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**MULTILATERALISM AND THE HEGEMONIC
POSTURE OF A REGIONAL POWER: A CASE STUDY
OF NIGERIA, 1960-2015**



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UUM
Universiti Utara Malaysia

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA
AUGUST 2016**

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UUM
Universiti Utara Malaysia

**A Thesis submitted to the College of Law, Government and International Studies in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Universiti Utara Malaysia**

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ABSTRACT

This study examines Nigeria's multilateral policy vis-à-vis its hegemonic position in Africa since 1960. It evaluates the extent to which Nigeria can be considered a regional hegemon in Africa and how such hegemonic status has been pursued through multilateral institutions. Thus, the study identifies those areas where Nigeria has demonstrated its hegemonic roles in multilateral institutions. The study employs qualitative method of data collection and found that Hegemonic Stability Theory, Regional Security Complex Theory and Role Theory are the most suitable of all theories that can adequately explain Nigeria's multilateral policy in relation to its regional hegemonic posture in Africa. This is discovered through triangulation of qualitative data sources which included semi-structured interviews, focus-group interviews, elite interviews, documentary analysis, archival sources, speeches, reports, journal articles, textbooks, and newspapers. The study shows that Nigeria dominated African political terrain through the following roles: decolonisation, dismantling of apartheid regimes in southern African countries, capacity building, peacekeeping, democracy promotion and financing the regional multilateral organisations. Thus, in achieving the aforementioned, the study shows that there are external and internal factors that dictated Nigeria's multilateral policy since independence. Some of the factors identified by the study are security, economics, neighbours, extra-African powers, geography, military preponderance, population and financial capability. This study also evaluates the multilateral policy of Nigeria and discovered there are areas where success has been recorded while there are also some aspects where failure has been noted. The historical overview of the post-independent Nigerian foreign policy suggests that Nigeria's multilateral policy received a boost in the 1970s under General Gowon and General Olusegun Obasanjo. This was as a result of the civil war that ravaged the country for three years (1967-70). Overall, the study has contributed to intellectual debates on the role of regional power in regional governance. It has also shed light on the exercising of hegemonic role at regional level through multilateralism. For further research agenda, the study recommends there is need to employ unilateralism and bilateralism in the foreign policy of Nigeria to study the country's regional hegemonic posture in Africa.

Keywords: Multilateral Policy, Regional Power, Hegemony, Foreign Policy, Nigeria.

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini meneliti dasar multilateral Nigeria dan kedudukan hegemoninya di Afrika semenjak tahun 1960. Ia menilai sejauh mana Nigeria boleh dianggap sebagai hegemon serantau di Afrika dan bagaimana status hegemoni tersebut telah dilaksanakan melalui institusi multilateral. Oleh itu, kajian ini mengenal pasti bahagian-bahagian di mana Nigeria telah menunjukkan peranan hegemoni di dalam polisi multilateralnya. Penyelidikan ini menggunakan kaedah pengumpulan data secara kualitatif dan mendapati bahawa 'Hegemonic Stability Theory', 'Regional Security Complex Theory' dan 'Role Theory' merupakan teori-teori yang paling sesuai dan dapat menerangkan polisi multilateral Nigeria secara menyeluruh yang berkaitan dengan pendirian hegemoninya di rantau Afrika. Ini didapati melalui sumber-sumber data kualitatif triangulasi termasuk temubual separa berstruktur, temubual kumpulan berfokus, temubual elit, analisis dokument, bahan/sumber arkib, ucapan-ucapan, laporan-laporan, artikel dan jurnal, buku teks dan surat khabar. Hasil dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa Nigeria telah mendominasi politik Afrika melalui beberapa peranan berikut: dekolonisasi, penghapusan rejim apartheid di negara-negara selatan Afrika, pembinaan kapasiti, pengekalan keamanan, promosi demokrasi dan pembiayaan organisasi multilateral serantau. Oleh itu, untuk mencapai semua yang telah disebutkan, kajian menunjukkan terdapat faktor-faktor luaran dan dalaman yang menentukan dasar multilateral Nigeria semenjak mencapai kemerdekaannya. Seseengah faktor yang dikenalpasti daripada kajian adalah keselamatan, ekonomi, kejiranan, kekuasaan tambahan Afrika, geografi, peningkatan ketenteraan, populasi dan kemampuan kewangan. Kajian ini juga menilai dasar multilateral Nigeria dan menemui bahagian-bahagian di mana kejayaan telah dirakamkan, di samping beberapa kegagalan yang telah dikenalpasti. Sepintas lalu mengenai sejarah dasar luar pasca kemerdekaan Nigeria mendapati dasar multilateral Nigeria telah mendapat kekuatan pada tahun 1970 di bawah Jeneral Gowon dan Jeneral Olusegun Obasanjo. Ini disebabkan oleh peperangan saudara yang membinasakan negara tersebut selama tiga tahun (1967-1970). Secara keseluruhannya, kajian ini telah menyumbang kepada perdebatan intelektual terhadap peranan kuasa serantau di dalam tadbir urus serantau. Ia juga menerangkan pelaksanaan peranan hegemoni pada peringkat serantau melalui pendekatan multilateral. Untuk agenda bagi kajian lanjutan, kajian mencadangkan keperluan untuk menggunakan pendekatan unilateral dan bilateral di dalam dasar luar Nigeria bagi mengkaji pendirian hegemoni serantau negara tersebut di Afrika.

