What is not in doubt is that, South Africa wants more responsibility on African peacekeeping missions to be taken up by regional bodies within Africa (Bischoff and Serrao 2009: 365). As many theorists advocates, South Africa fits more appropriately the portrait of a regional power and leader since the concept of a hegemon, when taken in the sense of a hectoring state, hardly fits South Africa’s description.

A fundamental question must be addressed however. Does South Africa’s material and ideational superiority translate into regional hegemonic presence within the continent? This thesis argues that by critically exploring the multiple factors that enhance or deflate South Africa’s hegemonic claim or ambition, a useful assessment can be made about South Africa’s capacity as a regional hegemon in Africa. In understanding South Africa’s hegemonic identity, (as in the case of Nigeria), we move on to examine a number of facilitating and de-facilitating conditions that either advance or impinge on South Africa’s regional hegemonic status in Africa in terms of

its texture of polity, international public image and reputation, foreign policy articulation, economic and material preponderance, legality of population, the question of followership and acceptance of leadership and finally its membership and leadership of multilateral framework.

(a) Texture of polity

How does the texture of South Africa's internal polity positively or negatively impact on its willingness and capacity or capability to play a hegemonic role in Africa? In reflecting on this, Nieuwkerk (2012:102) remarks that, South Africa's domestic base is hampered by such constraints as "poverty and unemployment, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, a fragile racial reconciliation, and (more recently) the impact of the global financial crisis", not to mention a culture of violence and (police) brutality. This is not to say there are no internal political dynamics in South Africa that enables a hegemonic claim. For instance, in 1994, the unanticipated mode with which South Africa conquered decades of racial conflict was expected to be used as a conflict resolution template for many other African countries that are stricken by violence, divided by identity conflicts and other forms of social discord (Sidiropoulos 2007:2). Post-apartheid South Africa thus became not only a mineral but also a moral giant overnight. The expectation of South Africa's influence grew more insistent driven by this moral authority which the country had come to be associated with (Prys 2010:2).

As a result, the anti-apartheid struggle which incubated national heroes turned the attention of the world to South Africa, and after the triumph over White minority rule, it was only natural that the same temerity could be applied in solving the many problems confronting Africa. The persistence with which anti-apartheid movements fought against human rights abuses during White minority rule was expected to be the beacon of the new dispensation to spread the tentacles of democratic norms and human rights to every nook and crannies of Africa (Pfister 200:3; Bischoff and Serrao 2009:364; Waldheimer and Holman 1994:1). Remarkably, at the time when many people had expected an inevitable violent onslaught, South Africa's peaceful political transition from apartheid to liberal democracy was surprisingly smooth. According to Sidiropoulos (2008:108) and Kagwanja (2009:1), it was this 'miraculous' political transformation that sowed the seed for South Africa's moral authority and of utmost importance to South Africa's democratic sustenance was the efficacy of internal negotiation and dialogue in overcoming decades of domestic discord (Siriropoulos

2007:2). The general expectation was therefore that the Rainbow nation would be able to export its conflict-resolution model emphasizing both negotiation and reconciliation into conflict regions such as Zimbabwe, Angola, DRC etc.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was applauded as a crucial step in the long process of healing emotional and psychological injuries that had been bred for a long time. The TRC showed South Africa's unswerving resolve to account for the abuse of human rights under the apartheid era. In all, South Africa's internationally acclaimed constitutional democracy and admirable human rights record which have remained largely consistent through the post-apartheid years are conditions that no doubt advance positively its hegemonic status in the international arena. It is these features that promote the status of Pretoria as a country that places a high premium on advancing international norms of democratic stability, peaceful coexistence and respect for fundamental human rights.

Invariably, the relatively stable texture of South Africa's polity further facilitated by a consistent leadership in the ANC and a relatively buoyant economy (until recently) thus makes it not much of a surprise that many Africans, especially those fleeing from political and economic upheaval, choose South Africa as a safe haven. Even without fleeing from political hardship or persecution, many Africans are attracted to South Africa for the promise of a better future that it holds with various reasons for immigrating to South Africa ranging from political respite, better academic option to economic ambition (New African, July 2013). If there is any anxiety about South Africa's coveted status in Africa, perhaps the gravitation of many Africans into the country should clear any possible doubt.

However, South Africa's post-apartheid democratic dispensation incubated unwittingly so the transformation of the ANC from a liberation movement to a dominant political party with a totally new orientation and seemingly more powerful than national leaders. However, this unfettered power has seen party politics spill into a messy national arena with devastating implication. For instance, the 'Arms Deal' of 1999 blighted the ANC government's image and will remain indelible for many years to come. While it was justified that South African arms were obsolete due to the effect of the arms embargo against apartheid, the 1999 Arms Deal invoked one of deepest fissures on post-apartheid leadership and continue to make rude and offensive echoes

in South Africa's political discourse. Furthermore, the deal was fraught with inconsistencies and allegations of bribery with Jacob Zuma, who was then deputy president, accused of receiving bribes from arms dealers. The ANC incriminated itself by moving promptly to foil all investigations into the matter. The most documented evidence that the party was awash with corruption came from Andrew Feinstein. Feinstein's book titled *After the Party* (2007) divulged inside information of the Arms Deal giving details of how much corruption had infiltrated the ANC. There were allegations according to Feinstein that the Arms Deal contracts were awarded to companies that had funded the ANC's campaign.

On another hand, the May 2008 spate of xenophobic attacks on non-South African nationals derogatorily referred to as 'Kwerekwere'⁵⁶ could not have come at the worst time. These dastardly and barbaric events happened during the reign of Thabo Mbeki, an unabashed pan-Africanist and champion of South-South relationships (New African, 2013:18). The development thus dented South Africa's role as a regional leader and evinced a stark contrast to Thabo Mbeki's benign foreign policy. Mosselson (2010:641) argues that the despicable way of treating foreign nationals "has been established first and foremost by the state, through the entrenchment of extra-legal and, in some cases, overtly illegal ways of dealing with foreign nationals". Clearly, the violence meted out to foreign nationals undermined South Africa's stability in "social integration, which is a critical factor in learning to operate globally" (Amoako 2005:2). In South Africa, illegal foreign nationals are treated with more disdain than local convicted criminals with the Immigration Act which avows that illegal immigrants be held in different cells from other convicted individuals often disregarded. Foreign nationals are usually held for more than the legal thirty days prescribed by the law (Mosselson 2010). Mosselson argues that the 'state of exception' which the ANC government has nurtured has presented foreign nationals as not belonging to the political community of the country. In this case, local South Africans, seeking political recognition and better service delivery, have resorted to inflicting brutality on foreign nationals. Hence, xenophobic attack becomes another platform for local and disenchanting citizens to assert themselves as belonging to the new South Africa.

⁵⁶ This is a derogatory term generally used specifically to refer to black foreigners in South Africa.

If this theory has any validity, then xenophobia will continue to loom large for many years to come because the majority of South Africans still live in poverty. Perhaps what gives more credence to this theory was another wave of xenophobic attacks which broke out in early 2013. Once again, shops of foreign nationals were looted across the country with the government broaching a cover up story that these attacks were driven by criminality and not xenophobia. If true, was it mere coincidence that South African shops were not raided and that only shops belonging to foreign nationals were burgled? Many foreigners have been accused of taking over jobs meant for South Africans. A counter argument to this is that many foreign nationals are enterprising individuals who, through their businesses, actually offer employment to South Africans. Xenophobic violence is a tortuous subject in South Africa; apart from allegations of usurping job opportunities and selling cheaper retail goods (hence elbowing local businesses into inexistence), foreign nationals are also accused of taking South African women (Morris 1998). The fact that only black Africans were attacked sends an equally undesirable signal especially when viewed in the light that the ANC depended heavily on African countries for its strategic survival during the period of under apartheid (New African 2013). For a country that should be held in high regard, the attacks of 2008 give a very repulsive and negative picture of South Africa thus poking holes on its international image.

South Africa capacity to play any meaningful hegemonic role must be tied to its ability to quickly address endemic social problems that it is confronted with. As rightly confirmed by Marthoz (2012:8), Pretoria's international ambition will no doubt hamper economic development, divert scarce resources and ultimately "distract attention away from pressing social problems".

(b) International public image and reputation

While no country is expected to be a paragon of social, political and economic utopia, there are nevertheless critical factors that accentuate a state's character and thus conflate to aggregate the perception of such state in the international community. The focus of this section is to examine the general international perception of South Africa and its citizens across the world to see how a positive or negative outlook of the country imposes additional cost or benefits on the possibility of a hegemonic identity. We therefore look at the factors that have dissipated or advanced this claim of hegemony.

To begin with and as explained earlier, in a sense, South Africa's international image is located not only in its economic and military credentials but more importantly in its soft power assets. South Africa is generally held in high esteem because of the manner in which it conquered its historical apartheid past. As Habib (2009:148) points out, South Africa transcended "from an isolated, politically belligerent, regionally militaristic, globally defensive agenda to one that is supportive of multilateralism and involved political partnership, regional leadership, and global engagement". It was this political transition that birthed many of its iconic leaders like Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Oliver Tambo, Steve Biko etc. who today are celebrated and heroes and distinguished world leaders. In fact, South Africa alone has in total 6 Nobel laureate (4 in Peace and another 2 in literature; see Table 2.2 in chapter 2) as well as 3 statemen in *The Elders*⁵⁷. While in prison, Nelson Mandela took on a mythical status as the embodiment of the struggle against apartheid and the attention that the world gave to Oliver Tambo as he strode the globe to peddle the anti-apartheid campaign was also testimony to how the world sympathized with the plight of many South Africans at the time. It is equally important to remember that Nelson Mandela, as an icon of African leadership hosted over 60 heads of states during his half-decade rule (Gervisser 2007). For a country that was hitherto ostracized as a pariah, this achievement was no mean feat. His interaction with the many Heads of State who came to South Africa bolstered South Africa's status on the global scene. If Mandela showed the world how South Africa had changed its political makeup since apartheid, it was his successor – Thabo Mbeki - who wanted to show the world how Africa had changed after apartheid and the Cold War.

Secondly, South Africa's stable democracy, strong and advanced financial sector, diversified economy infrastructural development and services sector coupled with its choice as tourism destination, economic hub and a gateway to Africa presents a pleasant international image for the country. South Africa thus scores a valuable point in its position as the most developed country in Africa. Aside this, in other development and social measurement indices, South Africa ranks fairly well within the African continent.

⁵⁷ According to its website, The Elders is an independent group of global leaders established in 2007 by Nelson Mandela with the goal of promoting peace and human rights.

Jihan El-Tahri's commentary about the ANC titled *Behind the Rainbow* (2009) documents the political history of the ANC from the time it was a liberation movement to its current status as ruling national party. He poses the question whether the clamour for political power will consume the dream of a new South Africa. The documentary concludes with the affirmation that notwithstanding the current status of the ANC, the organization has lost its 'moral innocence'. Cases of corruption and general misconduct among members of the ANC has relegated the movement to the class of many other once promising politics organization in Africa that have been overtaken by grand corruption and ruthless ambition for power and its retention. The ANC was so linked to morality that it has been variously called a Church (Asmal 2010; Feinstein 2007). The controversy roused by joining BRICS, coupled with the soft peddling mediation in Zimbabwe and internal political misbehavior have combined to compromise the ANC. From an impartial perspective, the party is no longer a fervent sponsor of democracy and human rights. The main intent of the ANC and hence government seems to be economic improvement at all costs. For the ANC and South Africa, the shift from moral leadership to realist ambition is traceable. The party was not always what it currently is. It is imperative that the ANC corrects its current state. Being the most powerful organization leading the most developed country in the continent reveals the fact that whatever the ANC does has international implications.

