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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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AUGUST 2016

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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
PENGAKUAN TANGGUNGJAWAB
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Kedah Darul Aman
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.

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.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

All praise to Allah (SWT) for enabling me to complete this study. I am thankful to Him for the health and energy that He gave me throughout my academic endeavours. Peace and blessing be upon our beloved Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W), his households and his companions.

In carrying out this research I am greatly indebted to the following people and institutions from whom I directly or indirectly benefitted. First of all I would like to express my sincere and deepest appreciation and thanks to my supervisors, Professor Patit Paban Mishra (My former supervisor from India), the Deputy Dean, School of International Studies, Dr. Mohammad Zaki Bin Ahmad and Dr. Sherko Kirmanj for their doggedness and relentlessness in seeing me through the completion of the programme. Their guidance, comments, suggestions, and financial support were instrumental to the successful completion of this thesis. I would also like to thank Associate Professor Dr. Samihah Khalil Halim, the former Dean of Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government for recommending me for UUM Scholarship committee. I will forever be grateful to her for this invaluable opportunity. My sincere appreciation also goes to UUM Vice Chancellor for his final approval of my scholarship to study in UUM. I will not forget the contributions of individual academics on the completion of this thesis. The roles of Dr. Kocks Tapiwa Zengeni, Dr. Ummu Atiyah Zakuan, Dr. Ratnaria Wahid and Professor Dr. Ranjit Singh are highly appreciated. In addition, my appreciation will be incomplete without mentioning the administrators at Graduate Studies Centre for their continuous and timely financial contribution to the successful completion of my study. I will also like to extend my gratitude to the School of International Studies for the financial contribution through Graduate Teaching Assistant (GTA) Scheme, which afforded me the opportunity to take good care of my family. May the blessing of Allah continue to shower on all the academic and non-academic members of the school. Back to IIUM, where I did my Master Degree, I would like to show a sense of appreciation to Prof. Dr. Wahabuddin Ra’ees for his financial contribution despite the fact that I left the school years ago. I also wish him the best in life and may the Almighty Allah reward him as such. I would also like to thank the Princess of the State of Johor, Tunku Masera Zahira Iskandariah Binti Sultan Iskandar, for her invaluable and generous financial support during my study in IIUM and UUM. May Allah also sustain and provide for her needs. I am thankful to all administrative officers at UUM, COLGIS, most especially Mr. Aboot and Madam Fatimah, for their constant accommodation and hospitality in the Office of the Dean GSGSG.

My final appreciations go to my family members especially my sibling, Dr. Mohammed Muneer’deen Olobo Al-Shafi’i, Senior Lecturer at Sultan Zainal Abidin Universiti, my wife, Oladimeji Tawakalt, my daughter, Oladimeji Hikmat Omolayo and my son, Oladimeji Shafii Anuoluwa. My closest friends, Aderibigbe Akeem, Abidoye Morufu, Adegoke Surajudeen and Otega Okinono are all appreciated for their moral and financial supports. I am very grateful for their encouragements, finance and prayers. May we together live to reap the fruit of the labour. God bless you all. Good night!
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACP
Africa Caribbean and Pacific
AfDB
African Development Bank
AFROADAD
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’ Ouest
CFA
Communaute Francais Africaine
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
GCC
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
Mouvement Populaire pour la Liberation de Tchad
NA
Nigeria Army
NAF
Nigeria Air Force
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAFTA</td>
<td>North Atlantic Free Trade Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAM</td>
<td>Non Aligned Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCBWA</td>
<td>National Congress of British West Africa</td>
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<td>NCNC</td>
<td>National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEPAD</td>
<td>New Partnership for Africa’s Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>NICs</td>
<td>Newly Industrialised Countries</td>
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<td>NIEO</td>
<td>New International Economic Order</td>
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<td>NIF</td>
<td>National Islamic Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIIA</td>
<td>Nigeria Institute of International Affairs</td>
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<td>NN</td>
<td>Nigeria Navy</td>
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<td>NPC</td>
<td>Northern People Congress</td>
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<td>NPFL</td>
<td>National Patriotic Front for the Liberation Of Liberia</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSWFP</td>
<td>Nigerian Socialist Workers’ and Farmers’ Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>NTUC</td>
<td>Nigerian Trade Union Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>NYM</td>
<td>Nigerian Youth Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAS</td>
<td>Organization of American States</td>
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<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation of African Unity</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization For Economic Cooperation And Development</td>
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<td>OIC</td>
<td>Organisation of Islamic Conference</td>
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<td>OIC</td>
<td>Organization of Islamic Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>OPEC</td>
<td>Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>PDF</td>
<td>Popular Defence Force</td>
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<td>PSC</td>
<td>Peace and Security Council</td>
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<td>PZ</td>
<td>Patterson Zocconni</td>
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<td>RSA</td>
<td>Republic of South Africa</td>
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<td>RSCT</td>
<td>Regional Security Complex Theory</td>
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<td>RUF</td>
<td>Revolutionary United Front</td>
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<td>SALW</td>
<td>Small Arms and Light Weapons</td>
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<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAU</td>
<td>Small Arms Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>Sudanese Liberation Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>STABEX</td>
<td>Système de Stabilisation des Recettesd'Exportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWA</td>
<td>South West Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWAPO</td>
<td>South West Africa People’s Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>TACs</td>
<td>Technical Aids Corps Schemes</td>
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<tr>
<td>UAC</td>
<td>United African Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>UBA</td>
<td>United Bank for Africa</td>
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<td>UNAMID</td>
<td>United Nations Mission In Darfur</td>
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<td>UNAMIL</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Liberia</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNFIL</td>
<td>United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon</td>
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<td>UNGA</td>
<td>United Nations General Assembly</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children Fund</td>
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<td>UNIPOM</td>
<td>United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission</td>
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<td>UNO</td>
<td>United Nations Organisation</td>
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<td>UNODC</td>
<td>United Nations Office for Drugs and Crimes</td>
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<td>UNPOA</td>
<td>United Nations ProgrammeOf Action</td>
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<td>UNSC</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNTAC</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia</td>
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<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
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<tr>
<td>UTC</td>
<td>United Trading Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>WAEC</td>
<td>West Africa Economic Community</td>
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<td>WAI</td>
<td>War Against Indiscipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organisations</td>
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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 Or-
ganisations (UN) to lead African cause (Abubakar Tafawa Balewa¹,

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
hegemons 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 is-
suces like terrorism, child trafficking, drug trafficking, environment and illegal arms

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 institu-
tions. Some of these regional and sub-regional multilateral institutions were spon-
sored by regional hegemons and powers to cater for the specific needs within the re-
gional 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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