Kata Kunci: Dasar Multilateral, Kuasa Serantau, Hegemoni, Dasar Luar, Nigeria.

DEDICATION

I hereby dedicate this thesis to my parent, Alhaji Shafii Oladimeji and Oladimeji Hassanat Aweke, my wife, Oladimeji Tawakalt Oyeyemi, my children, Oladimeji Hiqmat Omolayo and Oladimeji Shafii Anuoluwa and my friend, Aderibigbe Akeem.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	Africa Caribbean and Pacific
AfDB	African Development Bank
AFRODAD	African Forum and Network on Debt and Development
AMF	African Military Force
AMIS	African Mission in Sudan
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
APRM	African Peer-Review Mechanism
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
BP	British Petroleum
CCT	Concentric Circle Theory
CEAO	Communaute Economique de l' Afrique de l' Oust
CFA	Communautte FrancaisAfricaine
CFO	Commonwealth and Foreign Office
ECOMOG	Ecowas Ceasefire Monitoring Group
ECOSAP	Ecowas Small Arms Control Programme
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	European Economic Community
EPG	Eminent Person Group
ESMC	ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee
FAN	Forces Armees du Nord
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FGI	Focus Group Interview
FMG	Federal Military Government
FNLA	National Front for The Liberation Of Angola
FROLINAT	National Front for the Liberation of Chad
GATT	General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GGC	Gulf of Guinea Cooperation
GWOT	Global War On Terror
HSGIC	Head of State and Government Implementation Committee
HST	Hegemonic Stability Theory
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Network
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
MAD	Mutual Assistance Defence
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
MPLT	MouvementPopulairepour la Liberation de Tchad
NA	Nigeria Army
NAF	Nigeria Air Force

NAFTA	North Atlantic Free Trade Area
NAM	Non Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCBWA	National Congress of British West Africa
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NICs	Newly Industrialised Countries
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NIF	National Islamic Front
NIIA	Nigeria Institute of International Affairs
NN	Nigeria Navy
NPC	Northern People Congress
NPFL	National Patriotic Front for the Liberation Of Liberia
NSWFP	Nigerian Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party
NTUC	Nigerian Trade Union Congress
NYM	Nigerian Youth Movement
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organization For Economic Cooperation And Development
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Conference
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PDF	Popular Defence Force
PSC	Peace and Security Council
PZ	Patterson Zocconi
RSA	Republic of South Africa
RSCT	Regional Security Complex Theory
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAU	Small Arms Group
SLA	Sudanese Liberation Army
STABEX	Système de Stabilisation des Recettes d'Exportation
SWA	South West Africa
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
TACs	Technical Aids Corps Schemes
UAC	United African Company
UBA	United Bank for Africa
UNAMID	United Nations Mission In Darfur
UNAMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UNIPOM	United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UNODC	United Nations Office for Drugs and Crimes
UNPOA	United Nations Programme Of Action
UNSC	United Nations Security Council

UNTAC
USSR
UTC
WAEC
WAI
WHO
WTO

United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Trading Company
West Africa Economic Community
War Against Indiscipline
World Health Organisation
World Trade Organisations



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

....First, it is the desire of Nigeria to remain on friendly terms with all nations and participate actively in the work of the United Nations Organisations (UN) to lead African cause (Abubakar Tafawa Balewa¹, United Nations General Assembly, (UNGA), 1960).

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The independent states within the international system started to evolve mechanisms to solve global conflict by the beginning of 20th century. In this way, the League of Nations was formed which subsequently replaced by the United Nations (UN). The formation of these two global multilateral institutions was the product of global hegemony who saw it as their responsibility to maintain global order in the areas of peace, security, and commerce (Ruggie, 1992:568). Since the formation of the UN in 1945, states have been cooperating together to solve some transnational security issues like terrorism, child trafficking, drug trafficking, environment and illegal arms trafficking (Abbott & Snidal, 1998:4).

It needs to be stressed that the decolonization process of the 1950s and 1960s greatly multiplied the number of independent states in the international system; the result of which was the proliferation of regional and sub-regional multilateral institutions. Some of these regional and sub-regional multilateral institutions were sponsored by regional hegemony and powers to cater for the specific needs within the regional sub-system (Yansane, 1977:38). Where regional power did not sponsor, it be-

¹The Prime Minister emphasized Nigeria's stance of embracing multilateralism in its foreign policy making in the UN General Assembly in its Inaugural lecture in New York in 1960.

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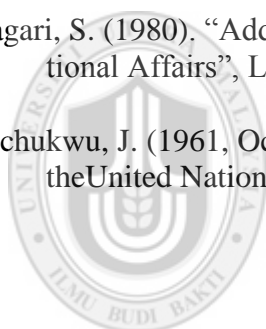
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