(c) Foreign policy articulation

Upon the release of political prisoners and the cessation of apartheid, it was only natural that the South African liberation movement turned ruling party (ANC) would want to show some gratitude to the frontline states, to Africa and the rest of the sympathetic world. This perhaps illustrates why, even before his ascension to power, Mandela reiterated how South Africa's destiny is inescapably bound with that of Southern Africa and other African nations (Black 2003:38; Kagwanja 2009:3). And as Carlsnaes and Nel (2006:18) concedes, "[t]he outstanding feature – and main strength – of South African foreign policy in the post-apartheid era has been its identification and engagement with the rest of Africa, and with issues important to the continent's leaders and citizens". Again, in December 1993, on the twilight of the new Rainbow nation, Nelson Mandela was unequivocal in his insistence that the future and destiny of South Africa was inextricably connected to that of Africa in general and Southern

Africa in particular (Mandela 1993). This foreign policy attitude was a deliberate assertion and indication of a strategic ‘u-turn’ against the diplomatic posture of erstwhile South African leaders who saw the country as some form of Western country located in Africa.

At the 84th anniversary of the ANC on 8th January 1996, Mandela made the point that South Africa’s “prosperity is not possible in a world afflicted by poverty and economic depression”. The new government thus set out to promote regional trade and participate in multilateral organizations (Alden and le Pere 2006:52). Mandela further claimed that South Africa had a role to play in entrenching the emerging world order which was to be characterized by ‘democracy, peace, prosperity and equality among nations’ (in Westhuizen 1998:435). He quickly cautioned that in its vigour to contribute to the new world order South Africa had to be careful to avoid arrogating power to itself and shouldering unrealistic responsibilities. Mandela’s profound address was made with the understanding that Africa and indeed the world in general had lofty expectations of South Africa and long after Mandela’s rule, South Africa’s foreign policy as inscribed in the Strategic Plan 2006-2009 continue to echo this same sentiment. The DFA (2006) agrees that the future of South Africa is inextricably linked to that of Africa and the South and the consolidation of the African Agenda therefore serves as a point of departure in its engagements with the international community.

In assessing the foreign policy trajectories of South Africa in almost two decades, what is clear is that there has been a deliberate commitment by Pretoria in form of material, economic and human resources towards addressing many of the problems confronting the African continent. Habib (2009:148) submits that the nationalistic impulse of the ANC’s leadership has inspired a prioritization of Africa in four realms of; diplomatic and military energy, partnership with continental institutional security arrangement, promoting African Agenda at the global arena and of course massive corporate investment in the continent. In its almost 20 years of post-apartheid foreign policy, South Africa has demonstrated its commitment to Africa and its resolve towards furthering democracy and human rights within the continent. This it does through its role as a peace-builder in the “promotion of longer-term inclusive political solutions” to conflicts in Angola, Burundi, CAR, Comoros, Cote d’Ivoire, DRC, Eritrea-Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Zimbabwe etc.

(Carlsnaes and Nel 2006:18; Habib 2009:148). As Habib (2009) acknowledges, while some of these initiatives have ended in undesirable outcomes with South Africa often overstretching its valuable resources (as exemplified in the cases Cote' d'Ivoire, Lesotho and CAR), a good number however have resulted in positive payoffs both for South Africa as well as the recipient states. South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy has therefore consistently demonstrated an African identity in what some scholars call an Africanisation of South African foreign policy emphasizing a show of concern and interest on the continent of Africa (Carlsnaes and Nel 2006:19).

However, contrary to the argument of some scholars (Daniels *et al* 2003; Schoeman and Alden 2003), one can point to a good number of black spots in South Africa foreign policy articulation. A major challenge of South Africa's foreign policy articulation has been its failure to effectively and strategically understand, interpret, and analyze continental politics in what Vines (2010) attributes to its long years of international isolation. South Africa's foreign policy projections in the post-apartheid era have therefore been confronted with an ideological confusion with straddles in-between realism, idealism, liberalism and even Marxism (Habib 2009).

South Africa has no doubt taken many ill-advised and wobbled steps in its foreign policy diplomacy as a result of naivety, poor foreign policy articulation and gross inexperience at diplomacy. While we cannot discuss all the foreign policy hiccups of South Africa in the post-apartheid era, we shall attempt to bring to fore the ones that are considered critical in deepening our analysis. For instance, shortly after the democratic elections of 1994, South Africa was confronted by the political changes taking place in other African countries. Of note was the modus operandi that South Africa employed in dealing with the Nigerian government under General Sani Abacha during the trial of author and activist Ken Saro-Wiwa and his co-accused Ogoni activists. Mandela led the opposition against Abacha at the Conference of Commonwealth Heads of Government in 1995 (Habib 2009:148). South Africa was seen as acting in isolation and without input from other African countries. To make matters worse, Mandela was floored with his unsuccessful attempt to halt the judgment passed on the Ogoni activists.

Provoked by the needless execution of the activists, South Africa's Mandela led the call for the eventual suspension of Nigeria from the Commonwealth. However, his

suggestion for a boycott against the Abacha regime was deprecated by the OAU as alien to African idiosyncrasies of continental solidarity (Venter 1997). South Africa was thus deemed a foreign stooge in its idea of corrective politics. Mandela was noted to have regretted the manner in which South Africa turned out to be seemingly the only country attempting to dissuade Abacha from executing the condemned activists. Mandela's failure to talk Abacha out of this quagmire punctured South Africa's reputation as a norm entrepreneur and promoter of human rights (Amusan 2007; Kagwanja 2009:5). For South Africa, the case against Nigeria was multipronged. It was both the fight for justice, democracy and many other tenets of good governance which the Abacha regime had clearly ignored (Black 2003:36; Habib 2006:148) and to lose on this diplomatic score was parallel to dropping behind in its self-imposed mandate to promote democracy and human rights particularly in the continent which represents the hallmarks of ANC's ascension to power. South Africa was thus exposed as a naïve player in international politics and unfortunately, it is this experience that has set an insalubrious tone for South Africa's engagement with Nigeria particularly under the post-apartheid era (See Amusan 2007).

Another episode that heightened doubt about South Africa's capability as an African regional leader was the Zairian imbroglio between Laurent Kabila and Mobutu Sese Seko. While the rest of the continent supported Kabila, South Africa's stance was far from clear. The meeting in 1997 which South Africa held with the belligerents on its warship was largely shrouded in mystery leaving many to wonder whether or not South Africa was aligning itself with the US-backed Mobutu (Habib 2009; Vale and Maseko 1998). South Africa once again initiated a unilateral effort towards peace building leaving many African countries on the side-lines and bewildered and askance at Pretoria's plagued identity.

South Africa's already battered foreign policy reputation took another knock with the incidence of the controversial invasion of Lesotho in 1998. The South African Defence Force invaded Lesotho on 22 September, 1998 to defend the controversially elected NB first write in full LCD which won 79 out of 80 seats of parliament. The mandate was to support the victory of LCD elected under questionable circumstances. This aggressive display was condemned as an abuse of South Africa's stature as a military hegemon and perceived by many as a continuation and relic of apartheid's brutal foreign policy conduct (Kagwanja 2009:2).

There is also widespread opinion that South Africa does not offer a clear picture of where its loyalty lies (Shaw 2012). A good example is the irresolute mode or 'silent diplomacy' (Kagwanja 2009:3) with which Pretoria tackled the Zimbabwean crisis. The perpetual abuse of power and disregard for human rights in Zimbabwe forced untold numbers of Zimbabweans to flee the country, with majority seeking entry into South Africa (Siridipoulos 2008:110). Also, the failure to deal with Zimbabwe in a way that many people would prefer could be interpreted as a way of the ANC dominating national agendas. To the UN and the AU, South Africa is expected to be unequivocal in denouncing Mugabe's regime for its human rights abuses (Bischoff and Serrao 2009:368). Contrarily, South Africa's silence has been interpreted as weakness or worse still as acquiescence. This is not surprising considering that during the proscribed years; the ANC had forged close ties with Mugabe and was even closer to Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) than Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) before the latter came into power as Prime Minister (Gervisser 2007). With the shift in fortunes in Mugabe's favour, the ANC swiftly sought amity with the new leader of Zimbabwe. In this case, the method used by the South African government to bring about political order in Zimbabwe is considered impotent because of the ruling party's indebtedness to Zimbabwe. If the South African government could rise above the influence of the ruling party, the country could arguably do something more decisive in Zimbabwe.

Aside that these multiple foreign policy convulsions (cited above) displayed the immaturity and inexperience of South Africa's foreign policy diplomacy, it has also brought to fore the imperative for South Africa to work in concert with other African countries if it does not want to isolate itself like in the days of the apartheid regime (Black 2003:35). Again, and in tandem with the last point, the experiences have cemented South Africa's realization of the efficacy of multilateral action in Africa as even though the country was an anticipated leader, it had to enlist the support and approval of other continental players.

In the above contexts, South Africa seemed to have found it somewhat difficult to sustain the moral fountain and reputation of its foreign policy initiated by Mandela on many fronts. Pretoria found itself confronted with the reality of the international system and having to relinquish its idealist principle in favour of pragmatism. As Siridipoulos (2007:1) argues South Africa's foreign policy can be regarded as

increasingly driven by *realpolitik* considerations justified for instance by its blind eye towards Zimbabwe. Knowing what course of action it should have taken on the basis of its foreign policy principle; it rather opted to play a silent role, amid large scale human rights abuse in Zimbabwe. Bischoff and Serrao (2009:367) explain that South Africa has not aggressively addressed the Zimbabwe problem because of its “radical foreign policy model [which] prioritizes achieving international economic reform over and above democratization” – a remarkable shift from Mandela’s espoused moralist and idealist foci. For instance, as articulated above, the silent diplomacy over Zimbabwe has exposed South Africa’s hypocrisy and concern about its image in the eyes of its regional counterparts.

Its merger with BRICS and romance with China has also shown the priority it has given to economic advancement and a shift from an emphasis on orthodox democracy and the promotion of human rights. When South Africa was formally co-opted into BRICS in 2010, it was affirmed as one of the emerging middle powers. Joining BRICS was seen by critics as a step that betrays a realist streak of the current South African foreign policy intentions. South Africa is seen to be increasingly stooping low and succumbing to pressure from its trade allies (Bohler-Muller 2012:6). With Thabo Mbeki rule coinciding with the rise of Chinese investment in Africa, China has been accused of neocolonial tendencies and aiding and abetting Africa’s odious regimes in exchange for consumer goods. By supporting Sudan and Zimbabwe, China had incurred vitriolic attacks on many fronts with shared concerns from the Western countries that China may foist communism on its beneficiaries and trade partners. Additionally, China’s foreign policy of non-interference is (un)fairly understood as condoning the perpetuation of human rights abuse in countries where they are rife. As China biggest trade partners in Africa, this relationship is thus a case of dining with the devil. If China’s increasing forays into Africa are to benefit the latter, then it is incumbent on regional leader aspirants like South Africa and Nigeria to negotiate terms that will be beneficial to Africans.

This complication puts South Africa in a Catch-22 situation because it had to embark on economic recovery while still confronted with the dilemma of pontificating about good governance. In order for the new government to address its economic problem, some argued that South Africa had to adopt a realist foreign policy; that is, through the Growth, Employment and Redistribution programme (GEAR) (Naidoo 2010). By

this decision, South Africa was implicitly placing a premium on economic and job creation as more crucial than an insistence on human rights and democracy (Black 2003).

It remains to be seen how BRICS will affect South Africa's conduct in future, especially in relation to the promotion of human rights and democracy in South Africa. Thus, it is possible to argue that South Africa's involvement in African conflicts is driven not necessarily by its contempt for human rights abuses but also for pragmatic reasons; the anxiety over the possibility of foreign instabilities seeping into South Africa (Kagwanja 2009:3) and the imperative to booster the country's economic fortune as well as an undeniable fate to participate in curbing African conflicts because of its strategic geographic position.

These shortcomings taint South Africa's African hegemonic status. The moral premise and promise with which the new South Africa came to power in 1994 has been on a gradual attrition, largely as a result of the reasons articulated above. If it was to be a hegemon in Africa, its foreign policy had to show assertion and consistencies of political morality with or without the concurrence of other states within the region. South Africa, much as it is justifiably regarded as a more advanced country on the African continent, has had its international profile dissipated by the questionable choices of its foreign relations with its autocratic BRICS partners like China and Russia. This is not to say that principles have totally been cast out of South African policies. Its stance on international racial antagonism has won the country much applause. Through Thabo Mbeki's ceaseless fight against the skewed nature of the international system, South African has also exuded its leadership role as a more compelling voice for the poor nations of the South (Siridipoulos 2007:1).

(d) Legality of population

In examining the issue of legitimacy of population in the case of South Africa, we attempt to substantivize South Africa's population mix and quality in making our assessment with the main objective to be able to protect whether South Africa's demography is representative of the rest of Africa and presents any credible reference for legitimate acceptance of hegemony. In essence, how does South Africa's demography in terms of quality, size and racial spread present valuable credentials for hegemonic influence? A critical look at South Africa's population spread indicates the

existence of a wide range of people with multiple racial backgrounds. Particularly, South Africa is the only country in Africa with the highest population of Europeans outside Europe while also reckoned as perhaps the most civilized and industrialized country in Africa. Surely, these credentials beckon on South Africa a hegemonizing status on the rest of the continent.

South Africa and South Africans often feel a sense of pride and superiority which flows from an awareness that they are the most advanced and sophisticated people within the dark continent of Africa and have a mandate to rescue the continent from the shackles of underdevelopment. This view is further echoed in Marthoz (2012:8) argument that xenophobic attacks which occurred in 2008 highlights the “the perception that the country is not yet completely “African” and that, even among its black population, it continues to consider itself, even after the collapse of the apartheid state, to be “different”, i.e. more advanced than the rest of the continent”. In many ways, it is this deep sense of consciousness that has provoked its government to be more involved and assertive in the issues concerning Africa. There is a point in this argument in that South Africa is able to use its development, technological and infrastructural experiences as a stencil to improve the quality of development and progress in many deprived parts of Africa.

Nevertheless, beyond this, there is very little that South Africa can boast of in terms of its population credentials for hegemony. In fact, South Africa’s population of barely 50 million people is scarcely enough to neither validate any demand nor claim for regional hegemonic status. Its population growth rate is also one of the lowest in Africa. On the other hand, while it is true that South Africa's population is indeed comparatively better off than its other African counterparts, the country’s staggering statistics in a number of social-health statistics is a cause for concern. For instance, South Africa is plagued with the world’s highest rates of global pandemic diseases such as HIV/Aids. In the area of Math and Science education competences, the recently released World Economic Forum (WEF) Global Information Technology Report 2013 ranks South Africa as second worst in the world, only ahead of Yemen while the quality of its education system is ranked 140 of 144 countries. Social inequality record of widening gap between the rich and the poor is also record high in South Africa. Almost 20 years after apartheid, the South African society remains one

of the most deeply divided with more than half of its population still unemployed (Adebajo and Landsberg 2003:192).

(e) Membership and leadership of multilateral framework; SADC, G20, BRICS, AU, UN etc.

The involvement of South Africa in many multilateral initiatives is testimony to the country's commitment to be the epitome of good governance and a dependable player in the African agenda. South Africa has also expressed interest in being co-opted as one of the permanent members of the United Nations. The country has had a two tenure stint as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in 2007/08 and 2011/12 respectively. As a non-permanent member of the UNSC, South Africa has been instrumental in promotion the African Agenda on a global platform. This was exemplified in the undisputed espousal of Resolution 2033 broached by South Africa with the main objective to reinforce collaboration between the United Nations and the African Union (Bohler-Muller 2012:8). Through this Resolution, it is hoped that UNSC and the AU Peace and Security Council will work closely together in promoting international peace. If this Resolution gains more currency, it will illustrate South Africa's fierce commitment to promoting regionalism.

Moving further, the country has played noticeable roles in debates on climate change particularly through its hosting of the Copenhagen Summit (Cop 17) in 2011. Cop 17 shows that South Africa has secured its place in the annals of global discussions principally on issues relating to the environment. The European Commission has equally expressed interest in striking strategic partnerships with South Africa. In summarizing Thabo Mbeki and his quest to involve South Africa in continental and global geopolitics Elizabeth Siridipoulos (2008:111) submits that "overall, Mbeki's foreign policy was expansive and ambitious. It secured a place for South Africa at the highest table, though not always without its detractors in Africa".

At the global front, South Africa has been dignified with enormous international recognition through its membership as the fifth member of BRICS and of the G20 and of course the only African member of both groups. Arguably, this enviable feat is in acknowledgment of South Africa's growing influence and leadership in the international arena which paradoxically has been more accentuated and appreciated at a global scale than it has within Africa. According to the CSS Analysis (2011), South

Africa's leadership has met more admission at a broader platform than within the African region it is located. The ascension to BRICS membership indicates the rising influence of South Africa as a gateway to Africa and ranking among emerging powers like Brazil, Canada, China, India etc. South Africa has continuously used the BRICS platform advocate for a change in the 'global governance architecture' especially the United Nations and Bretton Woods ideologies with the conviction that unless the international system goes through a process of inclusive reformation, poor countries will always be at the fringe and hence remain voiceless even about their purpose (Siridipoulos 2008:112). President Zuma echoed this same position recently at the United Nations General Assembly in 2013 arguing that the UN Security Council was undemocratic and has failed to represent the interest of developing nations in its over 70 years of its existence. According to him, "there has been too much talk about reform with little action...[t]he UN Security Council still remains undemocratic, unrepresentative and unfair to developing nations and small states" (Zuma Speech at UNGA).

In the Strategic Plan 2006-2009, South Africa in expressing its alignment with Africa and states of the South, against a Western-led international order declared that it would "conduct(s) its foreign policy within a global order that is characterised by political and economic marginalisation of Africa and the South in general" (Department of Foreign Affairs, 2006). Although written a few years before joining BRICS, this statement shows that South Africa could not pass the buck of the responsibility to collaborate with other states of the South.

Along with its participation in BRICS, South Africa is also involved in other intercontinental pacts with the same countries e.g. Brazil, South Africa, India and China (BRICS) and India Brazil South Africa (IBSA) (Shaw 2012:838). The ascension to IBSA and BRICS has further enhanced South Africa's status in the global community but this has also been greeted ambivalently by other African states (Shaw 2012). There is the lingering concern amid much rhetoric that South-South relations should be enhanced. South Africa trades more with traditional partners i.e. Europe and the United States of America - and currently it trades more with other IBSA and BRICS members than with fellow African countries (Shaw 2012). The prominence that South Africa enjoys has thus not directly benefitted other African countries. If the country is to be a credible regional leader of Africa, its intent and

policies in global forums should also benefit other African states. The rise of China gives South Africa the opportunity to show how much it can stand up to its trade partners to broker more beneficial terms for the rest of Africa. South Africa ought to galvanize all African countries into making a concerted strategy with which to deal with China and other non-African trade partners. China has a policy specifically tailored to address its interactions with Africa; but African countries seem to make private deals with China, with some being more detrimental to African states. The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) needs to be supplemented with a broader forum which is exclusively African. The point is South Africa, naturally, ought to show more leadership in promoting such a forum.

Another forum which South Africa used to promote South-South economic cohesion is the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The NAM gives countries that are not aligned with the power bloc a context in which they can nurture international trade coalitions. In 2006 in Havana (Cuba) at the convention of NAM, Thabo Mbeki who was then incumbent leader of the Group 77 averred that reinforcing trade relations within the South axis has given the previously neglected countries a more forceful voice on world politics. This increase in influence can force the UN to yield to some reforms being suggested by smaller nations (Flemes 2007:19).

The country has proved apt to the task of regional and continental power in its participation in many mediatory tasks through these multilateral frameworks (Habib 2009). To date, former South African President Thabo Mbeki still mediates in discussions between Sudan and South Sudan. South Africa also played a part in instituting semblances of peace in Burundi and DRC (Kagwanja 2005:1). Even though the political situation in these countries remains fragile, without the intervention of South Africa, these conflicts in these countries would have escalated into full-scale war (Sidiropoulos 2008:110). Within Southern Africa, the country is leading the observation and intervention of the Zimbabwean political stalemate. Although this mission has produced ambivalent results, the selection of South Africa as the negotiator proves that the country is held in high regard in the area of peace building.

South Africa, along with Nigeria and Senegal played a prominent role vital in the reconstruction of the “Africa’s institutional architecture” in establishing NEPAD in

2001 and the transformation of the OAU into the AU in 2002 as well as the African Peer review Mechanism (APRM) as new continental political and economic frameworks (Landsberg and Kondlo 2007:2; Dokubo and Joseph 2011:565; Flesmes 2007:19; Habib 2009:148). In demonstration of its leadership resolve, in 2004, South Africa agreed to host the AU Pan African Parliament (PAP) and provide official residence for the president of the PAP all at South Africa's expense. Pretoria at the same time extended diplomatic privileges and immunities to all staff and Parliamentarians of the PAP (Department of Public Works 2004).

Conversely, apart from the influence that South Africa radiates by joining BRICS, this move has attracted a number of misgivings from observers and analysts. South Africa has formed pacts with countries whose human rights records are far from exemplary. South Africa has been more concerned with finding an alternative to the Western-imposed international system that it has had to combine with China and Russia, not paying attention to their political values. In this case the country has failed to correct political misbehavior within the continent. As articulated earlier, this explains why South Africa was indecisive on

Furthermore, with the insistence on human rights which had endeared the ANC to the world, it was expected that South Africa would give a more forceful voice against states that are considered inimical to the promotion of human rights. It was thus very disappointing – to human rights activist - that South Africa did not use its temporary presences in the Security Council to condemn Sudan, Zimbabwe, and Myanmar, examples of countries where human rights are often disregarded. Its stance on these countries was at variance with what the ANC had stood for prior to becoming a governing body in 1994 (Habib 2009; Neuer 2007). Its behavior at the Security Council was a manifestation of the realist slant to which South Africa was moving after the reign of Mandela. Political expediency and power were gradually supplanting insistency on human rights and democracy. Apart from its mineral endowments and strategic positioning, the struggle for democracy and equal human rights helped substantially in catapulting South Africa to global prominence. Less insistency on these matters, as shown by the current South African international interactions, is likely to diminish the rectitude for which South Africa and the ANC was reputed. Zimbabwe. Bischoff and Serrao (2009:365) have called this attitude ‘realist legalism’.

In all these cases, South Africa has been able to play a leadership role in Africa by using these multilateral frameworks to “persuade others to subscribe to its vision on the one hand and being pulled by pragmatic factors and becoming only one among many regional actors on the other” (Habib and Selinyane 2006:182). As Habib and Selinyane (2006) suggests, this is evident of Pretoria’s reluctance to lead and a lack of dominance but resorting rather to multilateralism. However, Bohler-Muller (2012:5) argues that South Africa’s over-indulgence in many multilateral forums can overstretch the country putting it at the risk of indecisiveness – or deep contradictions as regards its foreign policy articulation (Taylor 2011:1239). This makes it hard for South Africa to manoeuvre through the tidal waves of several multilateral and bilateral commitments and its own domestic priority that often times are at odds with each other.

(f) The question of followership and acceptance of leadership

The question of followership of any leader raises fundamental issues for instance around the acceptance of the leader to lead. Adebajo and Landsberg (2003:172) also raised this concern of whether South Africa has the confidence of majority of African states and the ability to convince them to entrust Pretoria with a leadership role in Africa. They raise concern also about the possibility of states that are resentful and envious of South Africa to undermine its attempts to act as a regional hegemon. Pointing to the importance and necessity of regional powers in conflict resolution, Lehmann and Steinhilber (2006:2) also cautioned that proximity can sterilize regionalism because of ‘historical baggage’ - the solidarity shared over history by regional states. When taken on face value, this status is indubitable. A major problem that South Africa encounters as a ‘regional hegemon/power’ is that there is no known documented evidence of the endorsement or acceptance of South Africa’s leadership by other members either within the Southern African sub-region or the African region (Nolte 2007:15).

Furthermore, a regional leader ought to demonstrate not only covert but also overt willingness of its aspiration to wield regional leadership and mobilize its power resources on behalf of its region. Even though South Africa does not explicitly claim its regional leadership, this status is substantially inferred in the number of international forums to which South Africa subscribes to and the many global delegates who visit South Africa. Vale and Maseko (1998:271), adds that South

Africa's becoming "part of the African community was, of course, beyond doubt; what was at issue was both the sequence of events by which this would happen and the conditionalities attached to its happening" (Vale and Maseko 1998:271). Also, because of its economic superiority, South Africa was bound to be seen as a new comer who takes over everything. It had to tread carefully, for it to be integrated and accepted into to the African community without being seen to be imperious.

The new South Africa identifies with the new Zimbabwe from the days that both were agitating against White minority rule. In this vein, the country did not want to be perceived as a stooge of the West and neither did it want to be considered a bully in the Southern African region (Siridipoulos 2008:111). Another perspective from which to analyze South Africa's dithering over Zimbabwe is that, to confront Robert Mugabe who was and is still perceived as a titan of the struggle against colonialism, would be choosing Western domination over Africa solidarity. Calling him to order at the behest of Western countries would be akin to fraternizing with an erstwhile oppressor over a comrade. Lloyd Sachikonye (2005:569-585) denies South Africa the status of hegemon, basing his argument on the impotence of South Africa's tactic towards the Zimbabwe crisis. According to him, a regional power should be assertive and unequivocal in its denunciation of intolerable governance like the one in Zimbabwe. It can therefore be concluded that although South Africa wants a global democracy, however, it is constrained by individual brands of leadership within countries which of course should not be meddled with by unsolicited external pressure (Bischoff and Serrao 2009:368).

South Africa describes itself as a democratic emerging power though, as shown, it has not convincingly promoted individual democracy in other countries. Furthermore, its status as a de facto African leader has been compromised by its internal identity crisis. According to Bischoff and Serrao (2009) and Alden and le Pere (2004:284), South Africa remains profoundly divided. Apart from internal debilitating divisions, other African countries look askance at South Africa. Naturally, these are distrustful of South Africa's leadership ambitions. According to some theories enunciated in this study, a regional power has to state clearly that it accepts responsibility of leadership. The reticence of South Africa on this matter allays its leadership status.

The question of identity presents a further obstacle in South Africa's suitability as a regional leader. Compared to other African countries, especially in the SACU and SADC regions, South Africa is conspicuously more developed. However, there is debate as to whether South Africa is a developed country among developing countries (Gibb 2006). Allan Boesak, once an ANC chairman of the Western Cape, wrote that South Africa was anxious to dispel the allusions of being a European province on the African continent (Boesak 2009). This was a reaction to the perception that the economy, infrastructure and general makeup of South Africa give it a somewhat non-African appeal. South Africa, at least in its rhetoric, seeks integration and not dominance among other states.

The incidences described here purport to suggest that South Africa has not been able to confidently assert a hegemonic influence and by implication has lost its moral lustre.

8.3 Conclusion

This thesis postulates that it is almost an impossible intellectual exercise to empiricize and extrapolate the theoretical prescriptions of the hegemonic stability theory particularly within the (African) regional level of analysis. A number of reasons account for this. First is because the regional power asserted to be a hegemon is confronted with externally superior contexts outside of its regional jurisdiction that is able to manipulate or wither the influence of any possible regional hegemon. Secondly, the enormous internal contradictions and challenges that daily confronts such state from projecting its influence at the continental realm are overwhelming. Thirdly, the mere fact of the preponderance of conflict and instability in Africa is suggestive of an absence of a credible hegemon(s). In the fourth place, is the nature of the African states especially Nigeria and South Africa that have yet to untangle the cords that bind them with diverse external and international contexts which ultimately define and conjecture the foreign policy of both states to the extent that it becomes extremely difficult to carefully implement an independent foreign policy that reflects essentially its own priorities.

Finally and regrettably, the fact that the African terrain makes it extremely difficult to obtain relevant data to make valuable empirical judgments about certain related issues even makes verifiable conclusions difficult to achieve. Some other scholars like

Schoeman (2007) have advanced the argument that South Africa (as well as Nigeria) cannot be regarded as a 'complete' hegemon since it does not possess the exclusivity of influence within the continent. Hence, even though both countries have displayed hegemonic aspirations involvement in Africa through multilateral political leadership and economic superiority and a degree of soft power profile, it has nevertheless demonstrated a willingness to partner with willing nations in finding common solutions to common African problems (Landsberg 2008).

The main thesis advanced here is that it may be empirically negligent and disillusional to infer that the use of 'hegemon' or the added qualification of 'regional hegemony' is applicable or explicable within the African regional political-economic context. Particularly, the nature of the post-colonial state in Africa especially makes incredibly difficult any valuable application of universal theories of international relations to an African regional context (Oral Interview; Godwin 2013). The point here is that the nature of foreign policy incursion of regional powers in Africa is perhaps typical of leadership influence within the continent rather than hegemony as evidenced in the willingness of both countries to be at the forefront of issues confronting the continent whether for mutual or particular self-seeking goals. There is also an official unwillingness of both countries to acknowledge or deliberately use the term 'hegemon' but rather a preference for 'leader' as appropriately representing its mandate and manifest destiny towards Africa.

Moreover, Nigeria and South Africa substantively lack the capacity to independently influence the direction of outcomes within the region. They must work in concert with other actors to obtain any outcome to their advantages. Both countries can in essence be likened to pivotal states more than their reference as regional hegemons. Nigeria and South Africa on their own cannot unilaterally do this without the cooperation of other actors within the region. The emphasis of both countries for cooperatively fashioning out credible solutions to African problems further suggests an acceptance of the indispensability of the other in the political-economic affairs of the continent. As already articulated, hegemony in this case is sometimes attributed to a commanding and derogatory display of power but not necessarily leadership which at the same time comes with its own disadvantages. With leadership comes an acceptance and followership of the leader.

Clearly, a hegemon does not require acquiescence to its power. In testing the empirical correlates of hegemonic presence within the continent, we examine the validity of this 'subtle' official and unofficial claim by scholars, practitioners and students of foreign policy and international relations from both countries. To support this position, we advance the argument that the absence of relative stability within Africa is generally attributable to the non-existence of a specific hegemon at the regional level (Africa) capable of constructing hegemonic attributes of public good and inspiring regional stability within the continent. To say the least, the economic and military pre-eminence of South Africa are not sufficient conditions and sources of coercive power to command localized acceptance of the hegemonic status.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an aggregation of the assessments and analysis following from the first chapter up to chapter eight. It puts forward the findings arising from the study and also makes tangible recommendations and suggestions for future research. The preoccupation of the thesis has been mainly with examining the argument of a Nigerian and/or South African regional hegemony within sub-Saharan Africa by using Hegemonic Stability Theory as a framework for analysis. The study tests whether the different degrees of hegemony in Africa's sub-regions correlate with different degrees of stability in an attempt to apply the theory at a regional level of analysis.

9.2 Summary of the findings

Fundamentally, the thesis attempts to understand whether (and how) Nigeria and South Africa have demonstrated and consistently mobilized their power resources through the instrumentality of their foreign policy to drum up hegemonic ambitions for themselves within the African sphere of influence. Understanding the rhetoric that Africa's posterity is intrinsically tied to the contribution and leadership of Nigeria and South Africa, the study questions whether this leadership 'anointing' invariably translates into hegemonic influence for either country within the continent. Or do both countries' powers influence transpose into an exaggeration of a possible twin hegemonic regime particularly given the internal and external forces that they face? These questions have fundamentally been addressed in the preceding chapters.

While Chapter One laid the groundwork for the conceptualization of the study, the concern of Chapter Two was with establishing and connecting the study within current and existing literatures while also foregrounding the study within a theoretically nuanced framework with particular reference to the hegemonic stability theory. The Third Chapter explores the fundamental determinants and principles that guide and shape Nigeria's foreign policy. This is followed by Chapter Four which reviews Nigeria's foreign policy initiative towards Africa since her independence in 1960. The chapter accounts for the degrees of consistencies and change in Nigeria's

foreign policy and argues further that in many ways, a number of domestic and external conditions ultimately served to give Nigeria's foreign policy the hegemonic contours it currently has today. In doing this, the chapter evaluates the roles, contribution and the leadership that Nigeria has offered in Africa through its foreign policy. To a large extent, the thesis posits that Nigeria's foreign policy trajectories have been influenced by the character of the regime at different times as well as the external conditions that transpired during various regime dispensations.

I argue further that Nigeria's foreign policy towards Africa has over the years remained constant to a large degree and has been reinforced by a subtle hegemonic ambition thrust upon it by the vastness of its resources and the overall expectation of the African people and cemented by the national consciousness of its ruling and political elites right from independence. There are certain undeniable reoccurring decimals that can be isolated as informing Nigeria's foreign policy implementation, beginning from the Tafawa Balewa administration to-date. Coming from the background of its colonial history, clearly Nigeria's political sovereignty and economic independence has always been fairly at the centre of its national policies and foreign policies generally. This is further reflected in the active nationalist orientation of Abuja's policy up until the period of the Murtala's administration where clearly it was stated that Africa would remain the centre piece of Nigeria's foreign policy. A major remit ascribed to that policy position is that Nigeria would not rest until the last vestige of colonialism had been wiped off.

Fundamentally, the basic issues of which Nigeria has focused on since 1960 may have changed but essentially, what has not changed is its commitment to Africa. The fight against colonial rule and the dismantling of apartheid are simple manifestations of Nigeria's focus on Africa as a major country in the continent since the 1960 up to the early 1990s. It is also in recognition of Nigeria as being the largest concentration of black people. Thus, Nigeria and Nigerians have always been very mindful of the fact that their country has a sort of historic responsibility towards the continent where its people make up the largest concentration of black people. Hence, very visible has always been Nigeria's commitment in de-colonization, anti-apartheid, economic regionalism, peace and security, activism in African unity and integration etc. The unfortunate absence of South Africa in the African political scene between 1960 and 1990 further reinforced the expectation on Nigeria as 'giant of Africa' to provide

leadership for the continent. Nigeria has always been in the forefront in terms of its commitment to what is often referred to as the philosophical and ideological foundation of its African foreign policy. In retrospect, while policy may have changed depending on prevailing issues and situations, however, the principles behind its commitment has remained largely unchanged since 1960. Thus, the thesis submits that Nigeria's foreign policy has largely remained consistent solidified by shared feelings and assumption by its leaders about the fate of Africa tied to Nigeria.

In essence, various governments have found means to articulate an African oriented foreign policy and engrained in the foreign policy conduct of Nigeria since independence is thus, the reference to Nigeria as the natural leader and messiah of the African continent (Bach 2007). In line with Folarin's (2010) argument, I submit that Nigeria's continental hegemonic ambition in its Afrocentric policy has mostly been borne of an altruist motive and sympathy for the problems faced by the continent. This explains why it is in many cases unwilling to derive any direct material benefits from its contributions towards the progress of the continent at the chargin of its own people. Nigeria has often being criticized of having a foreign policy that places Nigerians at the background and highlights the advancement of Black Africa. With the assurances that it is able to tackle Africa's problems through its enormous human and material resources, wealth and strong military, the implication had been that Nigeria's role conception in Africa is triggered by a genuine moral persuasion. Again, Nigeria's hegemonic role in Africa is accentuated by its reason to be actively involved in Africa through the commitment of resources to the continent (Amusan 2007:7).

Again, clearly inscribed in the speeches of Nigeria's early nationalists (Chief Remi Fanni Kayode, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Chief Anthony Enahoro) even before independence, is the allusion to a focus on Africa; African unity, African development, African progress and progress for the black race. This suggests that it was not as though Nigeria conceptualized an African leadership for itself but rather saw itself within the context of the continent of Africa and its overall development. It is this same Afrocentric view that Nigerian leaders have subscribed to through successive leadership over the years that Africa is our home land and we have a bounding duty to ensure independence for all African countries. Nigeria perceived itself as having an obligation to defeat racism on the African continent, manifested in apartheid in South Africa; a duty to make sure that Africans speak with one voice on

the global stage. Its participation in all the processes that led to the formation of Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its transformation into the A.U adequately captures this reality (Fawole Oral Interview).

From a theoretical position, Nigeria's involvement as a 'big brother' in Africa and as a 'spokes-state' for Africa is cemented in two major arguments carved in an idealist orientation of seeking the greater good for the rest of Africa and a realist argument of furthering its national interest. This theoretical dilemma makes it even difficult to make any valuable conclusion about the motive underlying Nigeria's engagement with Africa. This thesis however aligns itself with the idealist paradigm that Nigeria's interest in Africa is not necessarily borne out of any ulterior motive or selfish ambition concerning its policies in Africa contrary to the proposition of many realist scholars. Nigeria's commitment in Africa has always being to the black race and much more specifically to the African continent.

To an extent, Nigeria's foreign policy as far as Africa is concerned does not fit properly with the mold of Western Realist school of International Relations, which argues that a state must have two hands; one for giving and the other for grabbing back or that every action of a state must be based on national interest. Nigeria failed to subscribe to the Western realist notion that any policy that is not based on the national interest is useless. As a matter of fact, Nigeria did not originally define its national interest in any narrow perspective; it has always being tied up with the rest of Africa since whatever happens to one black man happens to Nigeria. Apartheid in South Africa was seen by Nigerians as a stain upon the integrity of the black man and so confronting apartheid was an article of fate. Even though Nigerian did not directly suffer from apartheid, it considered that whoever was suffering it in Africa, Nigerian was also affected by this inhibition. President Balewa also made it clear that it was Nigeria's duty, to help all other non-independent African countries to come to a position of responsible independence. Thus, the feeling was that Nigeria could not properly enjoy its own independence and freedom when all other African alumnus/countries are still shackled by colonial rule, by apartheid and racism, etc. To all intents and purposes, Nigeria's national interest was woven into Africa's interest.

On the basis of the above analysis, it seems safe to argue that Nigeria did not stumble on leadership in Africa as leadership was a deliberate psychological position as

evidenced in the speeches of its foremost nationalists. To support this view, Dr Aja Wachukwu, who later became Nigeria's first foreign affairs minister as far back as the 1950s stressed that the reason Nigeria was asking for independence was that the entire black race was waiting for us to become independent in order to liberate them (Fawole, Oral Interview 2013). Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe also in the 1950's propounded the theory of Nigeria's manifest destiny to provide leadership on the African continent. Perhaps the dilemma is whether Nigeria leadership in Africa implies dominance or hegemony and more importantly how much of this dominance has dwindled since the re-mergence of South Africa in 1994. Is Nigeria willing to play a dominating role in Africa? And what are the costs that Nigeria is likely to incur if it goes on to play this role?

The thesis argues that Nigeria foreign policy trajectories portrays no evidence of a country willing to play a dominant or hegemonic role in Africa but rather wants to provide leadership armed by the capacity of its vast resources relative to other Africa states. This is contrary to Amusan's (2006:283) thesis that Nigeria has always "wanted to play the role of a hegemon in Africa". Rather, Nigeria perceives itself as a country uniquely placed to offer leadership in Africa in concert with other states that share similar objectives. Perhaps, its capacity to play a hegemonic role is hampered by its economic inferiority to South Africa as well as many internal and external challenges highlighted previously (see chapter 8). In many ways, Nigeria is suitably placed to provide this. Hence, it would have been a disservice if it fails to do this. Fawole (2013) makes an analogy of Nigeria's fate in Africa likened to ten men in a room and there is a taller and stronger man than everyone else amongst them. If they were to lift any big object, obviously without the support of the taller man, this task would be almost impossible. Hence, the offer of support by the taller person is not because he wants to dominate but rather because he is the only one in a situation to do so. It would be a disservice to the group if God gives him (Nigeria) this huge stature and the muscular agility to lift the object and then he fails to acknowledge this. It would be a different situation when he uses that physical prominence to compel everyone around him into obedience. That would be a hegemon; a dominant power or a power that wants to dominate/control. In the case of Nigeria, it is a power that is naturally in a position to provide leadership.

So for Nigeria, when countries are under attack, they expect her (Nigeria) to be at the forefront and for the latter to remain silent and do nothing would imply a disservice. It is in this context lies the acceptance of Nigeria's leadership role in Africa; demonstrating a willingness to assume this role on one hand and the acknowledgment of this responsibility by other states on the other hand. In spite of Nigeria's huge position, countries that it helps still disagree with it, disobey it and sometimes even vote against it without any repercussions. Very few states could attempt this on the US hegemony without repercussions or consequences.

Nigeria has never attempted to be a (regional) hegemon. A hegemon would be a country that wants to have its way by whatever means; by influence, power, military muscle, intimidation, persuasion etc. such that at the end its preference would always prevail. Taking a cursory look at political manoeuvres in the continent, it is difficult to conclude that Nigeria has always had its way. Two examples illustrate this point. In West Africa for example, despite its long years of military rule, Nigeria has never used force to get its way even though it has more military might, than all the other West African countries put together. Rather, Nigeria has often resorted to providing pragmatic leadership. At the formation of ECOWAS, Nigeria undertook from inception that (being the brain behind ECOWAS and the largest contributing country to the ECOWAS fund and being the largest economy in the sub-region), it would not contest for the position of ECOWAS Executive Secretary. A hegemon would want to control the organization where it puts in all the money. Even at the AU for example, Nigeria has always respected the unwritten gentleman's agreement, that the major funders of OAU (AU) would not contest the position of the Secretary General/Chairperson. In 1983, when the position was vacant and Nigeria's Ambassador Peter Onu, who was then Acting Assistant Secretary General was nominated by Tanzania to take up the post, Nigeria did not support the nomination on the honour of its commitment not to contest this position (Fawole 2013; Oral Interview).

Secondly, at the establishment of ECOMOG when Liberia combusted and ECOWAS decided to intervene, all of West African countries knew that no other country had the number of troops, the equipment and fund to bankroll such an operation, except Nigeria. At the time, more than half of West African countries had armed forces that were less than 10,000 officers and men. Nigeria during this period had over a 100,000

soldiers under arms and with considerable experience in UN Peacekeeping operations around the world. But when ECOMOG was constituted, in spite of the fact that Nigeria contributed the bulk of the troop, it conceded the leadership to Ghana. The initial first commander of ECOMOG was General Onoid Kaimu from Ghana. It was after the operation was failing with the attack and killing of President Samuel Doe at the ECOMOG headquarters that things changed. On the contrary, the US would display its hegemony by ensuring that its troops are never under the command of other nations. Other West African countries realize that there is no other country that has all it takes to undertake this operation; nonetheless Nigeria did not impose its will. Its eventual command of the operations was a product of circumstances not a product of original intention. From that perspective, it is clear that Nigeria is not a hegemon. As in the cases of Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan in recent times, the Americans have always been on top.

Geographically, Nigeria is well placed as a coastal state unlike many other countries. Even though it is not geographically or spatially the largest country, it however is the most populous country and the most ethnically diverse. The next most populous country in Africa is exactly half of Nigeria's population and that would be Ethiopia followed of course by Egypt (which is not a black country). This shows the extent of Nigeria's manifest destiny. Nigeria's population is almost 52% of the entire West African sub-region of 16 independent states and hence, this awareness makes Nigeria uniquely placed to offer leadership. Added to its human resource, Nigeria has always being richly blessed and this awareness is apparent in the sense that it could have been for fun that God has enriched this country so much if not to provide leadership to Africans and that Nigeria is in a position to do so. Thus, Nigeria did not stumble unto leadership by an accident of history. Neither was it also an ambition but more importantly recognition of the fact that the country is simply endowed for that position⁵⁸.

The oil boom in the 1970s and long years of military rule added to the quality of diplomatic experiences of its leadership are features that informed a robust foreign

⁵⁸ Contrary to many opinions, Nigeria's activism in Africa predates the discovery of oil. Nigeria has always being richly blessed even in the days it did not have oil; cocoa, groundnut, cotton, palm oil, rubber etc. were major currency earners for Nigeria. It was with these that universities, stadia and many of its first generation Universities were built.

policy commitment in Africa wherein Nigeria was able to transform itself into a regional and pivotal power. In the early years of Nigeria's independence, its leadership influence was accentuated by the concentration of its foreign policy posture towards the eradication of apartheid, colonialism and racism in Africa.

Another trigger of Nigeria's hegemonic ambition in Africa has also been found by the study to be rooted in the military political history of the country. The point here is that foreign policy trajectories under the military years have been more rigorous and activist in promoting the African course. The reverse has been the case since the post-military dispensation with Nigeria's foreign policy seemingly taking backslides and turnaround in its priorities to one that places emphasis on domestic concerns of the state.

Nigeria recognizes the expectation by other weaker countries in Africa, for it to take a leadership role in addressing many of the developmental and political issues that have engulfed the continent. Clearly, its intention is not necessarily based on a desire to play a hegemonic role. In distinguishing between hegemony and leadership, we already pointed out that both concepts even though may appear similar semantically but however mean different things. One can play a leadership role without being hegemonic. In other words one can exercise power in an acceptable manner without being a bully. From empirical evidences, it is difficult to thus equate Nigeria's role in Africa with that of a hegemon although other countries perceive this as hegemonic role. The crux is, Nigeria's objective is not to play a hegemonic role but rather to play a leadership role, especially with the protection of the national interest of the country and the interest of other weaker black African countries and black in Diaspora.

Nigeria has prided itself in playing a leadership role in terms of seeing itself as a leader but not imposing itself on continental or African politics or the West African sub-region where it is more influential. It definitely perceives itself as a leader and even in the sub-region of West Africa it has played a 'hegemonic' role in the positive leadership sense but not imposing itself. I also submit that as a result of Nigeria's role in Africa in the first three decades of its independence translated into a hegemonic ambition which ultimately had been a product of coincidence and not a clearly thought out intention of its leaders. In short, to a large extent, Nigeria has been able to translate its vast human and material resources into foreign policy instruments to

perpetuate not a hegemonic ambition in Africa but recognition of itself as Africa's credible leader

Like Chapters Three and Four, the succeeding Chapters of Five and Six equally articulates the fundamental principles and determinants influencing South Africa's foreign policy and traces the development of South Africa's foreign policy towards Africa under the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. The submission here is that South Africa during the apartheid period was denied any meaningful role in the international community due to its international isolation as a result of wide range of international sanctions imposed on it. Thus, its foreign policy during this period was invoked at destabilizing the Southern African sub-region and minimizing the harmful effect of its isolation. Conversely, in the post-apartheid period, South Africa's foreign policy has been configured by an inspiration to play a greater role particularly in Africa with the conviction that its destiny is intrinsically tied to the continent. Clearly inscribed in the foreign policy trajectories of South Africa is the understanding that Pretoria's fate is intrinsically tied to that of the continent. As a result of its apartheid past, South Africa finds itself caught between the rock and a hard place and consequently restrained in portraying a hegemonic ambition for the continent.

Incidentally, Nigeria's dwindling leadership influence in Africa coincided with South Africa rising prominence in global affairs. Abuja's foreign policy orientation has weakened remarkably since the post-apartheid era with the inclusion of South Africa as a major actor in Africa. The thesis finds problematic the assumption in many quarters that South Africa's military, material and economic preponderance in Africa ultimately guarantees its hegemonic status within the continent. Cox (1996:99) already points out that "economic and military pre-eminence of a given state within a region are an insufficient source of coercive power to ensure localized acceptance of hegemony" (see also Alden and le Pere 2009:2). It is doubtful whether South Africa's increasing economic and military superiority has in any way translated into specific political advantage except in very few cases outlined above. In short, its economic advantage as a result of its reacceptance into the international comity of nations following years in isolation conveys an unarguable status of a regional hegemon in Africa. The point is that while South Africa no doubt is the economic and military powerhouse of Africa, its capacity to translate these power indices into real political

payoffs or benefits and hence actual regional hegemonic influence is still very much lacking.

While South Africa has consistently emphasised its unwillingness to play a hegemonic role in its relations with Africa, its actions within the continent however shows otherwise. In many cases, South Africa have in fact acted as a hegemon in its attempt to bully other countries into accepting its position or having to forcefully supplant itself into key positions of power within the African Union. Many African countries share a mutual suspicion and are resentful about South Africa's increasing economic and political dominance in Africa. For instance, its attempt to mediate in the crisis in Cote d'Ivoire was seen by Nigeria as meddling with Abuja's West African sphere of influence. This is also aside the several accusations of South African companies of undermining local industries in particularly in poorer African countries Marthoz (2012).

In all, this thesis argues that contrary to the rhetoric of its officials and in confirmation of the arguments of a number of South African scholars, South Africa has unambiguously harboured and evinced a clear ambition to play an increasing leadership role in Africa, on the strength of its economic and military preponderance and acknowledged internationally political clout. Its contribution to the restructuring of the continental political and economic architecture is testament to this fact (Alden and le Pere (2009)). Nevertheless, while South Africa appears to fulfill all traditional conditions to be a regional hegemon in Africa, it however fails to fulfill this requirement of hegemony. Even within its sub-region, its influence and the acceptance of its leadership is still contested. To say the least, President Mugabe still enjoys a greater level of international clout and acceptance than his South African counterpart.

South Africa has undoubtedly the most imposing economy in Africa. For this reason, South Africa is taken as a natural regional leader. However, the country itself is slow to come out in the open and state its ambition. Manifestations of South Africa's global interest have been exhibited through its affiliation to IBSA and BRICS. The campaign to have a seat at the United Nations Security Council is also an indirect way of South claiming military superiority over other African countries. This campaign received a big boon when in 2007 South Africa got a second year chance as a non-permanent

member of the UN Security Council. South Africa's inclusion in the rotational position gave the view that the Security Council was becoming more inclusive to Africa.

Since post-apartheid era, South Africa has come to establish itself as an influential player particularly within Africa armed principally by its economic and military superiority. As submitted by Geldenhuys, South Africa has been able to combine its hard and soft power assets to achieve its African agenda. The general expectation of South Africa to play a hegemonic role on the basis of its moral standing as well as economic and military resources does not necessarily translate into capacity to play this role within the continent. Even though its military strength can be rivaled in recent time particularly by countries like Angola, its economic superiority however gives it an advantage to increasingly play a greater role at the continental level.

Chapter Seven unpacks the elements of national power of both countries in a bid to account for the motivation for hegemonic ambition within Africa. The chapter submits that while both countries have relatively sufficient hard power capacity to exert a hegemonic influence in Africa, it is the country with the greater level of soft power that would most likely be acknowledged as the regional hegemon. The study sees the imperative to stretch further the debate on the use of hard and soft power by African regional powers if any meaningful ranking or assessment of power relations is to be made. For instance, how much influences can Nigeria or South Africa wield from its use of soft power particularly under democratic dispensations?

Chapter Eight on the other hand takes this analysis further by examining in detail the substance and subtle claim of hegemony by both countries. As already echoed earlier, the argument of the chapter is that both Nigeria and South Africa cannot effectively exercise hegemonic influence within the continent despite the fact of their hegemonic ambition. Since neither can effectively demonstrate control over the other either in economic or political or ideational terms nor have the capacity to unquestionably bully its way throughout the continent, it is doubtful whether the hegemonic stability theory can therefore be extrapolated at the African regional context. In looking at the factors that facilitate or constraint Nigeria and South Africa's hegemonic ambition in Africa, the study submits that conditions such as the legality of population, foreign policy articulation etc. either poke holes or accentuate the claim of both countries for

hegemonic influence. More importantly, Nigeria and South Africa capacity to play any meaningful hegemonic role in Africa cannot be unconnected to its capacity to resolve endemic domestic problems of acute levels of poverty, inequality, crime, violence etc.

This raises fundamental questions about the dilemma of applying international relations theories at a universal level since these theories has no empirical relevance to Africa. The study finds that Nigeria and South Africa have deliberately pursued a foreign policy that even though reflects a hegemonic ambition but is nevertheless an acknowledgment of a leadership role within the continent. This has invariably led to combustive and conflictual relationship between both countries. South Africa's re-emergence into the political scene in Africa in 1994 was perceived as a threat to Nigeria's erstwhile dominance and hegemonic ambition in Africa. With a superiority of economy, South Africa's entry has reconfigured the power equilibrium in Africa deepened by Nigeria's dwindling economy and long years of despotic military rule. In essence, the hegemonic/leadership ambition of both countries has continued to shape and configure its interaction with each other particularly since the post-apartheid era.

9.2.1 Effective Hegemonic influence in Africa: A comparative analysis of Nigeria and South Africa's 'hegemonic' positions in Sub-Saharan Africa

From the above analysis, a number of deductions can be made about the hegemonic attributes of both Nigeria and South Africa. First, we argue that while there is no confusion about Nigeria and South Africa's desire for continental regional hegemony, it remains to be seen whether both countries command sufficient hegemonic influence that transcend beyond their West African and Southern African sub-regions respectively. No doubt, clearly inscribed in the foreign policy culture of both countries is this subtle ambition and expectation to be at the forefront of African issues. As pointed out by Adesola (2012), Nigeria has had to bear the brunt and burden of leadership expected of hegemonies in its quest of sustaining peace and stability. Though both countries might possess the will to actualize this ambition, it is doubtful whether there is a clearly thought out plan and strategy as to how they intend to actualize this enthusiasm. From a realist perspective, Nigeria and South Africa's foreign policy strategies over the years have conveniently demonstrated a calculated move targeted at reinforcing a hegemonic ambition which had by implication

triggered bitter rivalry between both countries (Amusan 2007; Zabadi and Onuoha 2012). This explains the consistent pattern of conflictual relationship between both countries particularly since the post-apartheid era.

As a logical corollary, to therefore lay claim to the presence of two hegemonic powers at the African regional level is not only over ambitious but also erroneous. More importantly, the internal and external constraints that confront both countries impose serious restrictions on its capacity to effectively trigger any sign of hegemonic influence transcending its West African and Southern African backyards. From the above analysis, it can be assumed that the foreign policy and national role conception of both countries in Africa is demonstrated perhaps in its capacity to provide continental leadership and not necessarily hegemony. By resorting to partnership, Nigeria and South Africa acknowledges that they both lacked the political and economic thump to act independently of other states and assert conformity to self-inspired norms and standards. In practical terms, Africa therefore lacks the presence of a single and dominant hegemon capable of articulating and enforcing the rules of interaction among most important members within sub-Saharan Africa in the true sense of the description of a hegemon by the theory of hegemonic stability.

The mere fact that international conflicts are still preponderant in the African regional space is enough testaments that the empirical correlates of hegemonic stability theory are missing at the African regional level. To say the least, nothing from the above analysis, points to the disqualification of Nigeria's hegemonic ambition on the basis of South Africa's rising economic power credentials. The post-apartheid Africa's political-economic calculus cemented with South Africa's reacceptance into the international community has reconfigured the political-economic landscape of the continent, however, this effect has failed to trickle down to commensurate political and economic influence for South Africa enough to command hegemonic influence. Moreover the recent deterioration of South Africa's economy following the global recession has implied a dwindling stature in its economic advantage.

Therefore, in exploring the foreign policy trajectories of both Nigeria and South Africa particularly since their re-emergence in the international space in 1999 and 1994 respectively, the thesis argues that even though both countries nurse a hegemonic ambition, the internal and external constraints that confront them

significant restrict this legitimate ambition. As the Head of the Botswana Mission to Nigeria acknowledges, it is extremely difficult to identify a true leader in Africa “as there are so many demographics today that really cannot make a particular nation to stand out as the leader” (Harold, Oral Interview). Nigeria today still suffers from certain debilitating weaknesses and still battles with the challenge of overcoming very elementary issues for instance of epileptic power supply, disjointed microeconomic indices, lack of credible democratic credentials etc. that any nation aspiring to a hegemonic status ought to have conquered long ago. As an aspiring hegemon, it cannot afford to be in combat with these issues if it is to effectively project its power, represent the interest of the region and intervene effectively in significant sectors in a way that also reflects its own preferences.

Nigeria in spite of its enormous human and material resources still depends essentially on foreign aid and has not been able to marshal its resources and leverage on this to mobilize other states in the region making it possible for states like France to penetrate and balkanize the efforts of regional integration. These no doubt are significant limitations that can be ascribed to distinct political-economic characteristics of Nigeria that questions its hegemonic credentials. For post-apartheid South Africa as well, the same strands of argument can be isolated for the country. South Africa still contends with massive domestic issues that equally wither its capacity to project hegemonic influence beyond its region. Given these realities, it becomes impracticable to speak of a regional hegemonic order in an African context.

From a conceptual position, any effort to apply the hegemonic theory to Africa would inevitably require a fine-tuning to fit the peculiarity and nuances of the African context. Such conceptualization of (regional) hegemony in Africa should be one that acknowledges the distinctive political-economic characteristics of the post-colonial African state and one that is dependent-capitalist in nature. The need to introduce the elements of structural dependency which undeniably characterizes post-colonial African states into the application of the concept of hegemony in an attempt to explain foreign policy positions of African regional powers becomes necessary. This is so because the state which is actually the driving force and engine room for political and economic processes in itself functions in a way that brings it into a subordinate position with international capital. What is therefore important is a refocusing of the hegemonic lens that aims to understand how foreign policy behavior of Nigeria and

South Africa interphases with some of the distinct realities that may be applied to the hegemonic theory.

If anything, hegemony in Africa must operate clearly within a dependent system that still relies significantly on an international sector. For instance, applying the understanding of the hegemonic theory to the scenario of food security (that addresses critical issues of food production, distribution, marketing etc.) as an essential component of national power etc. paints a dismal picture for Africa essentially. Africa today remains indisputably the only continent that has been suffering a per-capita food and agricultural decline over the past four decades and remains the only continent that significantly depend on the international market for its food security. That in itself is indicative of a very vulnerable power position for any state in Africa aspiring toward hegemony because once you lack the capacity to even feed your population, then any kind hegemonic influence is suspect. The agricultural sector in Africa is been saturated in the most insidious of ways by transnational agro businesses and once the dimension of international capital is introduced into this critical sectors and calculation of hegemonic theory, the fundamental and elementary index of elements of power which every hegemon should have effectively addressed are flawed.

These limitations effectively imply that the theory requires significant modification to rejig it to introduce the reality of the dependent-capitalist system that Africa operates in. In examining the arena of capital accumulation and the nature, character and politics of the state, what is clear is that the trajectories of development is influenced by other centers of power to which so called hegemons must effectively contend with from a subordinate position. Thus, the Nigerian and South African states does not adequately fit the realist prescription of hegemonic theory.

Again, while it is difficult to measure hegemonic influence in quantitative terms or even any measure of power relations worst still in Africa, it is possible to make inferences based on the capacity and potential of Nigeria and South Africa in building any substantial argument of the presence of a regional hegemon. Adebajo (1999) argues that South Africa is also another power which can boost Nigeria's Africa agenda. Without any unnecessary competition or political fallouts, both countries

could jointly present a potent force in developing Africa and initiating peaceful politics.

However, the influence of Nigeria in African political-economy is also marginal. Although, the country remains the most populous in Africa and its many citizens continue to maintain a presence in many other African and non-African countries, the notoriety attached to Nigerian governance, which eclipses the incomputable good things that Nigerian intellectuals continue to all over the world, does not help the argument that Nigeria is an ideal regional leader. Oddly, the preponderance of Nigerian academics in diaspora is not only attributable to the talent of the country but to its lackluster governance. Academics have a penchant for questioning orthodox thought. But in a 'rentier state' (Egbo et al 2012:598) like Nigeria, rent is the preserve of a few individuals and they brook no dissonance from any quarter. Egbo et al (2012) also argue that overdependence on oil is largely to blame for unaccountability in Nigeria's governance.

In terms of economic stature, however, South Africa will continue to dominate the rest of Africa, at least for some time. Through its multinational corporations South Africa is Africa's biggest investor in fellow African countries (Gibb 2006:432). Many other African countries are understandably ambivalent about South Africa's economy. They are slow to take pride in it because the economy still remains largely driven by white people. In 1997 when Walter Ofonagoro wrote that Mandela was a black president in a white country, implying the magnitude of how capital in South Africa favoured the white minority populace; the economy has not been totally de-racialized sixteen years on. To accept such an economy as representative of Africa is thus an indirect way of maintaining the obsolete white dominance in Africa. For this reason, South Africa's economic identity poses a challenge to how well the country can represent African interests.

To take another perspective, South Africa's quandary over international approaches, especially Zimbabwe, is understandable. Many people who use South Africa's stance over Zimbabwe as the yardstick to discount South Africa's leadership credentials lack historical depth of post-apartheid South Africa's policy. Because of this dearth of understanding, silent diplomacy on Zimbabwe is the only blemish that people see on South Africa's foreign policy (Daniel et al 2003). It seems fair to refer such criticism

to 1995 when South Africa called for aggressive sanctions on Nigeria after the Abacha regime hanged nine Ogoni activists. Cyril Ramaphosa, then Secretary General of the ANC, issued a scathing verbal attack on the Nigerian junta and Shell, a major oil company operating in Nigeria. Even Nelson Mandela, who prior to the hanging advocated a silent approach to the Nigerian crisis, was in the forefront advocating for Nigeria's suspension from the commonwealth (Black 2003:41). South Africa was accused of using non-African means of discipline (Vale and Maseko 1998). With this historical background, South Africa could be soft peddling its role in Zimbabwe in order to avert the opprobrium that it excited in 1995. Additionally, the country is concerned with being called an aggressor if it takes a radical step in Zimbabwe. To justify this stance, one only needs to look at Iraq and the devastating effects that external intervention left in that country (Gervisser 2007).

Just like Nigeria, South Africa has the main – but not all – requirements needed for it to be called a regional leader. Its mineral wealth which bests many countries worldwide will continue to lure investment interests from all around the world. Its economy is way beyond its fellow African countries. The economy within South Africa is similarly not equally balanced; the country has outstripped Brazil in becoming the most polarized economy in the world. This state of economic inequality with South Africa and Africa portends what would happen if integration in Africa was enhanced more than it currently is; South Africa would grow more in strength, disproportionate to other African countries, consistent with the traditional customs theory (Robson 1980).

The ANC's moral credentials were as important as political ones in promoting South Africa's reputation in 1994. With the passage of time, however, South Africa has taken a more realist or pragmatist stance in its international agenda. Of more importance to South Africa seems to be the need for economic advancement. Concerns of human rights and promotion of democracy have been relegated into the background. However, even South Africa's economy is more obvious on the international arena; it does not percolate to ordinary South Africans who continue to live in abject penury. The yawning fissures between the rich and the poor have provoked and sustained crises like crime and xenophobia. Added to this is corruption and cronyism. Black Economic Empowerment has tended to benefit a few strategically placed black individuals, while the majority of citizens remain in

poverty. Because of the history of exile and apartheid, many ANC members have used the ties forged among 'comrades' during the struggle to gain unfair advantage in terms of government contracts.

This degradation in political morality will engender doubt in the international community that held Mandela and the ANC in high moral regard (Van der Westhuizen 1998). If South Africa today will be regarded as a regional leader, it will certainly not be because of its moral appeal, human rights activism and democratic agency. It will certainly be because of its economic stamina and the attention that this brings from other continents. A fundamental question is whether or not African countries will accept South Africa as a leader based only on this. It is still yet another question whether aspirant or displaced leaders like Nigeria and – recently – Angola will cede allegiance to another power.

Ukaegbu (2005), though, argues that, Nigeria despite “an immense human and material resource, coupled with significant scientific infrastructure, has not yet been able to manage the all-important...leap forward” (Ukaegbu 2005:1385). As articulated above, a number of factors impinge on Nigeria's suitability for regional leadership. Aside the history of treacherous and violent leadership that has worn out the lustre with which Nigeria once shone, the economic downturn currently facing the country are a far cry from the 1973-1976 oil boom when revenues from this resource rose to an astronomical 350%. While Nigeria is referred to as a hegemon or a 'military giant' (Adebajo 2000:196) of Africa, Osaghae gives it the moniker of a crippled giant (1998:1). Adebajo (2008) pejoratively refers to Nigeria as a giant with rickety feet, rendered thus by the country's bad governance and chronic dependency on oil which has stifled growth in the country. Military rule, civil strife, graft and ethnic and religious intolerance have greatly influenced the stature of Nigeria in the international system.

9.3 Conclusion

The study of regional hegemonic order and stability in Africa with reference to Nigeria and South Africa has shown that the hegemonic stability theory has no direct empirical correlation in Africa due largely to the absence of an uncontested and recognized hegemon within the region. While the hegemonic influence of both countries is traceable to their foreign policy aspiration for Africa, there is very little

evidence to suggest that the leadership roles both countries play in Africa is indicative of hegemonic influence. No doubt Nigeria has always displayed a leadership role in Africa conceived on the premise that Africa would continue to play a central role in its foreign policy interest, its power coefficient *vis-à-vis* South Africa since the post-apartheid era makes this claim ambiguous. On the other hand, South Africa's claim to continental hegemony though 'subtle' and unannounced can be challenged in many fronts. However, Nigeria (as well as South Africa) faces what Bach (2007) calls a 'conversion problem' of transmuting its regional policy of hegemonic ambition and interests into practical terms by its increasing constraint and failure to address the factors that put a strain on its ambition or a consideration as to whether to share hegemonic power with South Africa.

Again, in recent years, the increasing tension between Nigeria and South Africa is often explained in both countries' unwillingness to share hegemonic control in Africa. I argue that hegemonic stability theory can only be applicable to Africa when both countries resort to cooperation rather than conflict in its relations with each other. In other words, a bi-polar regional security arrangement with Nigeria and South Africa as equal partners in progress is capable of inspiring increasing levels of peace within Africa to the advantage of both countries.

Expectedly, this thesis has provoked a deeper realm of national consciousness not only for Nigeria but also towards South Africa; a search for answers to many developmental problems and misplaced values and priority of Africa and its government. Why have we refused to be developed despite decades of colonial vestiges? Other colonized states particularly in South Asia have made giant strides towards development but Africa has refused to 'grow up'? Perhaps, our development lies in genuine joint collaborative efforts of both Nigeria and South Africa in an atmosphere of positive competition to improve the lot of the continent. The case of both countries' hegemonic claim in Africa is perhaps a reminder of story where the one eyed man is king in the land of the blind; only that in this case there are 'two' one eyed men with different limits of visual impairment.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Questions for Indepth One-on-One Interviews

Cluster One: Scholar Analysts/Academics from both Nigeria and South Africa

Central Questions:

Q1: What pattern would you say Nigeria/South Africa's foreign policy has taken particularly since the end of apartheid?

Q2: Has there been a radical change in Nigeria/South Africa's foreign policy sequel to a democratic dispensation and now?

Q3: What factors would you say account for this change (if any)?

Q4: How have the foreign policy perspectives of South Africa/Nigeria been shaped?

Q.5. Has Nigeria/South Africa's foreign policy changed significantly since the new democratic dispensation in 1999/1994?

Q6: What in your own view accounts for this change?

Q7: To the best of your knowledge, what would you say is largely responsible for Nigeria/South Africa foreign policy in Africa as it is today?

Q8: What factors do you think influence the behaviour of Nigeria/South Africa in Africa?

Additional Questions:

Q1: To the best of your knowledge, would you argue that Nigeria/South Africa have hegemonic or leadership ambitions in Africa?

Q2: In what way(s) have Nigeria/South Africa inspired regional or continental stability in Africa?

Q3: In your opinion, how have Nigeria/South Africa directed their power resources to the benefit of Africa?

Q4: In your view, would you conclude that Nigeria and South Africa's involvement in Africa points to cooperation rather than conflict.

Q5: How has South Africa's apartheid past configured or constrained its leadership ambition for the rest of Africa?

Q6: To the best of your knowledge, what challenges have both countries faced in the course of addressing these issues?

Q7: How is Nigeria perceived among its neighbours given the fact that it is surrounded by French speaking countries?

Q8: What would you say have been the implication of Nigeria being surrounded by French speaking countries?

Q9: How is South Africa generally perceived among its neighbours given these hostile experiences of the past?

Q10: What, in your opinion, is/are the general perception of South Africa and Nigeria's neighbours to their position as continental leaders?

Q11: In your view, are there any direct implications of the absence of a verifiable dominant regional power for the continent at large given South Africa and Nigeria's arguable position?

Q12: What roles does your agency play in the process of foreign policy making in Nigeria/South Africa?

Cluster Two: Diplomats/Bureaucrats/Officials/Policy Makers/Politicians of the government of Nigeria and South Africa

Central Questions:

Q1: What do you consider to be the fundamental and core interest of Nigeria/South Africa in Africa?

Q2: In your own opinion, what are the specific foreign policy directives that guide Nigeria/South Africa's relations with Africa?

Q3: How have these general guidelines inspired Nigeria/South Africa's participation in the African international arena?

Q4: How has Nigeria/South Africa related with its neighbours in terms of these principles of its foreign relations?

Q5: Has there been any meaningful change in Nigeria (post-military)/South Africa's (pre and post apartheid) foreign policy with Africa?

Q6: Are there vital interests that motivate and inspire Nigeria/South Africa's foreign policy relations towards Africa?

Q7: What role(s) has Nigeria/South Africa played towards continental transformation and regional integration in Africa since 1994?

Q8: Would you conclude that Nigeria/South Africa has effectively asserted its powers within the African continent?

Additional Questions:

Q1: Are there any specific interest that inspire or account for Nigeria/South Africa's inroads into Africa?

Q2: In your opinion, how would you consider Nigeria/South Africa's leadership interest in Africa?

Q3: Would you assert that Nigeria/South Africa indeed has hegemonic aspiration in Africa?

Q4: Is Nigeria/South Africa well equipped to play leadership role in Africa?

Q5: What internal or external factors have enabled or restrained Nigeria/South Africa from taking effective hegemonic/leadership responsibility within the African continent?

Q6: How have these domestic and/or foreign factor inspired or contributed to the attitude Nigeria/South Africa has displayed in the past years?

Q7: From what you have said, would you consider Nigeria/South Africa to be a hegemon or leader capable of inspiring leadership in Africa?

Q8: How would you assess Nigeria/South Africa's interest in Africa?

Q9: What roles has Nigeria/South Africa played towards continental transformation and regional integration in Africa?

Q10: What roles does your agency play in the process of foreign policy making in Nigeria/South Africa?

Cluster Three: Non-governmental Organizations, Editors, Opinion Leaders and other Stakeholders

Central Questions:

Q1: What pattern would you say Nigeria/South Africa's foreign policy has taken particularly since the end of apartheid?

Q2: How have the foreign policy perspectives of Nigeria/South Africa been shaped?

Q3: Has Nigeria/South Africa's foreign policy changed significantly since the new democratic dispensation in 1999/1994?

Q4: What, in your own view, accounts for this change?

Q.5. To the best of your knowledge, what would you say is largely responsible for Nigeria/South Africa's position in Africa as it is today?

Q.8. What factors do you think influence the behaviour of Nigeria/South Africa in Africa?

Additional Questions:

Q1: How effective has been Nigeria/South Africa's foreign policy posture in inspiring continental and regional renewal within Africa?

Q2: How is Nigeria perceived among its neighbours given the fact that it is surrounded by French speaking countries?

Q3: What would you say have been the implication of Nigeria being surrounded by French speaking countries?

Q4: How has South Africa's apartheid past configured or constrained its leadership ambition for the rest of Africa?

Q5: How is South Africa generally perceived among its neighbours given these hostile experiences of the past?

Q6: To the best of your knowledge, would you argue that Nigeria/South Africa have hegemonic or leadership ambitions in Africa?

Q7: In what way(s) have Nigeria/South Africa inspired regional or continental stability in Africa?

Q8: To the best of your knowledge, what challenges have both countries faced in the course of addressing these issues?

Q9: What, in your opinion, is/are the general perception of South Africa and Nigeria's neighbours to its position as continental leaders?

Q10: In your view, are there any direct implications of the absence of a verifiable dominant regional power for the continent at large given South Africa and Nigeria's arguable position?

Cluster Four: Diplomats/Envoys/Officials of the Africa Union, ECOWAS and SADC etc.

Central Questions:

Q1: How has Nigeria/South Africa related with its neighbours in terms of the principles of its foreign relations?

Q.1: What meaningful contribution has Nigeria/South Africa made towards the progress of your organisation?

Q.2: How has Nigeria/South Africa's foreign policy position been reflected on the African continent?

Q.5: How has Nigeria/South Africa presented its positions of issues affecting Africa?

Q.1. Are there vital interests that motivate and inspire Nigeria/South Africa's foreign policy relations towards Africa?

Q.4: Would you assert that Nigeria/South Africa indeed has hegemonic aspiration in Africa?

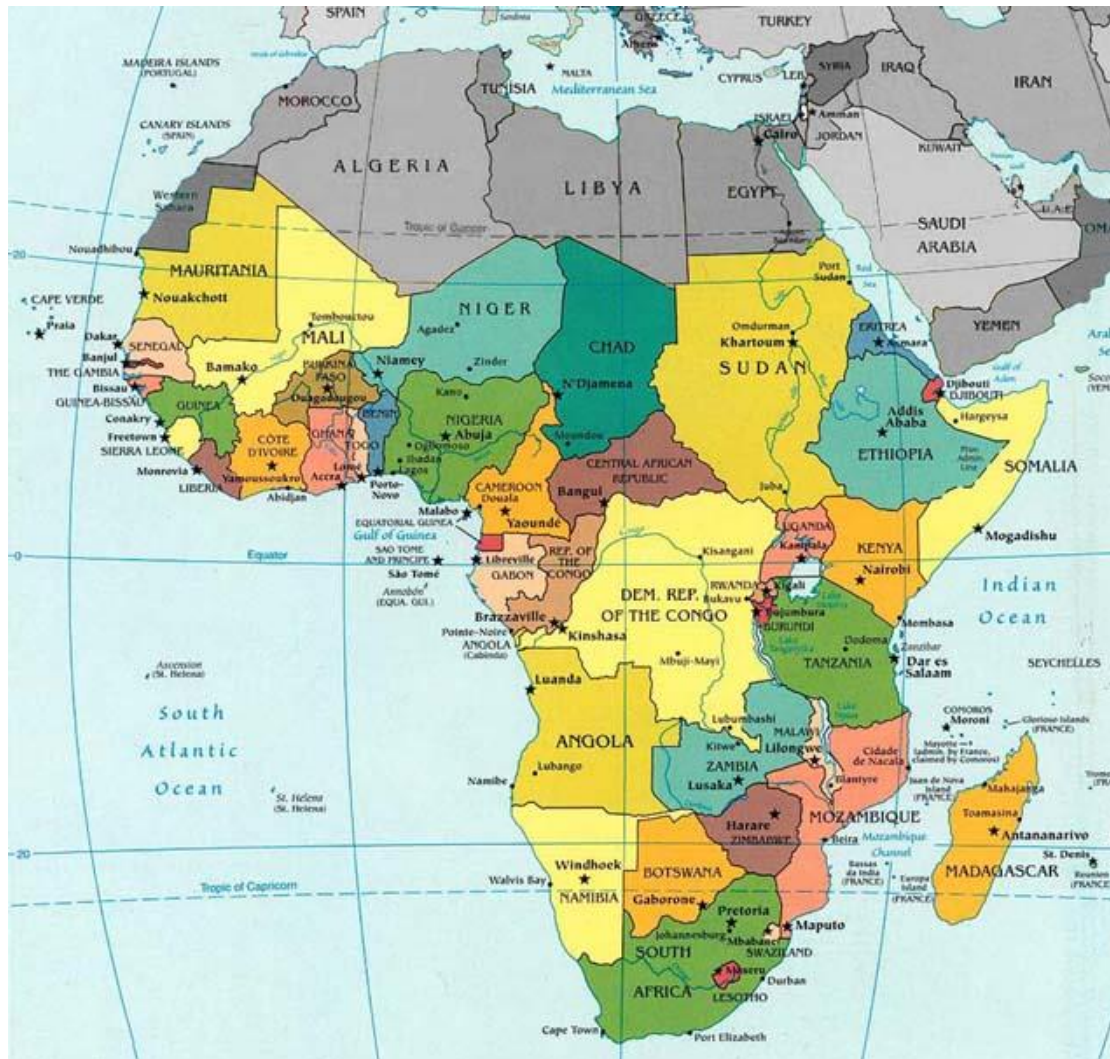
Q.1: What internal or external factors have enabled or restrained Nigeria/South Africa from taking effective leadership responsibility within the African continent?

Q.3. Can we still refer to an African hegemony given these constraining factors to both countries leadership status in Africa?

Q.2: How have these domestic and/or foreign factor inspired or contributed to the attitude South Africa has displayed in the past years?

APPENDIX B

Map showing Sub-Saharan Africa Countries



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